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## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1992).

THIS REVISED EDITION of Palmer's *Working Class Experience*, first published in 1983, contains, as second editions ought, considerable writing, several new sections, and an entirely new chapter. But just what does Palmer mean by the "re-thinking" of his new subtitle?

Palmer's original *Working Class Experience* was a landmark in Canadian labour historiography, drawing together the growing body of historical writing about the lives of working people. It sketched not only the union and political activities of the Canadian working class, but shaded in its experiences outside the workplace, in family, tavern and street. And it was a survey that presented more than a synthesis of the growing body of labour literature. In Palmer's own words, it did not simply present fact but made "an argument about working-class experience." (29)

The work garnered much praise, but much criticism, too. Palmer was roundly attacked for his omissions and for his emphasis, but above all for his interpretation. In his preface to this edition, Palmer assures both his critics and his fans that the revised edition of *Working Class Experience* is different from the first, yet the same. In this edition, he revises material he felt was justifiably criticized, and tempers that which was based, he now rue-

fully admits, on "analytical exuberance." (12) Some changes are obvious. Most of the new material deals with the 20th century which, in this edition, received much more attention than the 19th. The discussion of culture, more problematic in the 20th century, is clarified and extended. There is more on gender, law, and state formation. Other changes are more subtle, as in a more finely nuanced choice of adjectives. Expressions such as "may have" and "no hard and fast conclusions" are sprinkled more liberally throughout this edition than the first.

Palmer draws heavily from work that follows his own historiographical and political agenda, including papers from his own graduate classes. But he also introduces the work of those with whom he disagrees, carefully explaining the points of difference, and making no bones about his own views.

Some things remain the same. Palmer still sees industrialization, the preordained culmination of capitalist development, as the centrality of Canada's working-class experience even though, historically, the majority of Canadian workers have not found employment in the industrial sector. He still, especially in the 20th century, regards union and political activities as the key to workers' relations to capital, even though at no time in Canadian history has even half the total workforce belonged to unions.

As for his rhetorical excesses, which Palmer warns us he has "always been prone to," (14) there has been some toning down. But for those of us who rather enjoy his enthusiasm, we can turn to the final chapter for a dramatic epic of the

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ravages wrought by the sinister collusion between capital and the state in their unrelenting crusade to crush the valiant working class that struggles against treachery from ambitious and self-serving union leadership and betrayal by the ideologically enfeebled NDP. Hyperbole aside, the final chapter capably explains the myriad difficulties facing the working class in the "bad and ugly period" (405) of the past decade and a half.

Despite all this rethinking, or perhaps because of it, this book may prove to be as controversial as was the first edition. Although he seems more willing to hedge his interpretive bets, Palmer does not draw back from his original analytical direction. *Working Class Experience* is a story of class struggle. Palmer seeks to reveal the fundamental conflict between labour and capital, to outline the contests both subtle and overt. Although he aims to examine "the ways in which workers' lives were lived as totalities rather than carved up into particularities," (12) most of the book is about the direct and obvious battles between labour and capital especially those waged by unions through strikes and political action.

Throughout, Palmer forcefully demonstrates that the overriding factor in determining the contours of workers' lives is class. Nowhere is this clearer than in Palmer's 'rethought' consideration of gender. He is particularly keen to address the concerns of feminism and the critiques of feminist historians, agreeing that "gender matters in the history of the working class." (24) But to Palmer, the importance of class overrides that of gender, both historically and analytically. He sees gender oppression as arising out of and incorporated into class oppression, and he is at pains to point out the tactical and analytical errors committed by historians who do not put class ahead of gender analysis.

Each chapter contains a section on gender, families or women, much of it new and skillfully analyzed, highlighting some very good recent work. In Chapter

2, for example, the section on "Families" challenges the notion of universally cooperative and egalitarian family relations during the transition to industrial capitalism. Instead, Palmer finds that nascent industrial capitalism buttressed by tradition and law sharply circumscribed working-class family relationships, limiting the autonomy of women and children, undermining their interests, and even resulting in violence towards them. In Chapter 4, the section on "Gendered Radicalism" explains the complex reasons women have been, historically, less prone to direct economic action. The feminization of clerical work, the concentration of women in job ghettos, and their isolation from occupational centres of labour radicalism have been recognized by labour historians as the base of the problem. Palmer draws together new work on the material culture of the workplace and the ambiguous response of the labour movement to show how the ideology of "separate spheres" pervaded thought and action during the early 20th-century consolidation of capitalism.

The sections themselves contain penetrating and nuanced analysis. But outside these sections, the overall treatment of gender is cursory and analytically disappointing. Palmer's concentration on visible evidences of class struggle sidelines working women except when they join unions in large enough numbers to be noticeable, or go on strike, or as individuals become prominent, and preferably radical. But this rendering tends to ignore the more subtle ways they influenced the working-class experience, including their tenuous attachment to the formal labour movement. And although we are constantly reminded that working-class experiences are "gendered" and that working women faced very different circumstances than did working men, we learn little until the final chapter about how women who did join the formal labour movement affected the direction in which the working class moved.

Even in the treatment of direct economic action, women are accorded scant attention. With a few exceptions, the strikes by women are mentioned only in passing, while the strikes by men are dissected and explained both for cause and effect. Except for spotlighted incidents, such as a wave of nurses' strikes in the late 1980s, we learn little of how women influenced the history of Canadian labour. We end up with analysis that depicts men, but seldom women, as active agents in working-class struggles.

Surveys must be judged by their usefulness in the classroom. Now that labour history has become an acceptable course offering in universities across Canada, instructors will want to know if this book works as a text. Emphatically, yes. In the nuts and bolts, Palmer is concise. He carefully explains concepts such as class and culture, he clarifies interpretive debates and points to the many research gaps that need to be filled. He incorporates recent labour historiography, no small task given the explosion of writing over the decade. The lack of footnotes is frustrating, but the detailed annotated bibliography is excellent.

As a survey of labour history, *Working Class Experience* does more than any other to provide a wealth of information in a way that stimulates thought and provokes discussion. It tackles the difficult task of explaining the elements that divide Canada's working class, yet ties together the disparate threads of working-class experience. It attempts to balance the positive story of labour's progress with the reality of setbacks and defeats. Palmer's success in these endeavours is mixed, but his provocative analysis is energizing.

Cecilia Danysk  
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James Naylor, *The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991).

IN THEIR SEARCH for pivotal events to match the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and the worldwide turmoil that followed the Armistice of 1918, historians of the Canadian working class have turned inevitably to the Winnipeg General Strike and the emergence of the One Big Union. Then, now and in between, historians and political scientists have persuaded us that the West is where radicalism happens in Canada. And, to fit an even more popular Canadian myth, the villains live in southern Ontario, whether it is the labour-hating myrmidons of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, their kept politicians in Ottawa, or conservative, class-collaborationist union leaders. In the postwar period, Ontario labour lived up to its reputation. Guided by Tom Moore, Paddy Draper, and their local counterparts, southern Ontario labour activists upheld their international unions, rebuffed the radicals from the West, and even muffed their political opportunities in the 1919-22 Farmer-Labour government. All that remained by 1925 is defeat, division, and a minor share of a short-lived era of affluence. That was the essential story Martin Robin left us in 1966 in *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour*; it has not been altered by the few monographs in the intervening years and it survives, in its broad outlines, this richly detailed study by James Naylor.

In the industrial cities of southern Ontario as elsewhere there was a surge of working-class militancy during World War I and immediately after. It took visible shape in the emergence of new and greatly enlarged union organizations, in an efflorescence of radical speeches and newspapers, and in a dramatic growth in strike activity — from 25,255 days lost in the region in 1915 to 852,235 in the climactic year of 1919. To contemporaries, the most dramatic event was the election

of 20 October 1919 of eleven of 23 Independent Labour Party (ILP) candidates and the formation of Ontario's first class-based government.

Yet, as Naylor makes clear, the seeds of failure had been planted thickly along the way. Though many of the ILP leaders professed and even believed themselves to be socialists, they were not. The working ideology of the ILP, even for such perceptive radicals as Joseph Marks, was "Labourism." "For the majority of politically active workers in southern Ontario," Naylor argues, "liberation was to be sought through electoral means, which they considered the key to social power." Like their awkward partners, the farmers in the UFO, union leaders believed that, once elected and firmly in control of the levers of power, honest workers would know what to do. The "New Democracy," a title Naylor borrows from a short-lived Hamilton labour newspaper, would follow.

Of course it did not. Bitterly divided on issues of ideology and personality, separated by the specific politics of their communities, exploited by opportunists like Brantford mayor Malcolm "Me Me" McBride, softened by the pretensions of middle-class reformers like Mackenzie King, the wave of labour militancy in southern Ontario had more froth than power by the time it reached the wall of employer resistance. Even among professed socialists, there was no real agreement on policy and Bolshevik Russia was hardly a model for a labour movement that united chiefly on its suspicion of "foreigners." Even when labour struggled to open its ranks to newly enfranchised women, its ideology remained maternalist and traditional, endorsing equal pay as a guarantee that most of the "weaker sex" would be pushed from the labour market.

A movement needs a place to go. Socialism, Naylor's retrospective solution to the Labourist's need of a destination, was neither a persuasive nor a popular option to Ontario workers in 1919, not even for the far-sighted and dedicated Joseph Marks. As for Fred J. Flatman, the

Hamilton blacksmith who founded *The New Democracy*, he and others like him had isolated themselves by their radicalism.

Naylor has not reversed Martin Robin's basic findings a quarter-century ago though he picks quarrels with a number of historians, notably Michael Piva, on points of opinion and fact. He has filled in a great many details, added substantially to the cast of characters and the number of scenes and challenges any reader to keep the plot straight. The style is doctoral prose with a heavy Marxian inflection. This is not a book for the faint of heart.

Nor is it much help to those who seek to understand the southern Ontario industrial forest more than its trees. The rise and fall of labour militancy is a variable dependent on economic and social climates rather than upon the inspiration of the leaders, writers, and union activists whose exploits and misjudgments fill these pages. If his data permitted, Naylor would doubtless prefer to add more numbers to his claims of mass movements and militancy, but certainly there is no lack of evidence on the state of Ontario's wartime and postwar economy, much of it stressing the contrast with the circumstances that produced a successful and durable industrial union movement only a generation later — when Kitchener's Karl Homuth had evolved from the ILP to the Progressive Conservatives.

Naylor's useful contributions include a detailed look at welfare capitalism and the sham industrial democracy practised by major firms in southern Ontario after 1918 and a chapter on women and labourism based extensively on the women's column in the *Industrial Banner*.

No slouch at judging the past, Naylor offers readers an unconscious glimpse of the future. The book's title underlines the fact that Ontario's second class-based government is now in power and destined, like its predecessor, to perish after a single term. In retrospect, the platform and ideology of the Ontario NDP will

probably appear as inadequate as the "labourism" of Walter Rollo. Ontario's people once again in deep recession, will repeat a history they did not learn. Hard going as if often is, Naylor's book has much to say.

Desmond Morton  
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Jim Pringle, *United We Stand: A History of Winnipeg's Civic Workers* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Labour Education Centre 1991).

THIS IS ONE OF A SERIES to be devoted to the history of Manitoba labour, which will deal with ten aspects, written from a labour viewpoint, to illustrate "the vital contributions made to the life of this province by the women and men who worked on the farms and in the mines, mills, factories, cities, towns, homes, and offices of Manitoba."

This first volume is dedicated to the memory of Leon Mitchell, who played a tremendous role in bringing together the many civic employees unions in the city of Winnipeg and its surrounding municipalities, before he was struck down by a vicious type of polio, which forced him to spend many years strapped in an iron lung. It is regrettable that the author did not include a few pages telling the dramatic and tragic story of Leon Mitchell's life, separate from his good work in organizing the civic employees.

The problem of the civic unions, particularly after the Winnipeg General Strike, was the existence of three union centres, craft, industrial, and One Big Union, further divided into 17 separate municipalities with Winnipeg at the centre, and engaged in fratricidal conflict, between the unions, as well as between the unions and the municipal councils.

The defeat of the General Strike resulted in a setback for the trade union movement for a number of years, with

thousands of workers fired from their jobs and blacklisted from any job. The Committee of One Thousand, which ran the city during the strike, became the Civic Election Committee, and dominated municipal politics for many years. The big turn came during the depression, when the elected members of the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party united inside the Winnipeg City Council and the School Board, to form a workable coalition, including the Mayor, which was able to win some concessions for the employed and unemployed, and for the civic workers. The weakness however was in the civic structure, where few of the other 16 municipalities around Winnipeg, shared in these reforms, and the trade unions remained divided until 1957 with the birth of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Jim Pringle states that the real change in the salaries, benefits, and conditions of Winnipeg civic workers came in 1944, when all the civic unions coordinated their bargaining under the Federation of Civic Employees and were able within a year to win the most substantial improvements in the history of the Winnipeg.

But this was only the beginning. Pringle points to the next important struggle to change the conditions of female members, which were consistently lower than those of male workers doing the same work. This gap was rectified over the next few years and particularly when the Federation became the "legally recognized bargaining unit for all civic employees except firefighters, police, and transit workers ..." in May 1953.

These changes took place simultaneously with the birth of Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1960, and later the unification of all the greater Winnipeg municipalities into one city. From the labour viewpoint, these political changes had come after the unification of the trade union movement in 1957. For the civic workers, that had resulted in 1963 with the creation of all public employees unions into one big union, the Canadian



Union of Public Employees (CUPE), which has become the biggest single union in Canada.

The problem that confronted the author of this book and his committee was how to make the fascinating material which he had, into an interesting book. In my opinion, he did not succeed. The book is dull. Its central characters, do not stand out. Better luck, next time.

Norman Penner  
Glendon College  
York University

Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montréal: Boréal 1992).

CITIES, according to one schema, can be looked at in three ways.

First, they are places in which things happen, for example people are born, live and die in them, houses are built in them, and federal elections are held in them. They are stage sets or backdrops, incidental to historical action and more or less interchangeable.

Second, they are places to which things happen. They are the product of historical forces, some "faceless," some "heroic," some large, some small. The face of the city, in this sense, is the product of commercial and industrial capital, for example; or of the thought and aesthetic of western civilization; or the genius of individuals; or pick your poison. Among such forces, oddly, is what has been called "metropolitanism," a characteristic of cities, but also a phenomenon that operates, it seems, independently of them, and embraces other space, like hinterlands. Cities in this construct thus have many features or patterns in common, since all are the creations of external influences, and have only a limited special or individual character as a result of minor local ideosyncracies. Love of a city, as H.L. Mencken might have said, is the

delusion that one is different from another.

Third, cities are the places that make things happen. Cities, or those human and technological complexes we call cities, are historical actors, or, at the least, those peculiar places in which history is made. So, to be metaphoric or perhaps anthropomorphic, "cities" are prime movers of history. In them, for example, all innovation occurs, and from them it is transmitted to and adapted by other places. In this conception, capitalism, for example, is seen as a city invention (one rapidly transmitted to others), as, of course, would be such things as a "culture" of capital and a "culture" of labour. And, indeed, one might argue, even a nation "from sea to sea," or one "from the river unto the ends of the earth." In this schema, what cities have in common is not how they look, but how they work. A given city is not just another pretty face.

Paul-André Linteau's *Montréal* generally falls into the second category and at times comes perilously close to the first. Yet it is clear from the evidence in the book, as well as its tone, that the author was inclined in places to and probably could have written the book in terms of the third category.

But Linteau is relentlessly balanced. It is such a refreshing idea. In his *Montréal* he tries to understand and be understanding about all major issues. In this book as in others he has written or co-authored he is at pains to be fair, not to burden evidence with an impossible weight of interpretation. And perhaps in this case, not to let his life-long love affair with Montréal reveal in public its passionate side, but only its reasonable one. Perhaps that is why the city, while the focus of the narrative, does not appear to be at the centre of the action.

Still, this is, by a long measure, the best book written about Montréal, and should be considered basic reading by all Canadian historians because of the city's influence, and because it was and remains the locus of most of the important issues

in the country. This is not background reading for something else. It is also marvellously accessible history. And to say that one would have written it differently is not to say one would have written it as well. Colleagues whose French is a second language will find this book more comfortable, more user-friendly than most of what they normally read in English. Like the Marxist historian of Bath, R.S. Neale, who argued that labour historians did their job if their writing could reach labourers, Linteau clearly feels his history of Montréal should reach Montréalers. He succeeds at his task. But as well as lucid history, it is solid history, resting on the best of current scholarship. It is also comprehensive, touching, with few exceptions, most matters of importance in the past 120 years, though it does not do so in a purely chronological fashion.

The format of the book is slightly adapted from that of the illustrated urban biography series, of which it originally was to form a component. It grew beyond the boundaries of the series. As a result, within each of four periods, the author addresses, in order, economic growth and metropolitan development, population, space, society, and, finally, politics and development. This format has the virtue of covering the ground, but tends to exclude explanatory components. Description rather overpowers interpretation.

The periodization employed also makes sense but is revealing (as always) of the priorities and perhaps even of the somewhat submerged thesis that informs the text. Four periods are used: 1867-96 (Emergence of the Industrial City); 1896-1914 (the Great Expansion); 1914-45 (the Era of Upheaval); and 1945-91 (the Metropolis of Québec). Economic matters, and therefore the English "elites" inform the first two periods; while a more complex mix of cultural, economic, and political matters, and French "elites" inform the latter two periods. In a sense, *Montréal* is a story of the transformation of a national metropolis in the hands of An-

glophone elites to a regional metropolis in the hands of Francophone ones. It emerges, alas, in a rather Whiggish, teleological fashion, as a history that had to happen. Those elites, it seems, are merely the vehicles of change, not the masters of it. Other, ineluctable forces are at work though what these are remains unclear.

How, exactly, did Montréal "lose" its national metropolitan role to become "La Métropole Québécoise?" Or has it? In this work, Montréal's changing status seems to hinge largely on a crude economic shift to Toronto. At least that is where all the comparisons are. This is a dubious proposition in an era marked by the emergence of highly-articulated pluralisms, and one that further rests on the delusion that Toronto is or can be the metropolis of anything Canadian, except in the narrowest Empire-of-the-St. Lawrence sense. *Montréal* expresses little appreciation that the CPR, as well as much else, ran west through the Ottawa valley to the Prairies, not to southwestern Ontario, and its primary hinterland was in the timberlands of the valley and the wheatfields of the plains, not to mention in the corridors of the Dominion parliament. Perhaps that is why those Montréal elites, both French and English, who so long dominated and shaped both the nation and the city from Ottawa are scarcely mentioned (and Trudeau and Mulroney, those two eminent Montréalers who have dominated and the national scene for nearly two decades, not at all). And there seems little doubt that the remarkable traffic in bureaucrats and politicians, especially after World War II, between official Ottawa and Montréal was responsible for making Canada what it is today. Equally, much of Montréal's transition to a Francophone regional metropolis was made in Ottawa by the Montréal "elites" who filled the political and bureaucratic offices of the capital. Montréal did not become francophone despite Ottawa, but in part because of Ottawa. I am not convinced Toronto was ever a significant player in Montréal's evolution, or devolution; or even if that devol-

ution has happened. In any event, comparisons with Toronto are misplaced and explain little.

Linteau's *Montréal* also takes from the illustrated urban biographies series the stress on illustrations. These are numerous and located throughout the text rather than bundled into a section or sections. They thus become part of the exercise of reading the book. Linteau has not achieved a degree of integration that would suit all critics, but he has moved a long way toward an effective blending of illustration and print. That is a major accomplishment. It is only regrettable that the reproduction is so poor.

The major production flaw, however, is the poverty of maps (only three), and this is a curious lacunae since there is good recent historical mapping of Montréal, some of it Linteau's. Cities are after all, much about place and much about the construction and management of space as the text recognizes. Pages are devoted to the matter. Maps, for city biographies, are often more important than text and can be at least as analytical. The maps in this volume have little analytical clout, and offer poor support to the textual description. For example, the most appropriate reference to the lengthy description of the 1945 city is a 19th-century map on page 96; there is no map of the transportation networks to or in the city despite a strong argument for transportation's fundamental role in the city's development; there is no map of the changing metropolitan role or reach of the city despite its being a subtext in the narrative; there is no map of ethnic and language patterns even though they are benchmarks for this particular history, and, important for the readers of this journal, no map that links these patterns to those of class.

But it is not only in the mapping that the interplay of class and other elements is troubling. In an odd way the economic foundations of society and their manifestations are given space, but not, one senses, importance. Linteau's "cloisonnement ethnique" is put forward as a pecu-

liar (it was used elsewhere, see the Blacks in Halifax, the Irish in Toronto, or the French and Irish in Ottawa, the Chinese in Vancouver, etc.) Montréal response to ethnic tensions in the city, and it forms an important motif in *Montréal*. But the critical matter is whether it was devised in Montréal as an institutional form and subsequently spread as the Canadian motif we sometimes know as the mosaic or as limited identities. And also critical is how it intersected with the development of the cultures of capitalism, even as aid or hindrance. Perhaps Montréalers were amphibious, and, as in the construct of Oliver Zunz, class-conscious at work and ethnically-conscious at home.

All this aside, Linteau's *Montréal* represents an important stage in the writing of the history of the city. It will become, I believe, the point from which all future journeys must begin.

John Taylor  
Carleton University

Dawn Fraser, *Echoes from Labor's Wars: The Expanded Edition* (Wreck Cove, Cape Breton Island: Breton Books 1992).

IN THE MIDST of the sharp class conflict in Cape Breton in the 1920s, labour poet Dawn Fraser spoke out forcefully:

It's yours. Come take it, comrades. The Mine,  
the Farm, the Soil,  
Are all the fruits of labor, you won them with  
your toil.  
The drones still fatten on you, while you still  
sweat and strive.  
Awake, awake, my comrades, it's time to clean  
the hive.

Fraser's collected poems celebrate the spirit of working-class resistance, particularly in the coalminers' struggles, and his rhymes cry out against the sufferings of working people and the "justice" meted out by the rich and powerful.

Fraser read his poems aloud not only at union meetings and labour rallies but

also at more informal gatherings. Back then, his work appeared in newspapers and magazines, and inhabitants of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, sometimes found his poems tacked up on a bulletin board in the middle of town. Although Fraser paused to wonder: "is the effort worth the time/One spends in protest and in rhyme?" his verse reminds us of a time and a place where protest and rhyme went hand in hand. In fact, the publication of his poems by New Hogtown Press in 1977 (entitled *Echoes from Labor's War: Industrial Cape Breton in the 1920s*) was part of the early efforts of labour historians to uncover important dimensions of working-class cultures.

Fifteen years later, the expanded edition has appeared, and the earlier collection is out of print. In addition to reprinting all of the poems in the 1977 volume, the new volume includes two more labour poems from the 1920s, a brief autobiography, a short collection of Fraser's poems and essays on World War I, and Fraser's account of his hazardous travels through the rough weather and rough roads of Cape Breton. Readers who are interested primarily in the local colour of Cape Breton's history may be charmed by this volume, particularly by the folksy traveller's tale (entitled "Oh, You Will Not Drive Over Ben Verick! No, Man, No!").

Historians of the working class, however, will find that the best of Fraser's labour poems have already appeared in the 1977 edition. Readers may also feel that they are already well acquainted with Fraser's views by the time they reach the short new section on World War I. And the autobiography, while colourful, is too skimpy and too chatty to be analytically valuable.

Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will be disappointed to find that the expanded edition reprints the introduction from the 1977 volume instead of providing an updated introduction analysing Fraser's work in the context of more recent developments in the field of working-class his-

tory. Written by David Frank and Don MacGillivray, the introduction offered a strong analysis in 1977 and still stands as a good basic introduction to Dawn Fraser and his work. But many readers will want more.

In the past fifteen years, historians have unearthed important dimensions of working-class cultures, from the baseball diamonds, pubs, and front stoops to the songs, stories, and poems. Although much remains to be done, we have come to understand more about the ways in which various communities of working people have drawn strength from their own cultural traditions. In various historical contexts, they have used diverse cultural forms both to reflect and to reinforce feelings of shared hardship and struggle. Sometimes, as in Fraser's case, their poems have reflected and fostered a deep sense of injustice and advocated various kinds of protest.

Historians of the working class have also learned more about the ways in which cultures of resistance have often been rooted in specific ethnic traditions. More recently, scholars have begun to investigate the gendered nature of different aspects of working-class cultures, exploring the impact of gender identities on the nature of protest.

A variety of working-class poets, stemming from different ethnic backgrounds, different parts of Canada, and different time periods, have, like Dawn Fraser, called upon the members of their communities to awaken, to see injustice for what it is, and to battle harder against it. Too often, the efforts of these poets have melted away into obscurity. *Echoes from Labor's Wars* helps preserve one such voice.

Ruth A. Frager  
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Homer Stevens and Rolf Knight, *Homer Stevens: A Life in Fishing* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing 1992).

HOMER STEVENS spent 50 years in the fishing industry in British Columbia, as a working fisherman and a leader of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union. His oral autobiography, compiled by Rolf Knight, is a valuable addition to the writing on the fishing industry, if only because Stevens was the central figure in the UFAWU for almost three decades.

Stevens was born in 1923, of European and coastal Indian ancestry, and brought up in a family of fishing people. He was fishing on his own account by the age of 13, and he was secretary-treasurer of his union at the age of 25. His memoirs offer insight into the motivations of the worker who became a full-time union organizer and official: he was a child of the Depression, in whose family the price of fish and socialist politics were part of daily conversation. Brought up in Port Guichon, a small European fishing community near Ladner, he came from the era of numerous independent boat-owners serving the many small canneries scattered along the BC coastline. He knew and respected the traditions of union organizing and radical politics in BC, and believed he was part of that tradition.

His memoirs tell us more about his personal motivations and about union work than about some of the wider issues of his time. His was a union which bridged many divisions; among the seiners, gillnetters, handliners and others who caught fish; between those who caught fish and those who worked ashore in canneries; among the many races and language groups who caught and processed fish; and among the many scattered communities involved in the industry. It was a major achievement to bring so many different elements into one organization. Stevens and Knight leave us impressed with the achievement, but do not attempt an extended historical discus-

sion of the reasons why the industry-wide union appeared when it did, and survived.

The UFAWU was remarkable, among other things, for the fact that its Communist-led executive survived the purges of the cold war years. Once again Stevens offers suggestive memoir rather than historical perspective on his union's resistance to McCarthyism: his members, he says, "weren't about to be told by some other body that they had to dump their officers," (94) nor would they tolerate raids by SIU "goons." (96) Stevens' own connection to the Communist Party merits relatively little discussion, although he insists that his politics was fully interwoven with his union work. "What kept me at it was some understanding of how capitalist society operates in Canada and elsewhere." (118)

More useful are Stevens' memories of the growing complexity of union work, which always involved more than bargaining over fish prices and cannery workers' wages. We see him lobbying governments over fisheries management and conservation, negotiating distribution of quotas among different fishers, drafting policies on pensions and medical insurance, lobbying on Workers' Compensation, attending conferences on the Law of the Sea, fighting court injunctions, and even spending a year in jail on contempt charges. Of primary importance to Stevens are his lessons about how to keep members in touch with the union leadership, and how to maintain "rank-and file participation."

An entire chapter is devoted to his relations with the Native Brotherhood. These relations were often difficult, and Stevens' interpretation will not find favour among native people familiar with the history of the Native Brotherhood. "Native people do have a claim which is different from others," says Stevens; yet he feels compelled to criticize the Native Brotherhood for "keeping the union at arm's length," and he condemns "the small nation chauvinism which prevails today." (156) It is no surprise that he

continues to find the union an indispensable means of protecting the interests of both native and non-native fishers.

Stevens returned to fishing in the 1970s, and he recounts for us the extensive changes in technology and social relations that had occurred between the 1940s and the 1970s. For a more complete history of fishing technology on this coast, readers will have to look elsewhere, but Stevens does connect increasing capitalization and more expensive licenses to events in the history of the union. Behind the strike in Prince Rupert in 1967 lay the appearance of expensive draggers, and the pressure by dragger owners to increase the boat's share of earnings to 50 per cent or even more. Complicating the conflict was the fact that a major owner was the Prince Rupert Fishermen's Co-operative, which had its own historical roots among fishing families and union members. "It was about as stiff a battle as had ever hit the fishing industry in British Columbia," (163) and the story is a valuable essay in the array of forces working against the union in the 1960s.

It is perhaps fitting that the memoir should end with thoughts for the future, and just as Stevens began with his own family in Port Guichon, he ends with his family today. His children and grandchildren are part of his own history, taking his struggles into the future, offering as much hope as the union itself. The older tradition of union membership combined with radical politics is revived in a new generation, offering hope that transnational capital will not always have things its own way. A union man's historical consciousness underpins this memoir, and although some will regret the absence of documentation and references to other sources, Stevens and Knight have given us a valuable addition to our collection of life histories of Canadian working-class leaders.

Eric W. Sager  
University of Victoria

Sue Calhoun, *"Ole Boy": Memoirs of a Canadian Labour Leader, J.K. Bell* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing 1992).

IN THE EARLY 1970S J.K. Bell was already something of a legend in the Nova Scotia labour movement. His history as a labour organizer went back to his days as a 14-year-old boy when he was pushed forward as a spokesman for fellow workers at a quarry near Saint John, New Brunswick. As a young man in the 1930s he was riding the rods back and forth to Ontario and leading unions of the unemployed. In the shipyards and dry docks of the 1940s he had helped build the Marine Workers' Federation, a regional industrial union he continued to serve for several decades. Above all, J.K. was a survivor. In Montréal he had survived an attempt to run him down in the street as a result of his support for the Canadian Seamen's Union; he never fully recovered from the multiple fractures he received and walked stiffly and in some pain for many years afterwards. Bell had also survived the Cold War, despite his identification with the Labour Progressive Party and a controversial legal challenge that went to the Supreme Court of Canada in the 1950s. In 1965 Bell was elected as secretary-treasurer of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour. It was recognition both of his personal ability and the changing political climate, and he continued to serve in the post until his retirement in 1985. Peering through his thick lenses at crowded committee hearings and assembled conference halls, Bell could always be counted on to deliver an informed commentary and hammer the message home with an appropriate illustration. For many Nova Scotians of the times, J.K. Bell was Mr. Labour.

This small, handsome book was sponsored by the Marine Workers' Federation as a tribute to their veteran leader and its publication was supported by several federations of labour in Atlantic Canada. Journalist Sue Calhoun, author of *A Word to Say: The Story of the Maritime Fisher-*

*men's Union* (1991), interviewed Bell, in part with the assistance of two of his contemporaries. The resulting text is a colourful personal narrative that presents his story "in his own words."

One of the rewards is that readers can share in Bell's store of anecdotes and observations. From his days in Toronto in the 1930s, Bell recalls the old Labour Temple on Church Street; the chairman of the labour council always sat on a pedestal at the front and the members along the two walls — a set-up that reminded him of Old Bailey. In another story Bell recalls the days when radical union leaders were being held in an internment camp in Hull in 1942 under emergency wartime powers; Bell and several buddies took leave from union meetings in Ottawa to pay a casual visit and found that security was minimal — they took the trolley to the end of the line and walked unchallenged through the guard house bearing their gifts of cigarettes and rum. Then there is the intriguing story about Pierre Elliott Trudeau at union offices in Québec in the 1950s — Trudeau was exhorting Bell to "come out for the workers and shake up the establishment," not realizing this was exactly what Bell had been doing for the last 25 years.

Bell belonged to the generation of Maritimers who came out of the troubled times of the 1920s and 1930s with a strong commitment to trade unions as the best defenders of working people. With the coming of World War II, thousands of Maritimers found employment in the shipyards and dry docks around the region. In a few short pages Bell gives a vivid picture of conditions in the Saint John dry dock, where hours were long and conditions dangerous. He then describes how he and other local militants such as Angus MacLeod established new industrial unions under direct charters from the Canadian Congress of Labour. In 1945 these and other locals in Nova Scotia were united as the Maritime Marine Workers' Federation. This was one of four federations in yards across the country and Bell

hoped they might eventually become a single national union. In the workplace the Marine Workers backed up demands for union security and safe conditions with direct action on the job. In their home communities the Marine Workers pursued a strategy of building local solidarity around issues such as housing; this was a policy which produced long-term rewards for the union in community support. Under Bell's leadership the Marine Workers also pronounced regularly on such issues as the promotion of a Canadian merchant marine and recognition of the People's Republic of China.

The union emerged relatively unscathed from the Cold War years, but Bell himself was singled out. In 1951 his political views became the subject of an appeal to the Supreme Court. In this instructive case the Nova Scotia Labour Relations Board refused to certify a union on the grounds that one of its officers was a communist. On these grounds the Marine Workers were denied certification at Smith and Rhuland in Lunenburg (home of the Bluenose) and three other yards. The principal evidence presented to sustain the charges were newspaper articles submitted by the company lawyer, including one published in the *Financial Post* four years earlier. The board concluded that "to certify the Union while its dominant leadership is provided by Bell, would be incompatible with collective bargaining, and would confer power to affect employer-employee interests upon persons who would inevitably use those powers primarily to advance Communist policies." The decision was a unanimous one, quietly accepted by the two labour members of the board. Clearly this was a major test for the principles of industrial legality and specifically the right of workers to choose their own unions and officers. The union appealed the decision to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, a body with no known history of pro-labour bias; the court nevertheless over-ruled the labour relations board, stating that they found nothing in the Trade Union Act to

permit such a decision. Smith and Rhuland then took the case to the Supreme Court of Canada who finally handed down a 4-3 decision disallowing the appeal. Ivan Rand wrote the majority opinion stating that there was no law in Canada against holding Communist views and stating that "To treat that personal subjective taint as a ground for refusing certification is to evince a want of faith in the intelligence and loyalty of the membership of both the local and the federation." This was a close decision and obviously a crucial moment in Bell's public career as a labour leader. Surprisingly, this story receives only two short pages of discussion in the book.

Bell's career allows no simple generalizations, but it does raise interesting questions about the progress of many union leaders of his generation, including acknowledged radicals, from the early organizing struggles of the 1930s and 1940s to the more limited and bureaucratic campaigns of later times. From several anecdotes it appears that Bell never fully accepted his rehabilitation as a respectable labour leader in the 1960s. As the journalist Harry Flemming points out in an introduction to this book, Bell continued to have little patience with labour leaders whose lifestyle "aped the boss"; he usually "bought his clothes at Frenchy's — after checking for the union label." Bell's political history remained an underlying theme in his public career. In various comments he also makes no secret of his general agreement with the Communist Party on trade union issues. He never joined the party — "although a lot of people assumed that I had" — and he had also been provincial secretary-treasurer of the closely related Labour Progressive Party in the 1940s. In later years he was never known as a New Democratic Party loyalist. Yet Bell's position as a key figure in the labour bureaucracy in later years also involved him in some contradictions. In the case of the Canso fishermen's strike of 1970, the Federation of Labour was less than enthusiastic about

supporting the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, partly because it was still outside the Canadian Labour Congress and partly because of its Communist leadership. At the time Bell appeared to be torn between his loyalties to the Federation and its leadership and his sympathies for the fishermen, who clearly preferred the UFAWU. In his memoir, however, Bell ungenerously describes Halifax new left supporters of the UFAWU as "a group of hippies" and points out that federation leaders sneered at Homer Stevens for relying on their support. Although the fishermen eventually won a contract, it was not with the UFAWU, and Bell now concludes ruefully that the outcome was "actually a contravention of the trade union act that said a worker has the right to join the union of his choice." Another example of Bell's difficult position within the labour bureaucracy (this one not treated in the book) is provided by the history of the Joint Labour Management Study Committee. In the early 1960s Bell was a vigorous critic of this provincial advisory body which was given the authority to reconcile union and business views prior to the enactment of any changes in provincial labour legislation. Like other radicals, Bell originally objected to the limits this placed on agitation for legislative reform. As a member of the labour establishment, however, Bell was forced into silence. It was only when the experiment collapsed with the government's unilateral enactment of the Michelin Bill in 1979, that Bell could appear again as a critic of the arrangement. By this time, however, neither Bell nor the Federation of Labour were in a position to mount an effective opposition to this new round of restrictive labour legislation.

An autobiography or a memoir is a special kind of historical document. Not all lines of inquiry can be pursued nor can all questions be answered in such documents. Much depends on the available time, including time for preparation and reflection as well as for the actual inter-



views and production of the text, and oral historians have a special part to play in creating personal histories of this kind. In this book Sue Calhoun has succeeded in introducing one of the founders of the modern labour movement in the Maritimes. "*Ole Boy*" provides a useful personal account of a labour leader and also helps focus attention on several key themes, both of regional and wider interest. If in some ways Bell actually looms smaller than life in these scant 100 pages of text, that is only to say that the book is too short for the significance of the subject.

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Stephen McBride, *Not Working: State, Unemployment, and Neo-Conservatism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

THIS BOOK could scarcely be more timely. Unemployment insurance now annually costs more than \$20 billion, making it the largest single expenditure item (after debt payments) in the federal budget. These costs reflect record levels of unemployment. Both Ontario and Ottawa are launching major training initiatives within the context of probable passage of a North American Free Trade Agreement. Interest rates, previously at punishing levels, have only recently eased. The Clinton administration's flirtation with stimulative fiscal policy and human resource investments contrasts sharply with the central tenets of the Tory agenda, but also with increasingly conservative fiscal policy under provincial NDP governments. What is going on?

McBride's book attempts both to describe and explain Canada's recent shift away from a commitment to full employment, and the role the state has played in that shift. At the descriptive level the book is quite uncontroversial. Most observers know that there has been a substantial change in rhetoric and policy at the federal level towards deregulation, fiscal constraint, high interest rates, and reconfiguration of social policies. Most

observers also know that this has been the hallmark of Conservative government policy since 1984, but that its harbingers go back to the erosion of the Keynesian paradigm in the mid-1970s. McBride's detailed exposition of these developments across four broad policy areas (macroeconomic management, labour market policy, unemployment insurance, and industrial relations) relies heavily on previously published sources and as such adds little to our knowledge of events.

It is at the level of explanation that this book distinguishes itself. McBride strives, with the aid of an elaborate conceptual apparatus, to make sense of these developments in terms of state policy and shifting priorities of capital. His central thesis is that high unemployment in Canada is in part the result of choices guided by new policy paradigms that serve the interests of capital. The corollary is that unemployment can be reduced with a different policy mix more responsive to a labour agenda.

His thesis, however, is considerably more subtle than this. Ideas matter for McBride, and so he uses the notion of "policy paradigms" to identify broad systems of thought that he claims have dominated economic and social policy in given periods. Keynesian and post-Keynesian paradigms, committed to high employment and activist state policy, guided Canadian policy-making to 1975. Rising contradictions between the demands of accumulation and legitimization opened the way for a new monetarist paradigm focusing on inflation and free markets. In managing the shift from one paradigm to another, governments have had to make real changes in public policy that could undermine consent for the system. Accordingly, they have simultaneously had to articulate a new discourse that changes popular perceptions about the proper scope of state/market relations. McBride

distinguishes, therefore, between concrete legitimation (actual programmes) and ideological legitimation, "the state's use of theory, documentation and information, argument, mystification, public relations manipulation, diversionary appeals." (21) The paradigm shift, therefore, should comprise cuts in concrete legitimation (reduced programmes), and compensatory activities such as alternative means of concrete legitimation (new, but inexpensive programmes consistent with the new paradigm), coercion and ideological rationalizations. The theoretical framework, however, does not end here. In chapter 2, McBride reviews the literature on employment trends and macro-economic and macro-political factors, to conclude that political factors best explain variations in economic performance. In particular, he highlights the absence of an ideological commitment by Canadian business (and hence the state) to full employment. Chapter 3 follows with thumbnail sketches of Keynesian, post-Keynesian, and monetarist policy paradigms.

The heart of the book is its four policy chapters. Chapter 4 on macroeconomic policy traces the gradual but deliberate emergence of monetarist, pro-market thinking and policy interventions (budgets and interest rate policy) after 1975. McBride adduces evidence that these changes were both desired by and beneficial for business, and closes with some examples of how the paradigm shift was "sold" to the Canadian public. Chapter 5 on labour market policy argues that activist job creation and training strategies declined severely between 1972 and 1982, even as unemployment climbed. Direct job creation expenditures and efforts are currently so proportionally low that McBride dismisses them as symbolic legitimation. The Canadian Jobs Strategy, as the centrepiece of Tory labour market policy after 1985, has social policy and concrete legitimation aspects, but "the selectivity of the approach, the accent on private-sector delivery of training, and

the context of declining expenditures make it clear that the CJS may have served as a vehicle for managing declining attention to concrete legitimation." (156) Attempts to cut unemployment insurance, however, are shown in Chapter 6 to have been only partly successful. It remains relatively intact, even while its financing has become more regressive, its rules tighter, its social control aspects more prominent, and its logic more tied to market imperatives. In Chapter 7, McBride documents the rise of more restrictive approaches to unions and industrial relations. Some of these were inspired by post-Keynesian incomes policies, but the monetarist theme has been a duet of real restrictions on trade union rights and legitimating attempts to incorporate labour into collaborative forums with business and the state. Resistance to the monetarist agenda, as with unemployment insurance, has been determined and effective.

*Not Working* marries a marvellously detailed exposition of events to a rather mushy explanatory framework. The exposition is valuable, but the framework is ultimately dissatisfying. McBride concedes, for example, that Canada's commitment to Keynesianism was questionable to begin with, and so the degree of paradigm shift may have been small. The paradigms themselves share some elements (for example, an emphasis on accumulation) and they even overlap sometimes, such as in the late-1970s when post-Keynesian and monetarist prescriptions both vied for policy supremacy. Accumulation and legitimation are not mutually exclusive concepts (as indeed they should not be), but even legitimation may be both concrete and symbolic. All this gives McBride considerable conceptual flexibility, but it also allows him to read virtually every policy development as confirmation of his theory. Deep programme cuts (for example, unemployment insurance) as well as mere cosmetic changes (job creation) both support his thesis, as do policies that benefit

capital (taxes) and those that appear to benefit labour (collaborative forums).

These initiatives were all consistent, according to McBride, with a specific economic strategy and set of preferences emanating from capital. Canada's high level of unemployment was chosen, not simply given, and the key beneficiary was capital. This is central to McBride's closing reflections on whether state-centered or society-centered explanations are more fruitful avenues for further inquiry. Given that the monetarist paradigm leads to "blaming the state" for economic decline, reducing state power in favour of markets and the power of capital, and redistributing benefits to capital and the wealthy, McBride concludes (though with some careful qualifications) that there is a strong likelihood of a "causal relation between the power of capital in Canadian society and the actions taken by the Canadian state ...." (219) It is easy enough to be sceptical of this claim: business, after all, carps constantly about state intervention, and so the more interesting question might be why the state appears to respond to capital's agenda at some times but not others. McBride surely misrepresents the "benefits" capital has gained from monetarism. Its triumph coincided with high interest rates, a high dollar, high unemployment, low profits, record bankruptcies, and business declines in a host of sectors. Capitalists have a funny way of defining self-interest. Finally, the continuing salience of pro-market reforms in developing, developed, and formerly communist regimes gives the notion that in Canada this has been a uniquely capitalist agenda a distinctly antique tone.

While *Not Working* is ultimately unconvincing as explanation, it surely has the big picture right. Paradigms have changed and the terms of policy discourse are different. McBride raises crucial questions about this shift with refreshing subtlety, rigour and balance. The book's detailed presentation of the policy and programmatic consequences will be of

interest to every student of Canadian public policy.

Leslie A. Pal  
Carleton University

Daniel Drache and Harry Glasbeek, *The Changing Workplace: Reshaping Canada's Industrial Relations System* (Toronto: James Lorimer 1992).

**MOST INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS** academics and the majority of practitioners of the field are "liberal pluralists." They see a system of collective bargaining entrenched in major industries which lead the unorganized elements of the labour force in distributing the economic's gains to workers. Unionization should be a function of workers' desires for collective representation. Government supports the institution of collective bargaining and intervenes from time to time to prevent employer attacks on trade union rights or to limit the impact of industrial disputes. Otherwise the parties' autonomy is respected. The classic statement of this philosophy in terms of public policy is Paul Weiler's *Reconcilable Differences* (Toronto 1980).

The authors of this volume challenge the liberal pluralists on all counts. They start with a bold statement that "there is a new order of capitalism," that is, an increasingly international scope for business. They go on to assert that the current industrial relations system is inadequate to protect workers in this environment. Drache and Glasbeek criticize the system of collective bargaining, not just for its limited coverage and fragmentation, but also for the restricted protection that it confers on Canadian workers in comparison to Western Europe. Labour relations boards promote divisions among workers by their bargaining unit determinations and desire to limit the scope of industrial action. The right to strike is restricted to economic issues, and the state punishes workers who attempt to use their bargain-

ing power to advance their class interests. Although a legalistic form of grievance arbitration entrenches some workers' interests, it also reinforces managerial control of the workplace and alienates union members from the substance of their disputes with management. Early gains by public sector workers are being eroded by conservative political agendas which seek to reduce the welfare activities of the state, including the standards of its own employees.

This critique of Canadian industrial relations does not end with processes and institutions. The authors assert that the system has failed to provide adequate living standards for the unorganized and protections against such events as unemployment, occupational injury, or retirement are weak. Technological change holds little promise for improving the lot of Canadian workers. Instead employment opportunities are diminished and managerial control over the workplace is enhanced.

Drache and Glasbeek conclude with a prescription for change, based on their analysis of the relations between the state and labour. Their plan is that Canadian unions abandon their narrow focus on economic gains for members and instead seek a fundamental transformation of the economic and social system. In the political arena, unions should seek legislation that makes unionization easier and expands bargaining units. Similarly, the law should enhance labour's bargaining power by permitting mid-term strikes, prohibiting the use of scabs and the like. Bargaining should give workers the right to stop production when there is a threat to safety or health. All unions, even those dominated by males, should press for pay equity schemes. As corporate interests seek to reduce the role of the state, public sector unions are to engage in political action to preserve state services for the public while they also protect their own employment opportunities.

The political agenda for Canadian unions should also include opposition to

trade liberalization, support for rationalization of social security programmes and raising taxes to reduce inequalities of income. Clearly, some capitalists will leave Canada (or at least threaten to leave) if these policies are carried out. Their capital can be replaced from pension funds in which workers have a direct interest.

This book is a provocative and comprehensive analysis of Canadian industrial relations, a useful alternative to the conventional liberal pluralist view of the topic. Although the basic elements of the analysis have been presented by leftist critics of industrial relations in the past, this study is unique for its complete treatment of the subject in the Canadian context.

There are problems with the book, both in the basic analysis and the authors' presentation of their arguments. Perhaps the most amazing aspect of their critique of Canadian industrial relations is the neglect of wages or living standards of Canadian workers. Repeatedly, the status of Canadian workers and their unions in the area of procedural rights are compared invidiously with foreign systems, usually European, without any reference to economic gains by Canadian workers.

An alternate view of the political economy of Canadian labour would be that Canadian workers, who are relatively individualistic and live in a nation providing many opportunities for upward mobility, are ambivalent about collective action. Under unionization, they have attained living standards higher than most European workers. Canadian workers tolerate relatively high rates of unemployment rather than risk undermining the living standards of job holders. The fragmented structure of Canadian industrial relations reflects the social, constitutional, and economic realities of this country.

While the authors are critical in their analysis of the Canadian state and owners of capital, their view of the political potential of Canadian workers and their unions is optimistic. They assume that if

institutional barriers were removed, Canadian workers would join forces in larger and more militant organizations. This may be a desirable outcome, but the history of the labour movement gives scant hope for such a result. The authors' political agenda for labour is a familiar one, especially to residents of Ontario and British Columbia who have followed proposals for labour law reform there. The difficulty labour had in achieving its objectives under NDP governments in the 1990s illustrate the current political barriers to achieving such political goals. Many Canadian politicians have seen their popularity rise after imposing limits on public sector compensation or announcing reductions in employment there.

Apart from any debate about the thesis of the book, there are some limits to its scope. It is based entirely on secondary sources, most of them from no later than 1987-1988, so that more recent developments in Canadian industrial relations are not captured. Despite the title, this book is not about the Canadian workplace — its unit of analysis is the economy, and the treatment of the workplace is uneven. It does not attempt to treat the more technical aspects of Canadian industrial relations. The numerous foreign references are chosen out of the context of the political economy of these countries to bolster the thesis of the book.

On balance, however, this book is a major addition to the literature of Canadian industrial relations. It will be a source of criticism and debate about the central elements of the Canadian industrial relations system and deserves careful attention by scholars in the field.

Mark Thompson  
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Daniel Drache and John O'Grady, eds., *Getting on Track: Social Democratic Strategies for Ontario* (Montréal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1992).

THESE 14 ARTICLES dealing with industrial strategy, the role of labour and labour markets, and new directions for social democracy in Ontario have a clearly stated aim. The editors and contributors want to "push the Rae government to fight hard for the programme that won it the confidence of Ontario's electorate." The writers want to do more: they want to meet the challenge to all those left of the supporters of the neo-Conservative agenda and shape a response to the so-called 'globalization of capital' that intends the pauperization of workers, the destruction of social security nets, the deregulation of environmental protections, and the termination of any possibility of a provincial/national industrial strategy. That general programme — 'globalization' — is signalled in Hugh Mackenzie's elaboration of the differences between the old slogan of *increased productivity* and the new one of *increased competitiveness*. The first meant generally increased standards of living. *Increased competitiveness* implies a process of technological unemployment, security net destruction, and wage-cutting that would make a product, theoretically, as cheap to produce in Canada as in one of the "slave economies."

For anyone interested in the crucial debate about the future of the economy and culture in Canada, *Getting on Track* is essential reading. It is so partly because of the present real crisis, partly because of the absence of widespread, serious debate around the questions, and partly because of the intrinsic worth of the book itself.

Notice that I put the worth of the book third. I do so partly because the anthology form tends to scatter focus among articles of greater and lesser relevance. Without detracting from the excellence of any of the articles in question, the three under "Strategic Choices for Labour" might

have made a single — much tougher and more explicit — article from one person. The article by Elaine Bernard, moreover, "Labour and Environment: A Look at B.C.'s War in the Woods," is simply too tangential to the book. It is also surprisingly uninformative about real governmental power in a Forest Management License structure like BC's and about recent, lively proposals for community control of forest use and development. Finally, almost nothing is said about Europe's "harmonization." Unlike North America's, it is being forced with far more respect for industrial strategies, labour rights, and security nets.

Key to the strength of the work is editor Daniel Drache's closing article, "The Way Ahead for Ontario." Drache produces a strong, independent piece, drawing on — or at least echoing — central points made by some others in the book. He grants the (never disappearing) need for increasing efficiency of production. At the same time, he echoes Hugh Mackenzie's focus on "the world of stateless corporations, intra-corporate trade, and internal (market independent) investment decision-making" as a clear obstruction to potential Ontario policy. Drache picks up David Wolfe's claim that a bald leap to achieve comparative advantage through theoretically defined techno-excellence is ill-advised. He takes the idea further, drawing out the conclusion by Sam Ginden and David Robertson, to challenge the Free Trade model head on. Drache writes: "In order for disadvantaged sectors and industries to gain a measure of equality, they often need the benefit of unequal treatment that only governments can provide. This is the basis of all affirmative action strategies, including the one designed for every industrial policy. Canada's favoured growth model, posited on harnessing the alleged benefits from continental integration, ignores this to its citizens' detriment and its industries' peril."

Recognizing the importance of Armine Yalnizyan's point that a partial

answer to macroeconomic claims is "consumer-oriented regional development" and a focus on domestic demand, Drache outlines a series of microeconomic policies, some suggested elsewhere in the book. An industrial strategy; imposed, tax solid R and D in the province; the Québec model of capital accumulation; an Ontario development bank; an economic restructuring commission with teeth; and rationalized labour training are some of the policy ideas he puts forward.

All are probably tacitly based on Harold Chorney's argument that the deficit ogre is a political club brandished by the Right, not a real economic peril if managed intelligently. All are based, too, on the present ludicrous condition of the country. Any provincial government must know the present federal government is insanely committed (through macroeconomic policy) to inflict whatever damage is necessary to create a US-dominant North American integrated economy. And so provincial governments absolutely must develop programmes to shield the population. Even if there were some reason to believe Free Trade would provide benefits to Canadians 'in the long run,' John Maynard Keynes' succinct comment is still apt: "In the long run we will all be dead."

Missing from the volume are proposals for education, propaganda, struggle tactics, and involvement for the whole population. They are necessary. NDP governments forget, often almost overnight, the need to communicate with the population — where communicate means give and take information and advice. There is not the slightest reason why the Rae government should not set up real challenges inside the Free Trade Agreement, for example, that force the federal government to fight and make plain to all Canadians it is working for multi-national corporate profit, not for the well-being of Canadians. The angrier and more informed Ontarians and other Canadians became, the more they would search for and support anti-globalization strategies,

and the more they would get on track. Unfortunately, social democratic governments in Canada do not want to get into the street and scrap openly for the people who elected them to do just that.

Perhaps the saddest recognition that arises from reading *Getting On Track* is that resistance to the programmes proposed here will not come from constituents and cannot come, credibly, from federal government. Resistance, obstruction, and rejection will come from the NDP governments in power, now, in Ontario and the rest of Canada.

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Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991).

IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS to the Canadian Medical Association in 1908, Doctor F.W. Montizambert gave a spirited yet specious defense of the proposition that "nature" had clearly ordained different social roles for men and women. Nature's endowment of men with a "moustache to act as a dustfilter ... and a beard to protect the throat and chest" prepared men for work beyond the home, Montizambert argued, while women were naturally intended for the "wielding of the broom." Leaving aside the question of how women were to sweep without raising dust, it is striking that such an argument could be made before the leading members of Canada's medical profession without fear of ridicule. This incident, and many others like it, raise questions about the relationship of medical science and the professionalization process to the gender issue, and more specifically to the increasing control doctors came to exercise over women's bodies during the Victorian period. As Wendy Mitchinson points out, medical discourse about the female body — incorporating as it did

many existing stereotypes — came to serve as an instrument of gender domination, providing a seemingly scientific and biological rationale for the limited public role of women.

Some time ago Michel Foucault observed that with the new rationalism of the 19th century the body would increasingly fall under the scrutiny of the scientific professions and the state. What Mitchinson provides here is a comprehensive study of this complex process as it unfolded in Canada in the last half of the 19th century. Doctors, she argues, tended to see men's bodies as the healthful norm: they considered women to be frail, weak, and prone to sickness. Where women's bodies deviated from their male counterpart, they were regarded as problematic and in need of "scientific" management. Dwelling upon the reproductive function, doctors were not only preoccupied with woman's gynaecology, but came to regard women as prisoners of their bodies, an assumption that devalued the intellectual capabilities of the female sex. As victims of their biology, women were thought to be "closer to nature than men and less able to escape its thrall." (31) Furthermore, given that the Victorians were inheritors of an Enlightenment faith in the mastery of nature through science and technology, it followed that women required the advice and intervention of a medical profession dedicated to scientific understanding and professional self-affirmation.

That the very definition of science emerged out of a particular social and cultural context, and involved a highly tangled set of social and scientific objectives, is a theme that runs throughout the book. Mitchinson focuses in particular upon the "three mysteries" of the female cycle — puberty, menstruation, and menopause — and the ways in which doctors interpreted, misinterpreted, and intervened in these processes in the name of scientific awareness. In the birthing process, the pattern was replicated: what women experienced, men managed. The

emergence of obstetrics and gynaecology as medical specialties, and the assumption that woman's psychological make-up was intimately connected with her reproductive organs, heralded a growing medical interventionism and control that often had destructive implications. The final chapter of the book deals with the surgical treatment provided to insane women at Ontario's London asylum, where Drs. A.T. Hobbs and Richard M. Bucke employed gynaecological surgery as an active therapeutic.

While Mitchinson concentrates upon the ways in which medical doctors asserted their authority over women and their bodies, this book is by no means a simplistic social control analysis in which a united and arrogant profession imposes its will upon unwilling female victims. Rather she is sensitive to divisions of opinion within the profession on many questions, and to the fact that many women regarded medical intervention as liberating despite the concomitant enhancement of patriarchal power. Take, for example, the issues of childbirth, midwifery, and anaesthesia. As Mitchinson points out, although the development of obstetrics as a specialty meant an extension of medical influence over women and the eventual displacement of midwives, evidence of the profession's hostility to midwifery in the 19th century is not clear cut. Many doctors, concerned that midwives lacked formal training and were ill-equipped to employ the technology of "scientific" obstetrics, called not for the elimination of midwives, but for their proper training. Yet, as Mitchinson points out, given the limited experience in obstetrics acquired by medical students in Canadian medical schools at the time, it is certainly ironic that so much attention was given to the deficiencies of midwives.

What the profession did offer to mothers, was a relief from pain through the use of anaesthetics. Here too, the issue has interesting twists. Although one might assume that the profession would

regard the use of anaesthetics in childbirth both as a humane and medically appropriate technology, serving to enhance patriarchal and professional influence at the same time, some doctors actively opposed its use. The debate centred on whether the birth process belonged to the world of nature or required intervention, but also turned upon moral and religious issues. For women the issue was largely that of escape from pain. "Only rarely in the debate over intervention were the demands of women heard, but when they were it was clear that intervention was not always imposed on women against their will or with their being unaware of its repercussions." (193)

One of the ironies of this book, however, is that despite its focus on women, it gives scant attention to the way in which women responded to increasing medical interventionism. In part, this is a function of the doctor-patient relationship itself, which as Mitchinson points out, obscures the activism of the women concerned. Although Mitchinson has teased much out of female patient records to give women a voice, women are generally seen here in their role as compliant patients, while the thoughts and actions of the doctors resonate loudly through the book. What needs to be known is why certain women avoided delivering themselves into the hands of physicians, seeking out alternative forms of medical care, and resisting the imperial and patriarchal claims of orthodox medicine. Seen in the larger perspective of women and the healthful body — not merely that of women and their doctors — important issues of resistance, and of class, ethnicity and race, might be more effectively probed. There is still much to be known, for example, about the differences between care of women in the home and in the hospital, differences that would tell us a lot about the class implications of medical care at the turn of the century. At the same time, Mitchinson has provided the most comprehensive treatment to date of the doc-



tor-patient relationship, and more particularly of the role that the medical profession played in the elaboration of gender differences and the maintenance of patriarchal power in the 19th century.

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Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and Indian Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990).  
Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1992).

THESE TWO STUDIES of women missionaries in the context of first wave feminism provide valuable insights into the influence of sect and race on women of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Wendy Mitchinson's work on the Women's Missionary Society showed how important a religious motive could be in developing independence and organizational skills. These books investigate the nature of that independence in the mission field and, to some extent, the results among the women they sought to help.

Ruth Compton Brouwer's thesis is clear from her title. She sees the missionaries as independent career women, prepared to accept the limitation of a traditional female role only when this did not prevent them from saving the souls and bodies of the women of India. The Presbyterians attracted women missionaries who were particularly able to stand up for themselves. Like the American missionaries studied by Jane Hunter and the Methodists in Rosemary Gagan's book, most of them came from small town or rural areas. But they included a significant number of ladies who had already survived the rigours of medical school. In the tradition of Emily Howard Stowe, they were more concerned with the laws

of God than the laws of man. It would have been interesting to explore the relationship between this and the Presbyterian tradition of an educated ministry or the Scottish tradition of medicine as the best education for those forced to rely more on intelligence than inheritance.

The Indian missionary field was particularly suitable for developing equality. Because of the zenana tradition, women missionaries were essential in some parts of India. Even where there was no zenana tradition, the women used this as a lever for fund-raising and getting support at home for independent projects. Some influential Indians were also content to allow missionary women to visit their wives and daughters because they taught useful skills. Western feminine accomplishments were valued under the Raj as they were in Anna Leonowens' Siam. This led to some social recognition by the princes that was reassuring to women who were sometimes under siege by their own male colleagues.

Both books feature a gender-based power struggle among the missionaries that forced the women to accept a compromise. They were temporarily weakened by the divisions involved and some of the strongest women were forced to retire. These incidents provide dramatic centrepieces, particularly in Ruth Compton Brouwer's well-structured book where the characters are vividly portrayed. The resemblance to Anthony Trollope's work must be more than coincidence. They also illustrate the limits to missionary feminism. If it was in the better interests of the project in hand, many of the women were willing to accept male leadership that limited their independence. When a major famine took place in the Indian mission, men and women took less notice of distinctions based on scripture versions of gender roles. But neither the Presbyterian nor the Methodist missionaries were interested in transferring the power struggle to the church in Canada or the suffrage movement.

Both Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries also believed in the superiority of white women. They rarely accepted their converts on anything approaching equal terms and established a mental hierarchy that sent the least qualified women to missions in the Canadian north, the slightly better qualified to Canadian immigrants, and the best qualified to overseas missions.

This necessity to maintain a sense of superiority through service may be one aspect of the "sensitive independence" that is the theme of Rosemary Gagan's book. One of the aspects of the book that makes its message less clear than Ruth Compton Brouwer's is that the term is never defined. The reader is expected to consider the nuances involved. The ladies were sensitive to the influences of their own upbringing and religious background, but still independent career women with a strong vocation. They were also described as sensitive to the perils of marriage and of radical feminism. While marriage was considered the ultimate success in traditional Canadian female circles, it was regarded as dereliction of duty by most of the Methodist female missionaries. Not that this prevented some of them from marrying, but they wished to avoid any implication that they went to the field to seek husbands. Marriage seemed to be slightly more acceptable to the Presbyterian women in India where missionary wives were a vital part of the service. In the Methodist missions, they were apparently restricted to domestic duties.

The comparison between the sensitive Methodist career women and the Presbyterian New Women is one that Rosemary Gagan might have explored further. She notes the importance of a call and a conversion experience to the Methodists and sets this in the context of the early, though brief, acceptance of female preachers by this sect. The Presbyterian's Calvinist experience was far less favourable to women, but it is not clear that it made a difference to the numbers at-

tracted to the missions. The relationship between the advanced female education of the Methodist Ladies Academies and the qualifications of the missionaries is examined, but there is no comparison with the Presbyterians to explain the comparative lack of women doctors willing to serve at Methodist missions. She also notes the relationship between the order inherent in Methodist life and success in the mission field. It was presumably this acceptance of order that also made Methodist women more willing to accept the austere life of the missionary training college than their Presbyterian counterparts.

However, the great strength of this book is the ambitious comparison it does offer between missionary work in Japan, China, and Canada. As long as the Meiji reforms made western fashions popular, the missionary women were welcome in some Japanese houses to teach the women western accomplishments. When opposition to western ways grew, they found themselves increasingly shut out. In China they were never welcomed by the majority of the population but among Chinese and other immigrant Canadians, they were again welcome at least as a key to western society. Rosemary Gagan points out that the missionaries themselves never seemed to realize that the message they saw as love and salvation was associated with political and economic domination by many of the recipients.

The missionary reaction to hostility is also well documented. Rather than longing for martyrdom, like a latter-day Marie de L'Incarnation, the missionaries behaved like the career women that both books found them to be. They did their best to create a safe haven with the respectable western recreations best suited to maintaining their sanity and kept on with their work. During the periods studied, both Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries moved increasingly towards practical service for the women and children they came to save and away from the idea that spiritual salvation was enough.

An unconscious reaction to hostility among some women may have been increased racism. There was no record of a missionary to India commenting, as one of the missionaries to China did, that she could hardly bear to touch local patients.

Even after the extensive research in missionary letters and records carried out for these books, it is too soon to make generalizations with complete confidence. Another important message that both convey is the diversity of women drawn to the missions. Some had breakdowns, some married, some were dismissed for taking an independent female stand, some adapted to local customs and some continued to fight them. There is never any doubt that they were all supported by their sincere religious convictions, but we also get a clear picture of strong friendships between women supporting each other in a chosen career. If, as Rosemary Gagan thought, the image of the missionary as a spinster do-gooder persists, these books should go a long way towards dispelling it. They have also provided the material for future valuable comparisons.

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Jacques Mathieu et Jacques Lacoursière,  
*Les mémoires québécoises* (Sainte-Foy:  
Presses de L'Université Laval 1991).

QUI SOMME-NOUS, ou plutôt, qui croyons-nous être, voilà la question que pose *Les Mémoires québécoises*. Dans ce livre qui fait figure de pionnier, Mathieu et Lacoursière tentent en effet de cerner l'identité québécoise passée et présente par le biais des mémoires collectives. Se fondant sur les dossiers de recherche élaborés par de nombreuses auteures pour les fins de l'exposition *Mémoires* présentée au Musée de la civilisation de Québec, ces deux historiens ont entrepris de retracer l'évolution de l'identité québécoise en passant au crible un certain

nombre de thèmes considérés comme les plus significatifs à cet égard, à savoir, l'espace, la population, la famille, l'encadrement institutionnel, les savoir-faire techniques et culturels et les représentations symboliques.

L'étude de ces thèmes est précédée d'un premier chapitre consacré à expliciter les concepts et la démarche qui sous-tendent l'ouvrage. Après avoir défini l'identité comme «un système de représentations qui s'appuient sur un ensemble de traits et sur une interaction avec l'Autre» (4) les auteurs insistent sur les rapports entre le passé, le présent et l'avenir dans la construction de l'identité d'un peuple. Loin d'être immuable, celle-ci est en constante transformation afin de correspondre aux réalités du présent. Elle puise dans le passé proche ou lointain les représentations qui correspondent le mieux à son expérience actuelle, quitte à aménager, simplifier, ou même mythifier les situations et les événements passés. L'histoire et les traces qu'elle a laissés dans la «mémoire collective» — définie comme «le savoir de la société sur elle-même. (...) le point de référence à travers lequel on se reconnaît et s'identifie» (20) — sont donc au centre de cette étude sur l'identité du peuple québécois. Le passé a une «puissante fonction identitaire» (13) affirment les auteurs et l'approche par les mémoires collectives permet de voir ce qui en a été retenu dans le processus de construction de cette identité.

D'entrée de jeu, la Révolution tranquille est présentée comme une rupture majeure, non seulement à cause des nombreuses transformations (sociales, économiques, démographiques, culturelles, politiques, etc.) qui ont caractérisé cette période, mais surtout parce qu'au niveau de la mémoire collective québécoise elle fait figure de «nouveau départ.» (26) Du point de vue de l'évolution de l'identité québécoise, il y aurait en quelque sorte un *avant* et un *après*. Depuis le milieu de 19e siècle et jusqu'aux années 60, l'identité des Québécois a été façonnée par une vision de leur passé fortement imprégnée

par l'idéologie clérico-nationaliste qui contrôlait les principaux canaux de diffusion des savoirs. partir des années soixante, ces fondements identitaires s'effritent sous la pression de nouvelles réalités qui amènent également un réexamen de notre passé collectif par une nouvelle génération d'historiens et d'historiennes.

Ayant ainsi défini leurs principaux paramètres, Mathieu et Lacoursière passent en revue les différents thèmes identitaires énumérés plus haut, confrontant mythes et réalités historiques, mémoire collective passée et présente, cherchant les traces dans les mémoires présentes des mythes passés et dans les mémoires collective passées les « oublis, » les occultations, les imprécisions. En résumé, et au risque de simplifier grossièrement l'analyse complexe et nuancée que présentent les auteurs, on retiendra que jusqu'aux années soixante, les Québécois et les Québécoises ont surtout construit leur identité à partir des images, valeurs et représentations que leur fournissaient une construction historique et un discours idéologique véhiculés par leurs élites nationales et cléricales. Le portrait de ce Québécois est familier pour qui a lu les principaux ténors de cette idéologie de conservation. La période de la Nouvelle-France en constitue le point de référence privilégié et ce qui fonde l'identité des Québécois pourrait se résumer à la vision mythique qu'entretiennent ces élites à leur sujet: ce Québécois est avant tout catholique et français, provient d'une famille nombreuse, unie, stable et terrienne, dans laquelle les rôles sociaux étaient clairement définis. Il s'est adapté aux grands espaces nordiques dans lequel il s'est implanté et qui l'ont amené à développer un certain nombre de traits physiques et moraux (endurance, droiture, etc.) qui le caractérisent. Il est habile, débrouillard, inventif, et a su transmettre ses valeurs, sa vocation rurale, sa foi et sa langue à ses enfants. Que l'on examine les institutions, les savoir-faire ou les représentations symboliques, tout concourt à renforcer cette image et il

n'est dès lors guère étonnant de constater sa prégnance dans les mémoires collectives.

Pour chacune des représentations identitaires analysées, les auteurs s'attachent à départager le mythe de la réalité. A l'immobilisme de la société québécoise et à la spécificité des traits qu'on lui a prêtés, les recherches récentes, soulignent-ils, ont opposé le dynamisme, la mobilité, la diversité; au repli sur soi, l'apport de l'extérieur, sa capacité d'accueil, son ouverture sur le monde, ses emprunts culturels. La fréquence du veuvage, de la mortalité infantile, le recours à la contraception, l'industrialisation, l'urbanisation sont autant de phénomènes qu'une nouvelle génération d'historiens et d'historiennes ont décrits et analysés et qui viennent mettre un bémol à la représentation mythique que les mémoires entretiennent à propos de la famille et de la vocation rurale du peuple québécois.

Cette nouvelle vision de notre passé qui a commencé à émerger avec les années soixante n'a toutefois que bien inégalement imprégné les mémoires québécoises nous disent-ils. Celles-ci ont généralement ignoré la lente évolution des comportements, valeurs et attitudes des québécois qui s'est étalée tout au long des 19<sup>e</sup> et 20<sup>e</sup> siècles et que les travaux les plus récents mettent en évidence, pour ne retenir que l'aboutissement ultime de toutes ces transformations, c'est-à-dire la période de la Révolution tranquille. Plutôt que de considérer les continuités, l'évolution, les mémoires collectives ont enregistré une rupture symbolisée par le fameux « Désormais » de Paul Sauvé. Comme pour la mémoire individuelle, les auteurs constatent que les souvenirs anciens résistent mieux dans les mémoires collectives.

Les nombreux bouleversements qu'a connus la société québécoise et qui sont devenus particulièrement visible depuis quelques décennies, appellent toutefois à un renouvellement de l'image des Québécois. Les mythes anciens perdent en effet de leur pouvoir identitaire face à des

modes de vie complètement transformés. Le sentiment qu'il s'est opéré une rupture à partir des années soixante, que les Québécois ont entrepris un nouveau départ, fait en sorte que la vision traditionnelle du passé ne peut plus nourrir le présent; aux côtés des nostalgiques qui s'y réfèrent encore, plusieurs préfèrent la rejeter en bloc, incapables qu'ils sont de se reconnaître dans ces modèles. Le renouvellement des connaissances historiques devrait toutefois permettre d'ancrer le passé dans le présent, de fournir une image identitaire plus appropriée aux Québécois tels qu'ils se perçoivent aujourd'hui, c'est-à-dire essentiellement modernes, ouverts sur le monde et tournés vers l'avenir. Selon les auteurs en effet, l'ensemble des recherches les plus récentes fait ressortir la diversité des expériences passées et l'importance des apports étrangers à notre évolution et à nos modes de vie, pointant en direction d'une «culture de convergence» qui donne des racines aux réalités présentes et s'avère prometteuse pour l'élaboration de l'identité du Québécois actuel.

Le livre de Mathieu et Lacoursière n'apprendra que bien peu aux historiens en regard des faits. Ce qui fascine dans ce livre, c'est plutôt la réorganisation d'éléments connus autour d'une problématique originale et à maints égards captivante. Il me semble toutefois que les auteurs auraient eu intérêt à préciser sur quels critères ils se sont basés pour affirmer que tel phénomène, mythe ou représentation sont bel et bien vivants dans la mémoire collective tandis que d'autres en sont absents. Pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple précis, pourquoi affirment-ils que le rationnement qui a été imposé durant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale n'a pas imprégné les mémoires collectives? (329) Parce qu'on en a peu parlé dans les manuels d'histoire? Parce que les témoins de cette époque ont oublié? Cette dernière hypothèse paraît douteuse, du moins en ce qui concerne les femmes qui ont dû en supporter les conséquences. En fait, cet exemple amène à se demander quelle est

la part du féminin et du masculin, du privé et du public, du vécu et de l'appris dans les mémoires collectives et donc dans la construction de l'identité d'un peuple. Bien qu'ils s'en défendent, on a aussi l'impression que les interprétations apportées par les nouvelles générations d'historiens et d'historiennes depuis les années soixante seraient plus «objectives» et de ce fait aptes à construire une mémoire reflétant plus fidèlement la réalité historique. Enfin, dans une société médiatisée comme la nôtre, on peut aussi se demander dans quelle mesure l'histoire, telle qu'elle se fait actuellement dans les cercles académiques, pourra contribuer à nourrir les mémoires collectives futures.

Si'il ne répond pas à ces questions, il n'en reste pas moins que l'ouvrage de Mathieu et Lacoursière nous convie à une réflexion sur les mémoires collectives, notre identité et le rôle de l'histoire qui nous entraîne hors des sentiers battus. Ajoutons que le livre puise à une multitude de sources, qu'il est abondamment illustré et contient de nombreux textes et documents qui viennent soutenir les propos.

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Bernard Dansereau, *L'avènement de la linotype: les cas de Montréal à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montréal: VLB éditeur 1992).

L'AUTEUR ÉTUDIE LA MISE au point et l'implantation des machines à composer dans le milieu de l'imprimerie à la fin du siècle dernier. Son étude se déroule en deux temps: d'abord une histoire des sociétés productrices de ces équipements, ensuite une étude de l'impact de leur adoption dans les imprimeries des grands quotidiens montréalais.

Dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, l'augmentation du public lecteur grâce à l'urbanisation et l'alphabetisation

des masses, la modification du contenu rédactionnel et son orientation vers le «fait divers», la place croissante de la publicité viennent bouleverser l'entreprise de presse. De nouvelles techniques d'impression et les procédés de stéréotype (clicherie) permettent des tirages considérables. Il faut cependant multiplier le nombre des typographes pour composer des journaux de plus en plus volumineux. Ceci entraîne des coûts importants, car ce sont des ouvriers qualifiés, relativement bien payés. La composition a peu évolué depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie: il faut assembler un à un les caractères mobiles qui forment une page. Il s'agit de trouver un procédé mécanique de composition.

Deux américains, O. Mergenthaler et J.O. Clephane, trouvent la solution au début des années 1880: une machine à clavier capable de graver en creux, sur des plaques de cuivre, les lettres qui forment des lignes. Un alliage permet de prendre une empreinte des lignes. Celles-ci sont ensuite assemblées afin de procéder à l'impression, puis le métal est fondu pour être utilisé à nouveau. Dès 1886, le *New York Tribune* est composé grâce à des linotypes (*line-of-types*). Des brevets permettent à la *Mergenthaler Printing Company* de jouir d'un monopole dans la production de linotypes aux États-Unis. Deux sociétés sont créées au Canada (Windsor et Montréal) par des Américains pour la fabrication de nouveaux modèles de linotypes moins coûteux, la *Typograph* et la *Monoline*. John Redpath Dougall, de Montréal, obtient de la *Mergenthaler Printing Company* le droit de fabriquer des linotypes sous licence. Il forme dans ce but la *Linotype Company*. Cette société fait plus que produire des appareils conformes aux plans de la *Mergenthaler*: elle met au point un appareil simplifié, la *Baby Linotype*.

Les premières linotypes à entrer en service au Canada, en 1891, sont des *Typograph* (dans les journaux *Globe*, *Mail* et *Empire*). En 1892, les premiers appareils produits par la *Linotype Company* entrent

en service au *Montreal Witness* (propriété de J. Redpath Dougall). Il y en a à *La Presse* en 1894. Les différents modèles de linotypes se répandent rapidement dans les grands quotidiens. Les typographes employés par ceux-ci sont les premiers confrontés aux changements apportés par ces nouveaux appareils. Dans les entreprises plus modestes, l'implantation sera plus lente à venir.

La hiérarchie de l'atelier de composition est assez simple. Le prote, typographe de métier, distribue le travail entre les typographes et en surveille l'exécution. C'est le chef d'atelier. Membre du syndicat, il est soumis au contrôle de celui-ci dans une certaine mesure tout en étant le représentant des intérêts patronaux. Il se trouve aussi dans les ateliers des apprentis qui apprennent le métier. Dans les grands quotidiens la salle de composition regroupe quelques dizaines d'employés. Là où le syndicat n'a pas obtenu l'atelier fermé, il y a une bonne proportion de femmes. L'association pratique en effet l'exclusion des femmes sous prétexte que celles-ci font baisser le prix du travail.

Les éditeurs ont intérêt à adopter la linotype pour abaisser considérablement le prix de la composition. L'augmentation de productivité due à ces appareils peut cependant entraîner des mises à pied. C'est la grande crainte du syndicat, l'*International Typographic Union*, qui a des locaux dans quelques quotidiens montréalais. Le syndicat précise sa politique à l'égard des linotypes à l'occasion d'une grève menée à New York en 1890. Il entend d'abord réserver les emplois d'opérateurs de linotypes à des typographes compétents (qui ont fait la période d'apprentissage prévue dans les règlements syndicaux), membres du syndicat (atelier fermé). Contrairement aux autres typographes payés à la pièce, les opérateurs seront payés à l'heure pour une journée de huit heures. Leur salaire sera néanmoins semblable à celui des typographes qui travaillent de dix à douze heures. De plus, on ne pourra soumettre les opérateurs au

régime des «bonis de production.» Si dans les journaux anglophones de Montréal l'ITU rencontre peu de succès au début des années 1890, la situation est bien différente dans les journaux francophones. En 1894 il faut quelques mois à *La Presse* pour en arriver à une entente avec l'employeur après l'arrivée des linotypes. Les typographes obtiennent à peu près les conditions énumérées ci-dessus. A la *Gazette*, le syndicat consent à une diminution de salaire contre la promesse de l'employeur de ne pas acquérir de linotype ... promesse rapidement trahie. Au *Star*, où le syndicat ne bénéficie d'aucune reconnaissance, des conflits portent sur l'embauche de nouveaux typographes au moment de l'adoption des machines.

Dansereau insiste sur le fait que les linotypes viennent modifier le procès de travail. Elles entraîneraient une spécialisation du travail, d'abord en divisant le personnel des ateliers de composition entre ceux qui composent toujours à la main et les opérateurs. Puis ces derniers se verraient remettre toujours les mêmes rubriques à composer: l'un les sports, l'autre les faits divers, etc. Cette division des tâches n'est cependant pas un résultat de la mécanisation proprement dite. Évidemment, on voit aussi arriver les préposés à l'entretien des machines. L'auteur affirme encore que les linotypes entraînent une plus grande hiérarchisation du travail ... quoiqu'à ce chapitre sa démonstration tombe à plat, si ce n'est qu'il y aura désormais des typographes à la pièce et des opérateurs de machines payés à l'heure. Il me semble que la linotype affecte moins l'organisation de l'atelier que la nature même du travail du typographe.

Le syndicat, là où il était implanté, a réussi à faire traverser aux ouvriers sans trop de heurts cette ère de changements techniques. En obtenant que les opérateurs soient des typographes, il s'assurait que la plupart de ses membres gardent leur emploi. Il obtient même pour eux d'excellentes conditions. En fait, ces ouvriers profitent réellement de la nou-

velle technologie. Dansereau ne montre pas que les linotypes ont entraîné une détérioration particulière des conditions des typographes qui ne bénéficiaient pas d'une convention collective. Il affirme même que les employeurs jouissant de l'atelier ouvert ne se sont pas entêtés à embaucher des travailleurs non-qualifiés comme opérateurs. En ce qui concerne les femmes, c'est l'atelier syndical fermé qui entraîne leur départ. Dans les journaux non-syndiqués on trouve des femmes opératrices de linotypes. Les craintes du syndicat, en ce qui concerne le chômage technique attribuable à la linotype, ont été nettement exagérées: l'augmentation du volume et du tirage des journaux ont permis de maintenir largement le niveau d'embauche. Si on remarque bien quelques mises à pied à Montréal dans les années 1890, il est difficile de dire si elles tiennent aux linotypes ou à la mauvaise conjoncture économique. Il aurait été intéressant que l'auteur s'attarde plus longuement sur les conditions qui ont permis aux typographes de se tirer si bien d'affaire alors que la mécanisation a si souvent entraîné une détérioration de la condition ouvrière dans d'autres secteurs.

Dans l'ensemble, l'ouvrage présente de l'intérêt. L'auteur décrit bien la mise au point de la linotype et l'histoire des entreprises qui se consacrent à sa production. On regrettera sans doute que son analyse des conséquences de l'adoption de ces appareils sur les typographes ne soit pas plus approfondie, mais ses sources devaient être dispersées et incomplètes. C'est plutôt la forme de ce petit livre qui fait problème. Les répétitions sont nombreuses: par exemple, il est trois fois fait mention de l'implantation des linotypes dans les entreprises montréalaises (28ss, 60ss et 101ss), deux fois de l'estimé fait par le syndicat des pertes d'emplois en Amérique du Nord liées à ces appareils. (112 et 133) Tout le texte rappelle une thèse: on a l'impression de voir défiler les fiches. Cela explique sans doute les redites et le rythme un peu boî-teux. Il aurait fallu un travail d'édition

plus soigné. Il faut regretter aussi l'absence d'une bibliographie ou d'un commentaire sur les sources: il faut par exemple parcourir les notes en bas de pages pour comprendre que l'histoire des entreprises productrices de linotypes repose largement sur les périodiques *In-land Printer* et *Printer and Publisher*. Un certain public aurait été intéressé à en apprendre plus.

Mais surtout, l'éditeur aurait dû faire disparaître certains raccourcis de l'auteur quand celui-ci essaie de relier son sujet à la société globale. Je ne citerai à sujet qu'un paragraphe de l'introduction:

L'accessibilité de l'information devient un leitmotiv pour une partie de cette nouvelle élite [la bourgeoisie] au pouvoir. [...] *La presse dite d'opinion reflétait l'obscurantisme politico-religieux des sociétés préindustrielles*. Les nouveaux besoins nés avec l'avènement de la bourgeoisie au pouvoir, la formation d'une nouvelle classe sociale, le prolétariat avide de connaissances, ainsi qu'une *nouvel état d'esprit, acquis aux nouveautés techniques et scientifiques*, imposent des changements d'orientation du journalisme. (8)

C'est moi qui souligne. Cette introduction, comme la section sur les conséquences de l'implantation de la machine à composer, auraient dû au moins être plus élaborées afin de mieux présenter des prises de positions qui, à tout le moins, vont faire sourciller. Ou encore, dans une petite monographie résolument empirique comme celle-là, il aurait été plus prudent d'éviter complètement les explications généralisatrices.

Jean-Pierre Charland  
Université de Montréal

Jacques Rouillard, dir., *Guide d'histoire du Québec du régime français à nos jours. Bibliographie commentée* (Montréal: Méridien 1991).

JACQUES ROUILLARD A RASSEMBLÉ des essais bibliographiques qui se laissent lire agréablement en un merveilleux petit outil de travail. Avant lui, on avait de courts chapitres sur le Québec dans le *Reader's Guide to Canadian History* de Muise et de Granatstein, dont on prépare la mise à jour, ou encore le *Guide du chercheur en histoire canadienne* d'un collectif d'historiens de l'Université Laval, plus érudit, plus technique. Sur tous ceux-là, le *Guide* a l'avantage d'être concis, facile d'emploi et récent.

Il s'en dégage plusieurs bons sentiments. D'abord une espèce de calme, celui d'auteurs posés, travaillant dans des champs assez sûrs d'eux-mêmes, heureux de contempler la richesse des entreprises courantes et d'en communiquer l'importance. Tous ne le font pas avec la même précision, mais certains auteurs nous livrent de véritables condensés d'historiographie. Dans son chapitre sur la vie intellectuelle, par exemple, Pierre Trépanier trace en deux pages un portrait saisissant de l'évolution du nationalisme. Ensuite, il existe chez plusieurs contributeurs un respect des pionniers que ceux-là invitent copieusement à redécouvrir en replaçant dans leur contexte des articles en danger d'oubli. Ici, Pierre Tousignant vous convie à lire les textes fondateurs de la querelle sur la signification de la Conquête — Fernand Dumont en particulier — pour rétablir la complexité des oppositions de départ contre le simplisme qui entoure trop souvent la relations de ce clivage. Là, François-Marc Gagnon fait la place belle aux recensions de Gérard Morisset et accueille avec plaisir une réédition critique. D'ailleurs, les contributeurs aiment en général à souligner parmi les écrits des chercheurs de l'après-guerre, ces grands bilans et ces grands essais d'interprétation dont l'optimisme, disent-ils, inspire encore.



On se laisse aussi convaincre de bon gré de la pertinence des projets de plusieurs champs que l'on connaît moins, par des essayistes qui ajoutent à leur devoir de bibliographie la description rigoureuse de leur domaine. Ici, les trois derniers chapitres, sur la littérature, les arts visuels et les médias, sont particulièrement invitants car Laurent Mailhot, François-Marc Gagnon et Jean de Bonville savent qu'ils s'adressent à des non initiés. La connaissance des travaux des historiens dont ils témoignent donne une troublante légitimité à leurs propres plaidoyers pour que nous fassions le voyage en sens inverse. On peut dire la même chose des textes de Yolande Lavoie et de Micheline Fréchette sur la démographie, quoiqu'il semble que dans ce domaine, les allers-retours soient déjà plus fréquents.

Les liens avec la littérature du reste du Canada sont fournis. À les lire, on se met à rêver qu'il se peut bien que les historiographies anglophone et francophone du Canada ne soient pas les deux solitudes que l'on croit. Le chapitre de Réal Bélanger sur l'histoire politique est ici remarquable, de même que celui de Jean-Pierre Wallot et de Pierre Tousignant sur le Régime anglais — qui ajoutent de nombreux détours par l'historiographie britannique, ou encore celui de Sylvie Taschereau sur l'immigration et les communautés ethno-culturelles. Certains auteurs trouvent même le temps de recommander des ouvrages de portée internationale qu'ils jugent essentiels, je pense aux synthèses d'histoire de la chrétienté mentionnées par Guy Laperrière.

L'impression est claire, s'il fallait jamais convaincre quelqu'un du caractère multidisciplinaire de l'histoire du Québec, que tous les faiseurs de bonne histoire ne sont pas des historiens. C'est peut-être à ce titre que le *Guide* m'a été le plus utile, quand en traçant les ramifications d'un domaine de l'histoire, il ouvre les portes d'autres disciplines, en mentionnant tel article d'une revue que les historiens connaissent mal, ou encore tel

chapitre d'un auteur dont on aurait du mal à deviner qu'il s'intéresse au passé. L'histoire économique, note par exemple Gilles Paquet, s'écrit le plus souvent dans les officines gouvernementales. L'histoire des groupes sociaux, explique Jacques Rouillard, doit beaucoup aux anthropologues, aux sociologues et aux spécialistes des relations industrielles. Sur les bilans habituels de l'historiographie, le *Guide* a l'avantage d'accorder le même traitement aux secteurs nouveaux, comme celui de l'histoire des femmes et de la famille, et aux autres champs plus traditionnels, comme celui de l'histoire politique. Elle donne la chance aux praticiens des sous-disciplines moins à la mode pour le moment de bousculer les préjugés de leurs collègues en montrant les voies par lesquelles ces champs acceptant qu'ils aient pu être trop impérialistes par le passé et renouvellent leurs préoccupations.

L'architecture du *Guide* et son mode d'emploi sont bien pensés. Les références croisées sont nombreuses mais les redites sont rares. Les rubriques sont fines et la table des matières bien faite si bien que les chercheurs pressés le trouveront facile d'accès. À ce chapitre, il existe quelques confusions de structure, mais elles sont tout à fait mineures: c'est rendre mal justice à la diversité de l'article de Ronald Rudin sur la société anglophone, par exemple, que de la placer sous la rubrique «population» dans la table des matières de la jaquette arrière. Une fois dressée la liste des synthèses et des ouvrages bibliographiques existants, Jacques Rouillard a laissé aux auteurs la liberté de choisir la structure de leur propre essai. Leur choix de rubriques et la façon dont ils les expliquent donnent à eux seuls une idée de l'esprit qui règne dans les secteurs qui nous ont moins familiers: voyez par exemple la place que le petit texte de Jacques Mathieu sur les aspects économiques et sociaux du Régime français accorde à «l'espace» et celle que John Dickinson, dans la section complémentaire sur l'évolution politique du Régime fran-

çais, alloue aux biographies. Lisez encore comment Fernand Harvey rend compte du contraste entre la rareté des études «régionales» et la popularité des études urbaines, surprenant pour une société qui paradoxalement s'est longtemps définie par sa ruralité.

A qui le lit d'une bout à l'autre, ce survol donne la rassurante impression d'avoir une vue d'ensemble de ce qui se fait. On parle aussi généreusement de ce qui reste à faire. Nombreux sont en effet les auteurs qui attirent l'attention sur des questions et des sujets qui se cherchent des spécialistes et qui, comme Bettina Bradbury dans ses propos sur l'histoire des femmes et de la famille, pointent vers des études faites ailleurs qui pourraient servir de point de départ.

Au total, il est fort probable que ces textes donnent de l'histoire au Québec l'impression d'une cohérence qui soit trop belle pour être vraie. Mais ce n'est pas la fonction première d'un ouvrage phare que de protester. En les obligeant à être «très sélectifs», Jacques Rouillard a donné à ses contributeurs l'occasion de faire part de ce qui leur plaisait, sans qu'ils aient l'obligation systématique de signaler les textes dont ils déploreraient l'insignifiance ou l'étroitesse. Ils nous livrent ainsi de bonnes nouvelles, qui mériteraient sérieusement qu'on les traduise en anglais et qu'on les mette à jour le plus régulièrement possible.

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Thérèse Hamel, *Le déracinement des écoles normales: le transfert de la formation des maîtres à l'université* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture 1991).

DONNER LA PAROLE aux «délaissés» ou «perdants» de l'histoire, tel est le but de cette étude socio-historique de Thérèse Hamel. C'est en 1969, suite aux recommandations de la Commission royale

d'enquête sur l'enseignement (Commission Parent), que les autorités québécoises décrètent l'abolition des écoles normales et confient aux universités, dont les nouvelles constituantes de l'Université du Québec, la responsabilité exclusive pour la formation du personnel enseignant des écoles primaires et secondaires. Hamel s'intéresse non pas aux artisans de la réforme ni aux décideurs politiques, mais plutôt à trois catégories de formateurs de maîtres: les professeur-e-s d'écoles normales non intégrés à l'université à la suite de l'abolition de leurs institutions, les professeur-e-s d'écoles normales intégrés aux universités lors du transfert et enfin, les professeurs et administrateurs qui étaient déjà à l'université au moment où s'est accompli le transfert. Comment ces individus ont-ils vécu cette période et quelles ont été leurs perceptions de la réforme à l'époque et aujourd'hui? Voilà des interrogations auxquelles l'auteure veut répondre.

Cette publication est le fruit d'un volet du projet de recherche sur l'histoire de la formation des maîtres au Québec, mis sur pied par Thérèse Hamel en 1983 à l'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. Le projet a déjà donné lieu à un ouvrage de M'hammed Mellouki portant sur les programmes des écoles normales entre 1930 et 1964 (*Savoir enseignant et idéologie réformiste*, 1989). L'auteure a eu recours ici à une enquête menée au moyen des récits autobiographiques sucités par l'envoi d'un questionnaire. C'est une méthode valable dans le cas des individus hautement scolarisés qui sont ciblés par le sondage, même si l'auteure reconnaît que le témoignage écrit facilite éventuellement l'autocensure.

Le volume comprend six chapitres, des appendices où sont reproduits les trois questionnaires de l'enquête, et une bibliographie sélective. Dans les deux premiers chapitres, l'auteure brosse un tableau de la situation de la formation des maîtres à la veille de la Révolution tranquille et décrit les changements apportés dans la foulée du rapport Parent. C'est un

système très décentralisé et diversifié qui se charge de la formation du personnel enseignant avant la réforme. Au début des années 1960, on compte 106 écoles normales au Québec dont 11 institutions d'Etat, 70 écoles normales de filles et 25 scholasticats-écoles normales, administrés par les communautés religieuses, qui se partagent près de 13 000 élèves dans une proportion de 20 pour cent, 73 pour cent et 6 pour cent respectivement. (33) Le nombre d'institutions est à la baisse par la suite, grâce au mouvement de fusions, mais à la fin de la décennie, on trouve encore une cinquantaine d'écoles normales publiques et privées dispersées sur le territoire. C'est ainsi qu'au début des années 1960 la Commission Parent présente une critique sévère des institutions existantes, particulièrement les écoles normale de filles qui préparent les institutrices pour les écoles primaires rurales. Les commissaires estiment que ces petites écoles normales isolées et sous-équipées sont incapables d'offrir un enseignement de qualité axé sur la spécialisation et la valorisation de l'enseignement conçu comme un métier plutôt qu'une vocation.

Le deuxième chapitre traite des multiples stratégies déployées par les responsables des écoles normales dans la deuxième moitié des années 1960, lorsque l'Etat québécois devient le principal maître d'oeuvre en éducation. On assiste ainsi à l'auto-élimination, le repli, le regroupement au sein de la nouvelle Fédération des écoles normales mise sur pied en 1964 et même l'intégration avant l'heure. La FEN prend position pour une restructuration-élévation de la formation à partir des écoles normales existantes, mais c'est le modèle «industriel» ou «rationnalisé» préconisé par la Commission Parent qui prévaut.

Le profil des interlocuteurs et interlocutrices fait l'objet du troisième chapitre. Hamel a recueilli des témoignages auprès de 147 individus des régions de Montréal, de Québec et de Trois-Rivières. Le corpus se divise comme suit: 118 récits

proviennent du groupe des non-intégrés, 21 du groupe des intégrés, et 8 du groupe des professeurs en place dans les universités au moment du transfert. La vaste majorité des récits, soit plus de 80 pour cent, proviennent des religieuses enseignantes au moment de la réforme, groupe qui a été très touché par les changements. L'auteure fournit pour son corpus des renseignements sur l'origine socio-économique, l'âge, l'appartenance sexuelle, l'état de vie, la carrière à l'école normale, le niveau de formation et l'intégration à l'université. Malheureusement, on ne retrouve pas ces mêmes données pour l'ensemble de la population des professeurs-e-s d'école normales à l'époque de la réforme. Même si l'auteure ne prétend nullement livrer une étude exhaustive à partir d'un échantillon statistiquement représentatif, ces indications permettraient aux lecteurs et lectrices de replacer les témoignages dans le contexte global.

Les résultats de l'analyse des récits autobiographiques se trouvent dans les chapitres 4, 5 et 6. Chaque chapitre traite de l'un des grands thèmes du questionnaire: le souvenir de la réforme, la trajectoire professionnelle suite à l'abolition des écoles normales, et une appréciation rétrospective de la réforme. De larges extraits des témoignages sont regroupés à la fin de chacun des chapitres. Qu'est-ce qui ressort de ces écrits? L'auteure n'a pas tort d'insister sur la richesse des récits autobiographiques pour mettre en valeur l'expérience des délaissés de l'histoire documentaire. Or, il faut dire que les résultats de la présente enquête sont peu surprenants. En effet, plusieurs des professeur-e-s non intégré-e-s, qui sont surtout des religieuses, expriment le sentiment de dépossession. Il n'est guère étonnant de constater qu'un grand nombre de répondant-e-s partagent le sentiment d'avoir été bannies dans le mépris et l'indifférence et expriment le regret de l'époque heureuse des écoles normales. par ailleurs, si certaines personnes rêvaient d'une formation améliorée et d'un métier valorisé, plusieurs d'entre elles

doutaient de la capacité des universités à fournir une ambiance personnalisée et humaine, surtout dans le cas de la formation du personnel enseignant au primaire. De nombreux témoignages remettent en question le monopole de l'université et insistent sur les forces des anciennes écoles normales: milieu de vie accueillant, formation personnalisée, accent mis sur la formation pratique, accessibilité aux jeunes des régions éloignées. Plusieurs informateurs et informatrices auraient donc favorisé une solution de compromis, soit l'amélioration de la formation des maîtres à l'intérieur des institutions séparées mais affiliées aux universités. Dans leur regard rétrospectif sur la réforme, les participant-e-s réitérèrent plusieurs de ces critiques et propositions. Certains individus préconisent même qu'on enlève la formation des maîtres aux universités et favorisent une solution mitoyenne basée sur la création des écoles de formation de maîtres de plus petites dimensions.

Les lecteurs et lectrices de cette revue s'intéresseront sans doute à la perception qu'ont ces professeurs et professeures de leur rôle et statut dans la société. Est-ce qu'à leurs yeux l'enseignement constitue un «métier»? Or on nous laisse sur notre faim sur cette question. Rares sont les répondant-e-s qui s'attardent à la question du «métier enseignant,» expression à connotation corporatiste, voire syndicale, car plusieurs tiennent à la notion de la vocation enseignante empreinte de dévouement. Le peu de place accordé à ce thème dans les témoignages ne nous semble pas curieux, cependant, lorsqu'on se rappelle que la majorité des récits sont l'oeuvre des religieuses enseignantes.

Hamel voulait contribuer un outil de réflexion et d'orientation à l'heure où l'on remet en question la qualité de la formation offerte aux futurs enseignants. Certes, il est intéressant de considérer les changements des années 1960 et 1970 à travers le regard des acteurs ou des exclus de la réforme. Mais il nous semble que l'auteur, peut-être en raison de la sym-

pathie qu'elle éprouve pour ses informateurs et informatrices, exagère l'utilité de ces critiques pour alimenter les débats actuels.

Malgré tout, cet ouvrage a le mérite de lever le voile sur l'un des aspects moins connus de la Révolution tranquille et de nous rappeler l'impact psycho-social des réformes qui tendent à mettre au rancart l'expertise de certains groupes et individus.

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Serge Gagnon, *Plaisir d'amour et crainte de Dieu: sexualité et confession au Bas-Canada* (Québec: Les presses de l'Université Laval 1990).

APRÈS AVOIR FAIT PARAÎTRE un ouvrage sur la mort en 1987, Serge Gagnon publiait récemment un livre sur la sexualité et la confession au Bas-Canada. Avec cette seconde étude, Gagnon continue à lever un peu plus le voile sur l'intimité profonde de nos ancêtres. L'auteur le fait avec respect, pondération et tact. De plus, en raison de la nature de ses sources — la correspondance entre le clergé et l'épiscopat — et de la problématique appliquée ici, Gagnon va infiniment plus loin dans son étude que la *Vie libertine en Nouvelle-France* que nous a donnée R.-L. Séguin deux décennies plus tôt.

Beaucoup plus que la simple question des moeurs sexuelles des Bas-Canadiens, l'étude de Gagnon se veut une analyse des rapports complexes qu'entretenaient la sexualité et la religion catholique en ce début de 19e siècle. Après avoir posé son problème avec clarté, l'auteur nous entraîne dans un tour d'horizon intéressant sur la question de la régulation de la sexualité et de l'importance de la confession à cet égard. Puis, il se questionne sur le «niveau de moralité» des Bas-Canadiens et esquisse une géographie des moeurs sur le territoire québécois. Les moeurs sexuelles étaient-elles les mêmes que l'on

habite une paroisse ancienne ou que l'on vive en pays de colonisation? Par la suite, l'auteur retrace, entre autres, la stratégie prise par le clergé afin de favoriser l'instruction de la religion aux différents moments de la vie d'un individu.

Dans la seconde partie de son ouvrage — «Confesser ses péchés» — l'auteur s'est surtout attardé à nous brosser un tableau des différents tabous et péchés, des plus graves aux plus bénins, tels qu'entendus en confession. Il dépeint fort bien à quel point pouvait être délicate la tâche du confesseur en ces occasions, surtout lorsque ce dernier était jeune et inexpérimenté. Le lecteur apprend aussi avec intérêt le rôle de l'évêque à cet égard, lui qui agissait souvent à titre de juge de seconde instance.

Serge Gagnon a tiré de ses sources une analyse nuancée et prudente. L'auteur avait en effet plusieurs écueils à contourner étant donnée la nature même de sa documentation. Les fidèles d'autrefois avouaient-ils tous leurs péchés? Gagnon a postulé que oui. Faisant un rapport entre les «nouveaux confesseurs de la vie intime» que sont désormais les médecins et «psy» de tout acabit et les prêtres confesseurs d'autrefois, il écrit «... il faut être désœuvré pour occuper son temps au cabinet d'un médecin, d'un psychologue sans avoir un mal à guérir. Dès lors, pourquoi mettrait-on en doute l'authenticité des confidences entendues par les curés d'autrefois?» (38) Fort de cette assertion, Gagnon conclura plus loin que «... l'inceste de très proches parents paraît encore moins fréquent. Les curés, il est vrai, n'indiquent pas toujours le niveau de délit incestueux. Néanmoins, ce genre de faute paraît si grave que l'on peut interpréter le silence des confesseurs comme un indicateur d'une rareté extrême.» (146) Ou encore que «Si le silence à peu près absolu des archives est un bon indicateur de fréquence, les rapports pédophiliques paraissent aussi très rares.» (147)

Selon l'auteur, il convient ici d'être prudent et de ne pas projeter sur le passé les comportements sexuels de nature plu-

tôt débridée que nous a permis de développer la révolution sexuelle. Cette révolution des mœurs, elle a eu de bons côtés, mais aussi de moins bons et «... on aura soin de noter que la révolution sexuelle a aussi fait des victimes et, parmi elles, beaucoup de femmes, beaucoup de jeunes, beaucoup d'enfants.» (188)

Le point de vue exprimé ici par l'auteur ne manque certes pas d'intérêt et apparaît très valable. Il a en outre le mérite de soulever un débat fort stimulant: la relation confesseur-fidèle/patient-médecin est-elle vraiment comparable? En raison des tabous érigés par l'Eglise elle-même, le curé n'était-il pas la dernière personne à qui l'on était tenté d'avouer certains comportements? Et les agressions sexuelles, les viols collectifs commis par des membres du clergé à l'endroit d'enfants et d'adolescents confiés à leurs soins dans les orphelinats et les maisons de correction? Ces actes, dans bien des cas, remontent pourtant loin avant la révolution sexuelle ... Trouvaient-ils écho dans les archives des évêchés? Les coupables ne se confessaient-ils pas? N'est-ce pas plutôt en raison de la même révolution sexuelle que les victimes ont enfin osé parler, qu'elles ont été écoutées et crues? Le lecteur se voit entraîné ici dans une discussion qui ne manque pas d'être passionnante. Ce débat est suscité par une étude qualitative très bien menée et rendue dans un style littéraire agréable, alerte et imagé. Nous croyons que Gagnon a produit un ouvrage dont l'impact pour notre historiographie est loin d'être négligeable.

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Renée B. Dandurand, *Le Mariage en question* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture 1991).

PHILOSOPHE ET ANTHROPOLOGUE de formation, Renée B. Dandurand, présente avec le *Mariage en question* une forme

d'essai socio-historique sur les transformations de l'institution du mariage et de la conjugalité au Québec entre 1960 et 1975. Ayant déjà à son actif plusieurs publications dans des domaines connexes (familles monoparentales, couples et parents des années quatre-vingt) l'auteure n'en est donc pas à ses premières armes dans le domaine.

Forte de cette expérience, elle a pu, en s'appuyant sur l'utilisation de nombreuses sources secondaires, produire une réflexion fort pertinente. Réflexion qualitative davantage qu'une analyse exhaustive ou explicative du phénomène, comme le précise elle-même l'auteure, car «Face à un phénomène d'une telle ampleur et aussi proche dans le temps, on ne peut parler que d'action participante et d'interprétation.» (18) Ces commentaires étaient fort pertinents lors de la première publication de ce volume en 1988 mais nous laissent songeuse dans le cadre de cette réédition de 1991 compte tenu du recul historique et des nouvelles publications dans le domaine. (Publications entre autres du Musée de la civilisation (1989) parues dans le cadre de l'exposition *Familles*. Tome 1 *Pour une définition de la famille*, tome 2: *La famille et la reproduction*, tome 3: *Rôles et valeurs familiales*, tome 4: *Familles et environnement*, tome 5: *Monographies: familles traditionnelles et familles modernes*.)

Dans le *Mariage en question*, Renée B. Dandurand s'est donnée comme objectif de démontrer que le mariage — et plus largement la conjugalité — ne peuvent être analysés uniquement comme une affaire privée cernée à partir des seuls rapports conjugaux. Ces derniers doivent aussi être intégrés et interprétés à la lumière des changements sociaux qui les ont portés puisque l'institution matrimoniale a de fortes assises sociales et publiques.

C'est avec toute la rigueur qu'on lui connaît que cette chercheuse s'est attaquée à cette problématique comparative synthétisant l'ensemble des recherches portant sur le sujet afin de les mettre en

relief. La multiplicité des sources secondaires utilisées reste d'ailleurs l'un des points forts de cet ouvrage qui couvre bien la littérature sur le sujet. Du point de vue méthodologique, il aurait sans doute été intéressant d'inclure dans cette réédition quelques extraits de l'article publié par la même auteure dans *Sociologies et Sociétés* (1981), qui aurait permis aux lectrices et lecteurs du *Mariage en Question* de mieux saisir toute la richesse de l'approche utilisée par Dandurand.

Pour mieux nous faire saisir l'évolution du phénomène, Dandurand a divisé son ouvrage en deux parties suivant une séparation d'ordre chronologique où elle distingue une période où les changements sociétaux sont latents (de 1960 à 1970) d'une autre où ils se manifestent avec vigueur (1970 à 1985). Chacune de ses parties est par la suite subdivisée en deux blocs qui traitent, dans un premiers temps, des changements sociétaux qui ont influencé le régime matrimonial et les données démographiques qui en font foi puis, dans un second temps, des rapports conjugaux que l'on retrouve dans les mai-sonnées durant ces périodes.

Si l'on comprend au fil de la lecture de l'ouvrage la raison d'une telle division, le passage d'un type d'analyse typiquement sociologique à un autre plus caractéristique de l'approche anthropologique laisse parfois la lectrice et le lecteur dérouté-e-s vu l'absence d'éléments méthodologique expliquant cette transition. C'est là que se situe la plus grande faiblesse de cet ouvrage.

Dans la première partie de son essai intitulé *Des années de changements latents*, l'auteure s'attarde d'abord sur les facteurs qui maintiennent la stabilité de la structure matrimoniale (idéologies et rôles de l'Eglise et de l'Etat) puis sur ceux qui précipiteront son changement. On y retrouve des éléments sociaux majeurs comme l'accès des femmes au marché du travail, les débuts de la révolution contraceptive, l'évolution du statut juridique des femmes, les réformes sociales et de l'éducation. S'y greffent des informations

sur les percées de la contestation contre les positions de l'Eglise dans le domaine et sur l'évolution des communications de masse, qui constituent un apport intéressant de l'essai. Cette partie se termine par une synthèse des études ayant traité des rapports conjugaux dans divers milieux socio-géographiques et socio-économiques du Québec (les secteurs ruraux et urbains). Cette comparaison permet à l'auteure de conclure que les changements sociaux importants amorcés au cours de cette période ont encore eu peu d'effets sur les rapports conjugaux que vivent les Québécoises et Québécois d'alors.

Dans la seconde partie de l'essai intitulée *Une brusque virage dans la modernité* (1970-1985), Dandurand reprend globalement le même canevas. Elle relève en premier lieu et à grands traits les statistiques symptomatiques de ces changements: élévation du taux de divorces, de séparations, des naissances illégitimes et du nombre de familles monoparentales ainsi que la baisse de la nuptialité. Au cours de cette période l'implantation des femmes dans le marché du travail se confirme, même si certaines inégalités s'y perpétuent. Favorisée par les revendications de groupes de femmes, la révolution contraceptive s'étend, porteuse de changements radicaux dans les rôles des conjoints que l'on tente de redéfinir. Pendant cette période s'intègrent les pièces maîtresses de la réforme du droit matrimonial (égalité juridique de l'homme et de la femme assortie d'une redéfinition juridique du rôle des parents). Le Mouvement des femmes devient un acteur essentiel au cœur des transformations qui pousseront tant l'Etat (vaste consultation sur la politique familiale) que l'Eglise à changer ses positions. Changements qui apparaîtront d'une façon tangible tant dans les nouveaux modèles familiaux que présenteront les médias que dans les études sociologiques effectuées au sein des maisonnières urbaines et rurales.

En conclusion, Dandurand nous confirme la venue de nouveaux modèles conjugaux qui, dépassant les anciennes normes du mari pourvoyeur et de la femme responsable de la sphère domestique, concrétisera la venue de ménage à double salaire et du couple symétrique.

Renée B. Dandurand a su intégrer et faire ressortir dans son analyse de l'évolution de l'institution matrimoniale au Québec la place importante jouée par les bouleversements survenus dans l'histoire des femmes au Québec: bouleversements d'autant plus fondamentaux vu l'importance de cette institution dans leur cycle de vie. Comme l'écrivait Dandurand «Il n'y a pas de symétrie sexuelle face au mariage, car l'institution régit bien davantage — et plus exclusivement — le destin des femmes.» (15) La qualité des réflexions et la justesse des intuitions qu'a su soulever l'auteure s'inscrivent d'ailleurs comme une des forces de l'ouvrage. Je prends pour exemple cette réflexion de Dandurand dans la section traitant de la réforme en éducation: «ce mouvement de l'éducation ne pouvait exclure les filles qui en furent sans doute les premières gagnantes.» (36) Ce que nous confirment, à notre époque, les rapports du Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation. Il reste néanmoins qu'il est dommage que l'on n'ait pas effectué une certaine mise à jour de ces données lors de la réédition, même si nous savons le travail qu'exige un tel exercice. Cela aurait permis à l'ouvrage de Dandurand de mieux vieillir face à l'évolution de l'historiographie dans le domaine.

Sans être une oeuvre maîtresse, *Le mariage en question* reste une réflexion intéressante pour toutes les chercheuses et chercheurs dans le domaine ainsi qu'un livre de référence pour les étudiantes et étudiants.

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N. Guberman, P. Maheu, C. Maillé, *Et si l'amour ne suffisait pas ... Femmes, familles et adultes dépendants* (Montréal: Les Editions du Remue-Ménage 1991).

LES ANNÉES 1980 ont été marquées, dans plusieurs sociétés d'Occident, par un retrait progressif de l'État qui, depuis le milieu du siècle, avait intensifié son assistance aux personnes âgées, malades ou handicapées. Ainsi en Amérique du nord, dans le domaine de la santé mentale, on a mis en oeuvre ou complété une vaste opération de désinstitutionnalisation des malades, ce qui a d'ailleurs largement contribué à l'augmentation du nombre des sans-abris dans les villes. Pour pallier à ce désengagement de l'État providence, les planificateurs gouvernementaux et les professionnels du domaine socio-sanitaire ont fait davantage appel aux réseaux dits «naturels», soit aux familles des malades, euphémisme pour désigner les femmes de la famille qui, dans une bonne majorité des cas, assument encore les tâches de soins qui sont donnés gratuitement dans le privé.

Le livre de Guberman, Maheu et Maillé se penche sur les répercussions d'un tel désengagement de l'État sur les personnes qui, dans le contexte domestique, doivent prendre en charge des proches devenus dépendants en raison de l'âge ou de la maladie mentale. L'ouvrage se donne un double objectif: d'une part, comprendre «ce que signifie dans la vie de tous les jours d'être le pilier de l'aide donnée à une personne dépendante» (11); d'autre part, s'inscrire en faux contre une conception (celle de l'État) de la prise en charge qui en fait quelque chose de naturel, allant de soi, alors qu'il faut plutôt situer cette prise en charge dans une perspective de «rapports sociaux, notamment (de) rapports de sexe.» (12)

Pour atteindre ces objectifs de compréhension du phénomène de la prise en charge d'un proche et de déconstruction de l'interprétation naturaliste que cherchent à en donner les instances étatiques de soins, les auteurs ont mené une enquête

sous forme d'entretiens en profondeur auprès de 36 femmes et 5 hommes qui avaient la responsabilité soit de personnes âgées (des filles et parfois des fils qui soignaient leurs vieux parents), soit d'ex-psychiatisés (des mères, pour la plupart, qui s'occupaient de leurs enfants adultes atteints de maladie mentale grave). Après un chapitre (I) de présentation générale du sujet, le livre rapporte ces entretiens dans trois chapitres centraux qui tentent de cerner la nature et les caractéristiques de la prise en charge d'un proche dépendant (ch. II), le soutien (et le non-soutien) que les personnes soignantes reçoivent de leur entourage ainsi que des organismes communautaires et étatiques (ch. III) et enfin les motifs qui sont à l'origine de la décision de la prise en charge. (ch. IV)

Les témoignages rapportés dans ces trois chapitres illustrent, dans leur complexité et leur ambivalence, le point de vue des personnes soignantes; autant le poids de la prise en charge (qui va jusqu'à hypothéquer la santé des soignantes), la disponibilité et la patience requises, que les difficultés de partage des responsabilités de soins avec les instances familiales, communautaires et institutionnelles; autant l'énergie, le temps et la compétence que la situation réclame, que les sentiments d'amour, de compassion, de découragement et de devoir qui s'expriment face aux soignés; autant le consentement à aider que la contrainte de ne pouvoir s'y soustraire. Bien que, dans ces chapitres, l'illustration de l'univers des personnes soignantes soit éloquente, souvent émouvante même, la compréhension du phénomène de la prise en charge d'un proche ne va pas aussi loin qu'on le souhaiterait. Avec un matériel aussi riche, pourquoi cette analyse ne semble-t-elle atteindre qu'imparfaitement les objectifs qu'elle s'était fixés?

Une première réponse réside dans certaines déficiences de la problématique, qui ne s'articule pas de façon suffisamment serrée aux aspects les plus essentiels de la recherche. Si le contexte socio-historique et la recension des écrits sont



utiles à la formulation de la problématique (ch. I), on aurait souhaité que s'y ajoute une discussion plus poussée des notions centrales (les définitions de «adulte dépendant», «milieu naturel», «prise en charge» et «caring» apparaissent toutes dans des notes en bas de page) ainsi que de leur articulation autour de ce qui semble la notion la plus fondamentale dans cette recherche: la prise en charge d'un adulte dépendant qui est aussi un proche. Et qu'est-ce que cette prise en charge sinon un «labour of love», un travail soi-disant «fait par amour», de nature analogue au travail ménager? Le concept a été bien développé par la théorie féministe: gratuit, invisible, accompli, parfois sous la contrainte économique, par des femmes dans le privé, jamais terminé donc illimité et qui comporte peu de répit pour celle qui l'accomplit. Tout au plus cette prise en charge d'un proche dépendant comporte-t-elle un aspect qui diffère parfois du travail ménager quand il exige des compétences et des énergies qui dépassent le cadre des soins «normalement dévolus à la famille», et qui alors se comparent aux tâches (saliées) des travailleurs-ses du socio-sanitaire.

Pourquoi cette piste théorique, pourtant pressentie par les auteurs de cet ouvrage (12 et 58), n'a-t-elle pas été empruntée? Cette piste n'aurait-elle pas permis de mieux atteindre le premier objectif, celui de la compréhension de la prise en charge? Peut-on penser que les auteurs ont hésité à s'y engager à fond parce qu'ils craignaient qu'une telle démarche ne nuise à l'atteinte de leur second objectif, celui de déconstruire l'interprétation naturaliste de la prise en charge? Il y avait pourtant là un risque à prendre. Car le fait que cette prise en charge soit un «labour of love» en constitue une spécificité incontournable et qui est porteuse d'une forte contradiction pour les soignantes. Et c'est sur cette contradiction que jouent les représentants et idéologues de l'État pour inciter les proches à s'occuper de leurs personnes âgées et malades. Non seulement cette incitation est-elle manipula-

toire quand les soignantes doivent prendre un proche en charge au détriment de leur santé physique ou mentale, mais on peut prévoir qu'à court terme elle sera anachronique. En effet, si les responsables actuelles de cette prise en charge sont presque toutes des femmes âgées de plus de 45 ans, les cohortes de femmes plus jeunes, beaucoup plus actives professionnellement, risquent fort de ne plus être disponibles pour accomplir d'aussi lourdes tâches. D'autant plus que, leur socialisation ayant été moins empreinte que celle de leurs mères et grands-mères des valeurs de don de soi et de dévouement, on peut penser qu'elles auront moins de motivation à assumer ce travail dans n'importe quelles conditions et au détriment de leurs autres responsabilités. Et si on examine la question sous un autre angle, soit celui des relations de parenté, on constate que les études les plus récentes montrent bien que si les manifestations de soutien entre les personnes apparentées demeurent nombreuses, elles consistent en petits coups de main ou en une aide de dépannage mais, de moins en moins, en services de longue durée, comme ce qu'implique la prise en charge décrite dans cette recherche.

Ce qui amène à faire une dernière remarque à propos du second objectif que s'est fixé cet ouvrage. Les auteurs entendaient établir que les dispositions à s'occuper de la prise en charge d'un proche (et plus largement du soin des autres dans les familles, 12) relevaient d'un «construit social» et non d'un attribut «naturel.» C'est là un objectif fort intéressant mais aussi fort ambitieux. Car ce «construit social» tient à l'ensemble des «rapports de sexe» dans la société, c'est-à-dire à la position dans la division sexuée du travail autant qu'aux multiples effets idéologiques reliés à la féminité; il tient aussi à l'acquisition d'habitus de sexe (par exemple, dispositions à soigner, à penser aux autres) qui remontent largement à l'éducation première des petites filles. On ne peut certes tenir rigueur à ce livre de ne pas avoir pris en compte la trajectoire

familiale, conjugale et les itinéraires sexués des personnes soignantes pour cerner l'acquisition et la consolidation, sociales, de telles dispositions. Mais seule cette analyse aurait permis une véritable atteinte du second objectif poursuivi dans cet ouvrage.

Bien qu'on eût souhaité qu'il aille plus loin dans l'analyse, ce livre demeure intéressant à plus d'un titre. Echappant aux vues technocratiques, il donne la parole à des soignantes qui, dans le cadre domestique effectuent un travail lourd et méconnu auprès de leurs proches malades et âgés. Ce faisant, il tente d'interpeller les pouvoirs publics qui, dans le champ des services socio-sanitaires, cherchent à renflouer les coffres de l'État à même le travail gratuit — et pas toujours consenti — des femmes et, certes, au détriment du bien-être des citoyens atteints de maladie mentale grave, qui auraient manifestement besoin d'une assistance plus spécialisée suite à une désinstitutionalisation qui, dans notre pays, «ne s'est jamais accompagnée d'un véritable plan de réaménagement des ressources.» (36)

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Alfred F. Young and Terry J. Fife, with Mary E. Janzen, *We the People: Voices and Images of the New Nation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1993).

"EVERY SENTENCE that begins with the word 'we,'" wrote Simone Weil, "is a lie." It might be more accurate to describe "We the People," the opening words of the Federal Constitution of 1787, as a quarter-truth. Although the Constitution was very much the work of an elite, it did command considerable support among a broadly-based coalition which included mechanics as well as merchants, farmers as well as planters. But it was also opposed by many people within the "political nation," and it ignored those who

remained without — men of little or no property, women, native Americans, and African Americans.

This book, which is based on the Chicago Historical Society's permanent exhibition of late-18th and early-19th-century artifacts, describes the way in which the people, as opposed to the People, participated in and responded to the revolutionary events through which they lived. Central to this task is the authors' attempt to use new kinds of evidence that can "help to rescue from oblivion the ordinary people who have so long been left out of conventional texts or treated as extras on the stage of history." (xvi) These sources range from patriotic engravings on militiamen's powder horns to the needlework samplers produced by young girls in the new republic; they include tools, clothes, weapons, furniture, drawings and engravings, everyday objects from everyday life. The idea is to approach familiar political history from unfamiliar angles, to cut beneath the traditional glorification of the Great Men, and thus to broaden our understanding of the period.

One of the central images in the book is that of the Tree of Liberty, and the symbolic potential which it contained for Americans who lived through the revolutionary era and those who came after them. Although the meaning of "We the People" was initially restricted to propertied white males, argue the authors, those who had been excluded would apply revolutionary ideology to their own position, and use it to expand the definition of liberty. The language of rights and consent was adopted by journeymen workers fighting for a decent living, by native Americans fighting for their land, by the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls fighting for equality, and by African Americans fighting for their freedom. "Wherever the ideals of the Declaration [of Independence] were not achieved," the authors conclude, "they remained an incitement for others to fulfil them." (224)

For the most part, the book succeeds admirably in its aims. It effectively synthesizes recent research on the role of ordinary men and women in the revolutionary era — indeed, one of its authors, Alfred Young, has himself pioneered much of that research — and it presents its material in a clear and straightforward manner while avoiding the pitfall of oversimplification. Rather than presenting us with the “pre-packaged” form of history that bedevils so many textbooks in the field, *We the People* conveys the excitement and freshness of the historical detective work that is involved in piecing together the fragments of forgotten lives — the lives of people like Hannah the Weaver, a Virginia slave who wrote to her master before manumission with a request to buy her own loom, or Jabez Briggs, a Massachusetts wheelwright whose diary opens a window into the world of rural artisans. The result is a book that is always accessible and never patronizing, and one that serves as an excellent introduction to revolutionary and early-national America.

Having said this, it must also be pointed out that the approach of studying the period through “new images and documents” (xvi) is somewhat uneven. It works remarkably well for the War of Independence, where there are ample opportunities to display the paraphernalia of soldiers and sailors, along with revolutionary propaganda from the home front. It is equally effective on the early-19th-century search for symbols of unity, strength, and freedom, and the concomitant deification of George Washington. But in other important areas, such as the debate over the Federal Constitution, traditional written sources necessarily prevail; here, the authors are forced to tread more familiar ground.

More significantly, the book’s definition of the people gives short shift to the Loyalists, who, according to John Adams, may have constituted one-third of the population during the revolution. Although the authors acknowledge that the

losers are usually written out the history books, and although they point out that many tenant farmers, black slaves, and native Americans fought against Patriotic landlords, planters, and land-grabbers, the Loyalists are consigned to a shadowy role in the wings of the narrative, away from the bright lights of centre-stage. And this marginalization occurs despite the book’s intention to be as inclusive as possible.

Why should this be the case? The most obvious answer is that the Loyalists do not fit easily into an interpretation that emphasizes the creation of the new nation, and that stresses the role of revolutionary ideology in democratizing the political process. In this sense, the relative absence of the Loyalists in the text reflects the lingering presence of old-style Whig History within even the best syntheses of recent scholarship on the revolutionary era. Taken on its own terms, *We the People* is very good indeed; it would have been even better had it transcended those terms, and accorded full recognition to the Loyalists, the last of the un-people.

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Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1990).

THE HISTORY OF GERMAN immigrants, long the stepchild of immigrant history, has recently received much attention with the publication of a number of monographs and document collections on many aspects of this large and varied ethnic group. While much of this recent research has focused on communities in the Midwest where Germans have left a political and cultural legacy which endures to this day, the Germans of East Coast communities have been less visible. Stanley Nadel has made an important advance to

remedying this deficit. His book chronicles an important period in the development of the single largest German community of the 19th century, the Germans of New York City.

*Little Germany* focuses on the antebellum and immediate post-Civil War periods, decades which were formative for German immigrants in the city. The study also has a geographic focus, limiting itself to the area of the Lower East Side of Manhattan where German settlement was at its densest during this period. In other ways, however, Nadel's net is cast wide: the book provides a social geography which is remarkably comprehensive, describing demographic developments in some detail, explaining the economy of the neighbourhood and following the organizational development of the many churches and secular organizations of *Kleindeutschland*.

The history of German-American working-class organizations and their politics also receives extensive coverage in Nadel's study. The emergence of radical Forty-Eighter groups, the early German-American unions, and a broad anti-prohibition movement among German-Americans are the chief subjects of these chapters. Nadel tries to focus the development of ethnic and class politics in the German-American community around certain key events, such as the police riots of 1857. Because the author also wants to offer a comprehensive chronicle of the community, however, the thicket of events is sometimes difficult to sort out, even for a specialist.

The book's main strength lies in its demographic portraits. Nadel spends much time describing the regional origins of German immigrants in New York, their (largely endogamous) marriage patterns, and their settlement within the neighbourhood. Patterns of work and religious affiliation are also discussed in informative ways. At the same time the changing cultural and political meaning of sub-ethnic regional or religious affiliations is not discussed in a very analytical fashion.

The development of a "national" German-American consciousness as opposed to the more traditional "Prussian" and "Bavarian" regional loyalties, for example is not a focus of discussion. Yet it was just such a shift that gave German Americans a distinct public voice in the cacophony of ethnic politics in the city. Similarly the shift from religious divisions to class divisions, posed as a thesis in Nadel's book, is only sketched but not discussed in his chronicle of the development of working class political organizations between 1845 and 1874.

Although it does not delve deeply into the peculiarities of the German-Americans, this detailed demographic study provides a valuable survey of the largest and most politically vibrant Germany community in the mid-19th century. Historians of the immigrant working class, will gain much insight from this solid community study.

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Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1992).

IN THIS BOOK Walter Licht, University of Pennsylvania labour historian and author of *Working for the Railroad* (1983), presents the first sustained historical analysis of the process of getting, keeping, and losing work. His tool is a community study of Philadelphia, a choice that proves both rewarding and limiting. The limits imposed by the choice of Philadelphia are unfortunate, since Licht's aims are ambitious. As he remarks, the topic of getting work "is a marvellous umbrella-like issue" (ix) that allows him to investigate and comment upon a wide range of activities and institutions and to enter both academic and policy debates. Perhaps the best way of summing up the contribution he wishes to

make is to observe that for the metaphor of a "labour market" Licht would probably wish to substitute something more like a battlefield, on which qualities of class, ethnicity, race, and gender arm job-seekers and employers differently for their never-ending contest.

Following a chapter outlining the distinctive nature of the Philadelphia economy (of which more later), Licht presents a thorough analysis of the process of getting work in Philadelphia from the 1860s to the 1930s. For the period 1860-1900 this analysis is based upon Philadelphia Social History Project data samples from the federal manuscript censuses, supplemented by a sample Licht drew for this study. The 20th-century discussion rests upon 2,500 questionnaires administered to Philadelphia workers in 1936 by researchers from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania whose investigation was funded by the Works Progress Administration. Subsequent chapters, grounded upon institutional records, newspapers, and specialized studies, examine the roles played by schools; institutions such as apprenticeship systems, want ads, trade unions, and private and public employment agencies; firms; and the state. Especially noteworthy in his evidentiary base is Licht's use of the records of 20 Philadelphia companies of varying size to examine changing employment practices. The book closes with an ingenious analysis of patterns of work interruption and workers' coping strategies.

Striking conclusions emerge periodically from Licht's dry prose and careful — sometimes plodding — analysis. Apprenticeship, normally consigned to historical extinction during the 19th century, continued to flourish through the first half of the 20th century in various guises under the sponsorship of both companies and unions. For the boys and men who passed through it, apprenticeship conferred more secure tenure of employment and improved chances of upward occupational mobility compared to those

who did not. Schools, in contrast, were correctly regarded by both male students and employers as irrelevant to the process of getting work, since they provided neither job-specific skills nor effective assistance with job placement. For girls and women, however, the schools' growing offerings of secretarial courses proved highly instrumental in obtaining work in expanding clerical occupations. Such opportunities were seized upon with particular zeal by the builders of the Roman Catholic school system, who thereby channelled large numbers of their female graduates into secretarial positions. For most workers seeking private-sector employment over the century from 1850 to 1950, however, getting a job continued to be a matter of exploiting family, friends, or personal initiative in order to succeed in an informal and unsystematic process typically conducted "at the gate." In general, Licht presents us with an unchanging historical portrait of a process that, despite minor alterations, remained in 1950 much as it had appeared in 1850. Through wars and depressions, corporate reorganization and technological change, getting work in the private sector remained the same. For African Americans, depressingly so: despite high rates of school enrolment, they were consistently excluded from all but domestic employment. Because whites would not hire them directly even for domestic positions, African Americans became the only group to make significant use of employment agencies. Licht's examination of the public sector reveals that local government became Philadelphia's largest employer as early as 1920 and that a formal, meritocratic system was adopted sooner by local government than by most private employers. After surveying the various influences brought to bear upon the process of getting work, Licht concludes that simple economic models focusing on the transaction between worker and employer assume way too much. "The labor market," he asserts, "was and is political." (175)

To his credit, Licht has been candid about the peculiarities of his case study, and they are indeed substantial. Philadelphia was never a significant locus of mass production: instead Philadelphia manufacturers aimed from the beginnings of industrialization for the specialized niche, the high-quality, short-run product. As a result, although Philadelphia contained large firms, it did not attract massive ones. Nor did it entice the large numbers of unskilled immigrants who poured into other cities. Part of the reason why Philadelphia's schools refused to make a serious commitment to industrial education is that they remained steadfastly and uniquely under decentralized control; consequently, industrial-education programs could not be imposed by a central school bureaucracy. In addition, the high level of skill required by Philadelphia's predominantly custom manufacturing may have made it impossible for the city's schools to prepare students for the local world of work. Philadelphia showed high rates of homeownership among major cities, thus providing unemployed workers with a resource unavailable to their counterparts elsewhere. Although Licht's conclusions will necessarily become standard until completion of further research on this topic, readers will do well to remember the distinctive character of the community from which they are drawn.

The book is flawed in other ways. Licht's conclusion about the irrelevance of schools to getting work for males seems to be a case of not seeing the forest for the trees, since the basic skills provided by schools were in fact regarded by employers as essential: this was evident when many firms' apprenticeship systems during the 1920s required entrants to have completed eight years of schooling. On another matter, Licht's logic falls short when he attempts to explain an increase in youth labour-force participation during the late 19th-century by citing factors (prevalence of light industrial production and family poverty) which he does not

show to have changed during the period in question. (28-9) Finally, there is a curious omission in his otherwise ingenious mining of records to paint a picture of unemployment patterns, namely neglect of the "months you have been unemployed during the past year" question in the 1880 federal manuscript census.

Despite its flaws, the book reports an extremely valuable exploration of a significant topic in economic, business, labour, and social history. Licht is especially to be commended for the long time span covered; for his decision to investigate the role of the state as both employer and rule-setter; and, in general, for keeping his eye on the theoretical questions touched by his research. The book should be widely read and should stimulate similar research on other communities so that we can know whether Philadelphia workers' experiences in finding and keeping work were widely shared.

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Bruce E. Kaufman, *The Origins & Evolution of the Field of Industrial Relations in the United States* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1993).

IN THE 1980s, the American labour movement entered its deepest crisis in more than 50 years. This crisis reached not only the percentage of the workforce organized, the power of unions, union members' wages, benefits, and job security, but it also engulfed the intellectual arena. Indeed, far from providing new ideas and strategies to lead the labour movement out of its darkness, the field of Industrial Relations remained mired in a crisis of its own.

*The Origins & Evolution of the Field of Industrial Relations in the United States* helps us to understand why this occurred. The author's historical approach is particularly useful, laying bare the roots of this intellectual crisis decades

before the Republican ascendancy of the 1980s. He demonstrates that Industrial Relations' recent problems are more than a reflection of the worsening crisis in the actual practice of labour-management relations. They are no less than a product of the field's own internal history.

Kaufman recognizes that key developments in this internal history were shaped, to a significant degree, by developments in labour-management relations, as well as by shifts in its own intellectual parameters and frameworks. But, in the end, his analysis falls short of employing a critical perspective which explicitly explores the linkage between the bureaucratization of the labour movement, the rise of business unionism, and the increasing vapidness of Industrial Relations as an intellectual endeavour.

Kaufman argues that Industrial Relations has been marked by internal schisms from its origins in the World War I era. As the field took shape in the 1920s, practitioners of Personnel Management conflicted with advocates of Institutional Labor Economics. While both groups shared the goal of eliminating the "evils" of "substantial waste, inefficiency, human suffering, and conflict" (20), they had "irreconcilable differences" over the means to do so, particularly the role of labour unions and collective bargaining.

Similar conflicts percolated through the field's continuing evolution, even as the specific configurations changed. "Problem solvers" jostled with "science builders," and proponents of "interdisciplinary" methodologies conflicted with advocates of "multidisciplinary" approaches. Expanding university-based programs provided a key arena for these battles, as did the growing number of scholarly journals. Protagonists from all sides joined in the Industrial Relations Research Association, which was founded in 1947.

Kaufman recognizes that the emergence of industrial unionism in the 1930s and the growing government intervention in the economy and labour relations had

a major impact on Industrial Relations. He traces the emergence of two new schools of thought — Human Relations and Labour Economics — to the changes generated by these developments. By the early 1950s, on this basis, Kaufman contends, Industrial Relations had entered its "Golden Age."

Ironically — and this is certainly the most interesting and controversial element of his analysis — this "Golden Age" gave birth to a "hollowing out" of Industrial Relations in the 1960s and 1970s, which in turn left it ill-suited to respond to the crisis of the 1980s. While the number of academic programs and scholarly publications continued to grow, Industrial Relations "metamorphosed from a broad coalition of behavioral and non-behavioral disciplines devoted to the study of all aspects of the world of work to a much narrower field devoted to the study of unions, collective bargaining, and the employment problems of special groups." (104) What was critical, Kaufman argues, was that this "preoccupation" with unions and collective bargaining came just as "the nonunion sector of the economy became not only the major source of new gains in employment but also the major source of new innovations in employment relations practices." (104)

In a field based on deep internal conflicts, this development proved nearly fatal. "A palpable sense emerged among IR scholars in the 1960s that industrial relations had lost its intellectual bearings." (105) There was little agreement about how to regain those bearings. Many scholars abandoned the field altogether, reverting to such disciplines as economics, sociology, or political science, while continuing to work on labour as a topic. Those that remained within the field narrowed their scope even more to the terrain of collective bargaining. This led to a further defection of Human Relations specialists, who found unions increasingly irrelevant to their interests.

By the 1980s, the results were disastrous. Industrial Relations scholars had

little vision, theory, or comprehensive analysis to offer, precisely at a time when their identified subject, the labour movement, most needed such input. Nor could they even figure out how to revitalize their own field, other than to abandon it altogether for the greener pastures of free market economics and Human Relations.

Bruce Kaufman deserves considerable credit for helping us to understand some of the key dynamics in the making of this crisis. He also makes a game effort in his final chapter to lay out a possible scenario for progressive change in the field. But he leaves the reader wondering *who* will listen to him and *why* they will adopt any of his suggestions.

Had his analysis gone deeper, both a better understanding of the crisis and a more hopeful future scenario might have resulted. Kaufman holds back from analyzing the degree to which Industrial Relations had become, in the post-WWII era, the intellectual hand-maiden to business unionism. Its practitioners, in many cases directly pressured by the power the AFL-CIO held over their career prospects, chose to limit their horizons to the inner workings of the collective bargaining system created in the late 1930s-1940s. Thus, the "hollowing out" of the field involved not just the creation of a climate inhospitable to the practice of interdisciplinary scholarship, but of one that was downright ice-cold to any innovative and critical thinking. The price of admission to Industrial Relations' "Golden Age" was the very imaginations and intellectual independence of the field's scholars.

That Professor Kaufman cannot bring himself to reach this level of critical judgement suggests that a commensurate price is still being exacted. If that is true, his concluding "strategy for survival and growth" (167-77) is utopian, and Industrial Relations will expire with the system of collective bargaining which is itself in its death throes.

Kenneth Teitelbaum, *Schooling for "Good Rebels": Socialist Education for Children in the United States, 1900-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1993).

THIS IS AN UTTERLY UNIQUE VOLUME. Published studies of Left education at any level in the U.S. have been virtually absent until quite recent years. Regarded as important institutions in the Socialist and Communist party milieux of their respective eras, and antecedents in odd ways (along with Deweyan and other experiments) to the New Leftish emphasis on alternative schools, the efforts to raise up radical children have in particular not found their scholars — until now. Teitelbaum is the sympathetic, thorough and methodologically sophisticated interpreter for a significant moment in children's education. Scholars studying other large areas of radical education will do well to follow his example.

This is not to say that Teitelbaum has captured anything like the entire story. Seeking out often hard-to-reach sources and exploring subjects scarcely known to the best-read scholars of socialism, he has properly satisfied himself with microcosms. A different book might have begun the story with a study of historic roots in German-American "free thought" schools of the nineteenth century, how they led to socialist curricula with a strong dose of *Deutschtum* and sometimes large classes — especially in Chicago — decades before English-language socialist schools appeared. Such a study might have offered far more on the non-English language socialist schools of 1900-20, disproportionately Jewish (generally held in Yiddish), but also German, Bohemian, Slovenian, Hungarian, and most enduringly, Finnish. An author who transcended the language barrier would have seen how the great majority of schools were designed equally to keep children close to socialist values and to some sense of ethnic identity. Many of the sharpest debates about policies and practices took

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place in those languages, on the subject of identity. The English-language children are therefore, in a sense, an exceptional subject if also a central one.

With this caveat, one may unqualifiedly recommend the treatment of the subjects in *Schooling for "Good Rebels."* Teitelbaum provides a lucid overview of socialist educational philosophy, both its critique of the capitalistic-minded public school system and its pedagogical alternatives. He properly brings back to light those forgotten educators, notably including women (who rarely otherwise rose so high in the Left apparatus) teachers and administrators. In the Lower East Side of Manhattan, in Brooklyn's Brownsville and Williamsburg, he therefore surveys the education of thousands of children over a period of years, and touches on a flurry of related but for later decades increasingly important activity, that is, radical summer camp.

Outside the big cities, as was often the case in the left of those days, socialist educational activities mostly slumped but here and there provided yet more intensive effort, due to a lack of competing interests. Rochester kids had the good fortune of Kendrick Shedd, beloved teacher of modern languages at the University of Rochester for two decades and a zealous convert to the socialist cause. A local hero, Shedd became director of the Socialist Sunday School and lectured widely elsewhere on his work.

Teitelbaum was acute enough of a scholar to locate oldtimers who actually remembered "Sheddie," and to track down Shedd's correspondence. What he learned was, in part, that Shedd was deeply frustrated at the lack of party support for the schools, a frustration party women often felt about their (often related) activities. Besides this difficulty, the schools faced extraordinary hostility from the bourgeois press, arrests of teachers during wartime, and finally the fragmentation of the Socialist party in 1919. Always struggling for party attention, the school teachers and administrators finally got it

— ironically, just before the organization itself fell apart.

Still, like the radical schools in every language, the Socialist schools that Teitelbaum analyzes provided a social setting and touched children with a lexicon they could not have achieved elsewhere in society. They were often less didactic than one might imagine, their lessons more illustrative of human connectedness — a corrective to the rampant individualism of American life. In many ways, indeed, they foreshadow what today's former civil rights, antiwar and current environmentalist-active parents try to teach their children at home, and what the best of public schoolteachers strive to attain with desperately limited resources. In short, *Schooling for "Good Rebels"* is good reading for many, and not just scholars of socialist history.

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Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1992).

HULL HOUSE AND JANE ADDAMS remain the dominant images of the American settlement house movement during the Progressive era. In *Social Work and Social Order*, Ruth Hutchinson Crocker sets out to challenge this singular and exceptional image through the examination of the seven "second-tier" settlement houses in Indianapolis and Gary, Indiana. The houses were chosen as case studies to illuminate themes such as race, gender, class, evangelicalism, Americanization, business cooperation, and Protestant-Catholic tension. Crocker approaches settlement houses not only as autonomous community institutions but also as social spaces, connected to both the home and the workplace. Thus, their

central position attracted the involvement of a broad assortment of people and Crocker is sensitive to the distinct interests and perceptions of clients, sponsors, settlement workers, and those excluded from services.

Indianapolis and Gary are interesting locales to examine the settlement movement. The first city was home to a variety of older manufacturing firms and was inhabited by a primarily American-born population, many of whom were recent migrants to the city. Gary, on the other hand was developed after 1907 and tied to activities at US Steel. The mercurial growth of the city from 16,000 in 1910 to 100,000 in 1930 also encompassed a change in population. Before 1919, over half of the population of Gary was foreign-born, many of whom were single men. American Africans and Mexican workers brought in to break the 1919 steel strike changed not only the racial character of the community, but also the social structure as they were accompanied by their families.

Race plays a central theme in this book as Crocker is attune to the way in which "racism distorted the reform impulse in the Progressive era." (7) Through the analysis of two settlement houses established to serve the African-American community, Flanner House in Indianapolis and Stewart House in Gary, one sees the complexity of race politics as both projects were administered through biracial organizations with committee members wielding unequal power. Racially segregated institutions both sustained and restricted the local black communities. Race also played a central role in the settlement houses established to serve the "white" community. Christamore, a female-dominated evangelical house in Indianapolis specifically excluded African Americans from its programmes and moved location rather than integrate when the racial character of the neighbourhood changed.

Gender is also handled in a sophisticated manner and offers insight to both

the clientele and social workers. Crocker notes the contradiction of the ideal of the single-family home sustained by a male breadwinner being presented by a group of single women living co-operatively in the case of some settlement houses. In settlements aimed at serving male populations, the emphasis was on political education for American citizenship rather than the development of skills to enhance earnings. Some programmes such as English language instruction overlapped. Appropriate gender roles and domesticity was also central to Americanization programmes as a happy home was the cornerstone of the American dream. The American dream, however, was race specific as settlement houses reinforced the connection between African-American women and paid labour outside the home in the form of domestic service. Poor married African-American and immigrant women were encouraged to undertake paid employment through their employment agencies at the same time settlement houses preached the domestic ideal of the wife remaining within the home.

Class and class issues pervade every corner of this form of private charity but Crocker's analysis of class is the weakest aspect of the book. Most obvious was the fascinating example of Gary-Alerding Settlement, the company-sponsored welfare agency opened in 1923 as a joint project of the Catholic Church and US Steel. After the 1919 strike, US Steel was particularly concerned with stabilizing its politically volatile work force in the context of the Red scare and the financial support of the settlement movement was seen to be part of this programme. While business became involved in the movement in Gary and Indianapolis, Crocker notes that labour organizations played no role. This is hardly surprising. Their program of Americanization was not only about transforming and assimilating domestic values and language, but also about fostering the myth of a classless society. In addition, the perspective offered by the use of institutional records

ensured that labour was something that happens out there, beyond the settlement house, even if it was facilitated through employment agencies. The charity activities of labour remain outside this study.

Crocker rejects a simple social control model to explain either the purpose or the impact of settlement houses. While noting that clients used these facilities for their own purpose, she also asserts that historians must recognize that many of the values were hegemonic and shared by both reformers and clients. This point is less convincing. That the clients of the settlement houses desired a better standard of living, healthy children, and some economic security does mean they shared a similar world view. The unequal distribution of power between the clients, social workers and those providing financial support makes the role of ideology much more ambiguous.

This book makes a contribution to social history and Crocker has performed a valuable service by introducing us to the settlement houses of Gary and Indianapolis, which "owed more to the Social Gospel than to sociology" (213) and illustrated "the essential conservatism of the settlements even in the Progressive era." (222) While not as well-known as Hull House in Chicago, these community-based settlement houses were a vital and more common form of private charity providing services in the areas of health, education, employment and recreation at the local community level. Hull House and Jane Addams will remain the overbearing images of settlement work in the early twentieth-century, but they will now share the historiography with some less progressive Progressives from industrial Indiana.

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Mary Logan Rothschild and Pamela Claire Hronek, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press 1992).

ORAL HISTORY has long been a pet methodology of historians of women, heralded as a research tool able to unearth hitherto buried information and challenge the androcentrism of the historical record. Recently, Mary Logan Rothschild and Pamela Claire Hronek have attempted to combine oral history with topical historical narrative. The result of their project, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women*, meets with mixed results. On one hand, it is an accessible volume which avoids the discontinuity that often characterizes collections of personal narratives while retaining the power of spoken recollection. On the other, it is an uncritical portrait that valorizes Arizona women's history instead of analysing it.

*Doing What the Day Brought* begins with the obligatory explanatory preface and a review of Arizonan women's political and economic history from 1890 to 1980. The remainder of the book is organized along a life-cycle approach similar to that used to interview the 29 women whose stories form the basis of the study. In six chapters, Rothschild and Hronek review women's reaction to Arizona's environment, their childhood and adolescence, homelife, community building, paid labour, and assessments of historical change. While these discussions are primarily based on the oral histories, women's recollections are not only heavily edited, but also organized in a topical fashion and interwoven with narrative text.

Rothschild and Hronek have created a very readable and sympathetic account of Arizonan women's lives in the 20th century. The combination of oral history and narrative text is successful at providing coherence and organization while still allowing women's memories to chart the

direction of the discussion. The stories of the women, moreover, contain significant historical information about a wide variety of experiences. Lupe Hernandez's description of her struggle to raise nine children as a widow, Cecelia Sneezy's memories of her Apache girlhood, Irma West's obvious pride about her work within the Mormon community and other accounts offer important insights to historians of women. Such evidence also challenges those who continue to conceptualize the American West as populated by a cast of cowboys, miners, and "Indians" both proverbial and male.

The accessible and sympathetic tone of *Doing What the Day Brought* is not, however, achieved without cost. First, Rothschild and Hronek do not problematize or theorize personal recollections as a source. Yet anyone who has ever heard a family story retold can testify that spoken memory has a form and narrative genre of its own. Greater attention to how historical memories and personal narratives are constructed would have done much to explain the women's stories upon which *Doing What the Day Brought's* very premise depends. Ultimately, oral history will remain of limited value until historians pay greater attention to how memory and oral tradition are themselves formed and employed.

If the form of spoken memory is treated uncritically, the content of women's recollections are equally presented in a wholly celebratory manner. Whether discussing women's domestic work, political activities, or experiences of settlement, Rothschild and Hronek are concerned with illustrating how women "fashioned much of what Arizonans now hold dear about their state." (xxxvii) While there is no doubt that women contributed greatly to Arizona's development, surely neither women's activities nor the heartstrings of contemporary Arizonans are above scrutiny.

Ultimately, *Doing What the Day Brought* is an example of how the celebratory "contribution" style of women's his-

tory that characterized the 1970s continues to thrive in the 1990s. It is tempting to explain this as an unpleasant but unavoidable result of the newness of Rothschild and Hronek's subject. Yet recent works of challenging scholarship on women in the American West — such as the essays contained in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson's 1987 collection, *The Women's West* — suggest otherwise. *Doing What the Day Brought* does offer some important information and a model for others wishing to combine oral history with topical narrative. Its contribution to the growing canon of women's history, however, is limited by a perspective that privileges celebration above analysis of either the form or content of women's past.

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Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan and Jack Barnes, *The Eastern Airlines Strike: Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists and Gains for the Labor Movement* (New York: Pathfinder Press 1991).

THIS "BOOK" may be more aptly described as a pamphlet collection of three essays, one from each contributor, and includes: (1) "A strike that won gains for all working people" by Ernie Mailhot, a self-described "rank-and-file Eastern Airlines striker," (2) "'One day longer': How the Machinists defeated Lorenzoism," by Judy Stranahan, a writer for the *Militant*, and (3) "Capitalism's march toward war and depression," by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Despite the fact that this is a collection of works, there is a distinct unity of voice which is undeniably Marxist. The articles range from a chronicling of the 686 day Eastern Airlines strike to a general discussion of all that is wrong with capitalism and the American system. The essays are filled with words and phrases such as

"American Imperialism," "boss class," "employers' war against the working class," "class collaboration," and "exploitation of the working people" that clearly signal the authors' political views. Undoubtedly some of these criticisms are quite valid but the generally conspiratorial tone detracts from some of the valid points made throughout the book. The authors are firmly convinced that the "ruling capitalist class," the government, courts, police, media, big business, and the "officialdom" of the union movement are in league to suppress and exploit the working class.

A more appropriate title for this book, particularly in light of the first two essays which describe the strike from a militant striker's point of view, may be *The War Against Frank Lorenzo and Eastern Airlines*. Frank Lorenzo became the focal point for the strike and the painting of Lorenzo as a ruthless villain undeniably encouraged the solidarity of the strikers. When Lorenzo was removed from the head of Eastern Airlines by the bankruptcy court, the first major "victory" of the strike, celebrations spontaneously erupted on the picket lines but the rallying cry of the strike quickly shifted from lasting 'One day longer than Frank Lorenzo' to 'One day longer than Eastern Airlines.' Although the removal of Lorenzo, probably the premiere union buster in the 1980s, from the helm of Eastern could easily be construed as a victory, it is unclear that the demise of Eastern could also be considered a victory, as the authors do. It was believed that the demise of Eastern signalled the strength of the union movement and potentially curtailed other firms from proceeding down the same confrontational path during labour disputes. Fighting the forces of evil was obviously more important than retaining jobs. One goal of the strikers was stated to be the prevention of Lorenzo operating a profitable non-union airline. While unclear, the only alternative the strikers appeared to offer was the continued operation of an unprofitable union airline,

which would ensure the end of the airline as much as concerted strike action and the generally poor state of the airline industry would.

A portion of the book is devoted to the condemnation of "union officialdom" who were viewed as more of a hindrance than a help to the striking workers, and as collaborators in the demise of the working class. The impression is given that these two great labour victories (the removal of Lorenzo and the permanent shutdown of Eastern) were achieved despite union officials. The basic criticisms of union officials, not just at the International Association of Machinists but across the country, were threefold: (1) too quick to accept concessions demanded by management, (2) failure to organize large scale picketing and secondary boycotts to increase pressure on firms during labour disputes, and (3) a willingness to rely on court proceedings rather than on direct labour action. Concessions gained by Chrysler in 1979 were cited as an example of the first point yet Stranahan fails to recognize the potential demise of Chrysler and the transfer of jobs to the Far East that would undoubtedly accompany such a development.

Marxists may find the book a bit depressing with the dismal assessment of the state of the U.S. labour movement but may find some inspiration in the solidarity of the union movement illustrated throughout the book. The *Daily News* and the Eastern Airlines strikes were held out as examples of labour solidarity and the various authors spin a convincing tale of how the working class can deal a serious blow to firms who attempt to thwart the objectives of the labour movement. This assumes a unity of working-class interests, which is a stretch of the imagination, but may occur where the average individual views the employer in question as particularly ruthless and greedy. Unfortunately, any activity that attempts to preserve American jobs and maintain the viability of a firm or industry that is rapidly proceeding to dissolution is unlikely to

be viewed with the disdain necessary for concerted action against a firm, much to the chagrin of the authors.

The last essay by Barnes is more concerned with the labour movement as a whole rather than just the Eastern Airlines strike. His concern centres on the lack of voice the common man has in the machinations of government. He quite rightly points out the elite nature of Capitol Hill decision makers, but instead of calling for a democratization of the system to allow for greater input by average citizens, he calls for class struggle. He talks of taking decision making to the streets and to the factory floor and of increasing class consciousness. Unfortunately the mechanism for converting these activities into political power is left unclear.

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Christopher Jencks, *Rethinking Social Policy: Race, Poverty, and the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1992).

*RETHINKING SOCIAL POLICY* is a collection of previously published essays by Christopher Jencks on topics such as affirmative action, welfare, genetics and crime, and the urban poor. The book is especially timely, Jencks tells us, because it supposedly provides a "neutral" approach to the highly politicized problems of race and poverty. Indeed, judging from the tone of the book, he seems to take delight in his ideological eclecticism, rejecting and adopting at whim what he regards as "liberal" and "conservative" views on race and poverty. He claims to stand above ideological debates, arguing that his selection and use of data is driven only by scientific inquiry and not politics. A central theme which ties these essays together is the need for greater specificity in social science. Each case needs to be studied in its specific context and detail, and quantitative and

qualitative questions should be treated as inseparable.

The first chapter was originally published as a critique of Thomas Sowell's approach to affirmative action, though his primary goal is to argue against both liberal and conservative positions on entitlement programs. While acknowledging that discrimination exists, he claims that white liberals engage in reverse discrimination by manipulating quotas in order to hire less qualified minorities. Particularly disturbing in his comparison between white and black male wage earners is his suggestion that employers are, indeed, justified in their discrimination of black males. Though he admits to no "hard data," he is convinced that black workers tend to have worse performance records, exhibit dissatisfaction on the job (which affects their work habits), and their "propensity to break the law may also indicate that they are more likely to break company rules." (39) Some of his assertions are blatantly offensive: "if young black men were to approach their work in the same way that they approach contraception and parenthood, employers would have a good reason to avoid hiring them for responsible jobs." (39) Ultimately, Jencks concludes, what appears to be outright racial discrimination is often just rational decision-making based on objective statistics regarding "black behavior." Because African-Americans presumably have higher rates of arrest, violence, alcoholism, etc., one should not expect employers to ignore these "facts." It is discrimination, he admits, but discrimination based on economics.

In his critique of Charles Murray's *Losing Ground*, Jencks sides with liberals who argue that the welfare state is not the cause of persistent poverty, but takes an extremely conservative position that building a safety net for single mothers who do not work ultimately undermines the Protestant work ethic and the nuclear family. Jencks, therefore, does not call for the abandonment of the welfare state — just reform. He feels that the only useful

welfare state is one that reinforces "family values" and the work ethic. For Jencks the two-parent family is the only viable family; his welfare state would ultimately penalize poor women who have children out of wedlock.

Perhaps the most problematic essay in the book examines the relationship between crime, environment, and genetics. In critiquing liberal approaches to crime (mainly Elliot Currie), he argues that economic inequality does not play a major role in explaining criminal behavior. He not only ignores a large body of research which demonstrates a clear relationship between poverty, unemployment and rising crime rates, but the implications of his argument opens the door to policies which Jencks himself would find distasteful. If genetics can partly explain criminal behavior, then it follows that groups of people who are known to have a specific genetic make-up will be "prone" to crime and thus subject to additional surveillance. So-called "genetic" groupings are only one pseudoscientific step away from "racial" groupings, which can have devastating consequences for African-Americans and Latinos who are already stigmatized as criminally prone populations. Even so, would Jencks' formulation include corporate criminals involved in toxic dumping, industrial accidents, or the recent Savings and Loan scandal? In Jencks' eagerness to accept biological determinist arguments, he completely ignores the ways in which crime and the law themselves are historically constructed — reflections of specific relations of power and legal practices which are constantly shifting.

The remaining three chapters take on the earlier work of William Julius Wilson and the question of the origins and character of the "underclass." He rejects, in part at least, Wilson's emphasis on economic and demographic changes to explain the rise of the urban underclass and argues instead that two other factors played a role in changes in "black" behaviors: 1) white middle-class culture became more

accepting of "deviant" behavior (evidenced by and expressed through mass media); 2) the Civil Rights movement has made young blacks less willing to accept subservient roles, particularly low-wage menial jobs. He also suggests that the reason black children do worse in school, and on standardized exams, and earn lower wages has something to do with the way black parents raise their children.

Despite attempts to navigate a non-racist, non-ethnocentric course, he reifies what is "black" culture and what is "white" and relies on a problematic definition of culture which encompasses all behaviors, whether they are situational or not. For example, Jencks describes out of wedlock births as part of "black culture." If we accept this description, then can we assume that white women are beginning to adopt "black culture" since the percentage of out of wedlock births for them have risen during the last two decades? What might possibly fall under the rubric of culture is the tendency among African-American communities to embrace rather than ostracize unwed mothers or their children, and to take responsibility for all children, whether they have two parents or not. The question we must ask of Jencks is whether he believes this sort of acceptance marks a fundamental break with "mainstream values."

The last two chapters, which deal more directly with the problems of the so-called "underclass" and welfare dependency, encapsulate what Jencks feels is the sane, middle-of-the-road approach to poverty. Ironically, he marshalls an enormous amount of evidence which undermines assertions in previous chapters. He demonstrates that births to teenagers actually declined from 1960-1985, reading scores among seventeen-year-olds rose, and that welfare dependency and violent crimes among blacks did not grow after 1974, when economic conditions got worse (indeed, crime rates actually fell). With Kathryn Edin he demonstrates that many welfare mothers in Chicago have had to supplement transfer

payments with wage labour, putting to rest his own claims that welfare destroys the "work ethic."

Despite an impressive array of statistics, Jencks' understanding of the welfare state and the U.S. economy is ahistorical. For instance, he is surprised that so-called "welfare dependency" grew during the late 1960s when the U.S. economy was in a growth stage and leveled off when things got worse. We should remember that welfare-rights activists in the mid to late 1960s, reluctantly backed by the moral authority of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, fought for public assistance as a right. By 1974 (after six years of Nixon), welfare recipients were attacked, stigmatized, and faced with a bureaucracy that made it increasingly difficult to obtain assistance. Second, he assumes that economic decline can be determined nationally, particularly by looking at men's wages and employment. This flaw does not take into consideration the unevenness of economic change; growth in some sectors (for example, high tech industries) took place at the expense of the black working class. In fact, in cities such as Birmingham deindustrialization began as early as 1950. Los Angeles from the 1960s to the 1980s is a great example of how black employment and wages could decline while the city experiences unprecedented growth. Third, by limiting much of his data to men's wages and employment, he does not take into consideration how the shift to an economy driven by information technology and service might have created a demand for black *female* labour, not to mention the rapid growth of homework for women irrespective of race during the last two decades. Many of these kinds of jobs are, in fact, female-identified.

For all of his claims of objectivity and ideological "neutrality," Jencks never sees how his methodology is itself value-laden. His essays are driven by a presumption that something is "wrong" with the so-called "underclass" and in order to figure it out we need to break the liberal

shackles of victimization theory. For all the statistics, tables and charts, Jencks often relies on hypothetical situations, counterfactualizations, even fictional characters to explain the behavior of the "underclass." People's lives, he implies, are either driven by rational choice theory or a culture of poverty which can only be eradicated through some complete overhaul of poor people's values. Moreover, his claim to "value-free" scholarship, which he conflates with "theory free," is naive. He does not seem to realize that the kind of liberal empiricism he employs is itself a "theory" that is laden with value judgements. He does not see how perspective and theoretical frameworks shape how we collect and interpret statistics, define crime, determine what is "normal" (that is, the bourgeois family), figure out what the vast majority of people think, even if in real life they don't practice these so-called "mainstream values."

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Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism: A Historical Essay on Old Regimes and Modern States* (London and New York: Verso 1991).

THIS BOOK is an interesting essay by a political theorist who is trying to come to terms with a particular interpretation of British history that was attacked from two different conservative directions in the 1980s. The interpretation she re-examines is that of Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn. They said that because England never had a bourgeois revolution, its capitalism, although prior to European capitalism, developed askew. While this interpretation received vigorous response from E.P. Thompson when it first appeared, it is not his that Wood is concerned with. She is interested in criticisms from the Right provided by J.C.D. Clark and by Alan Macfarlane. Clark said that England had always been an ancien



regime, and Macfarlane said that England had always been capitalist. Both asserted an unbroken continuity in English history unmarred by crisis, dislocation, conflict, or struggle.

Wood is masterful at making distinctions and untangling their evasions, noting conflation, and recognizing their assumptions. Theirs was an ideological interpretation characteristic of the Thatcher years. Clark tends to be a garbled prevaricator, and Macfarlane ignores economics. Wood takes their criticisms back to the model of capitalist development that was elaborated by Anderson-Nairn, and as a result she discards the model of capitalism that depends upon the notion of the Bourgeois revolution. This is the strength of the book — a useful corrective for those fixed upon the Anderson-Nairn interpretation — but it has little to do with labour history, or with the Marxist interpretation that says that the crux of historical development has to do with what direct producers and reproducers actually did.

This problem is concealed in the title, which otherwise nicely conveys some classic ambivalences. Let's consider its main terms — capitalism, culture, and pristine. It is indicative of the limitation of the book that "capitalism" is not actually defined, although from the context it is often identified with that concept of "commercial society" with which John Locke, David Hume, and Adam Smith worked. This concept examines market and commodity relations — a realm of freedom. Production on the other hand is absent from this concept, and Wood sees it as a realm of one-sided coercion and command, to the extent that she refers to it at all. The concept of "commercial society" was necessary but not sufficient to Marx's definition of capitalism. Commerce becomes capitalism only when there is a "confrontation," Marx writes in chapter 26 of *Capital*, "between the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence who are eager to valorize the sum of values they have appropriated ..., and on the other hand, free

workers, the sellers of their own-labour power, and therefore the sellers of labour." This "confrontation" is notable in Anderson, Nairn, Clark, Macfarlane, and Wood principally by its utter absence. Clark and Macfarlane recognize no conflict at all, while Anderson, Nairn, and Wood recognize confrontation but it is the one between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.

Turning to the second term, we note that Raymond Williams has observed that "culture" is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. From the 16th to the 18th century its meaning extended from the tending of crops to the process of human development. It became an independent noun by the late 18th century, signifying civilization, or signifying the spiritual side to material civilization. Herder used it to combat Eurocentrism; the Romantics used it as an alternative to unilinear progress. By the 19th century it stood for intellectual and artistic activity, so that in 20th-century American anthropology the older meaning had to be asserted by saying material culture. To Wood the material meanings of the concept have largely been lost; it is, so to speak, a superstructural rather than a basic term. The history of the term is a history of its elevation from something down to earth (like the maize culture Rigoberta Menchú describes) to an airy notion of ideas. Hence, this book, like Anderson-Nairn, contains little about ecology, technology, or hands-on experience. It is in a canonical tradition of intellectual history ("the texts of Western political and social theory," as she says) that includes Thomas Hobbes but not Gerrard Winstanley. It is hidebound by its own discipline.

The originality of the essay arises when we consider the third element in the title. "Pristine" introduces two ambivalences. The word means original or former, and thus it poses a similar ambiguity which de Tocqueville exploited with the French term "ancien." It may mean either the "old" or the "former" regime. As "for-

mer," there is the suggestion of stages of development, and perhaps a progress. This was the meaning preferred by the French revolutionaries of 1789 who did all that they could to break absolutely with the past, and to provide an urban vanguard of progress. Yet they "used the debris of the old order for building up the new," observed de Tocqueville. Ancien, like pristine, may also just mean "old," a term suggestive of a Burke-like dignity and one devoid of notions of progress. This is the true counter-revolutionary term. Wood finds it in J.C.D. Clark, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. Fluency in the tradition of Anglo-French political discourse is a second strength of the book.

There is a second ambivalence in the word "pristine" which may mean primitive, and thus it raises an ambivalence from the Marxist tradition. Here the ambiguities are just as explosive but perhaps less familiar. Marx describes the origins of capitalism in part VIII of *Capital* whose title is sometimes translated as "primary accumulation" and sometimes as "primitive accumulation." Primary may mean fundamental, and thus the analysis of expropriation that Marx provides (written in letters of blood and fire) is not a unique event to the 16th century but a continuous process which Riegerta Menchú has described very well for us. Primitive, however, excludes such continuity, and it has been more conducive to those holding a conception of the stages of economic development in which primitive accumulation is a one-off affair, painful (to be sure) but once it is accomplished it is unnecessary to repeat it.

It is odd that a book that places itself in a Marxist tradition does not consider what Marx wrote on the subject. It is also odd that the book is dedicated to "the British Marxist historians" when her conception of history remains so intellectually without Christopher Hill's salt or Edward Thompson's pepper. She writes of the 18th century, "the increasingly 'economic' modes of surplus extraction

adopted by propertied classes, deriving their wealth from a more productive exploitation of private property." (131) Immediately, we wonder why she puts 'economics' in inverted commas. If there is something untrustworthy about the term why not tell us? When we try to think through the proposition and remember that according to Marx, and actually, according to the labour theory of value, it is not property that is exploited, private or otherwise, but people. The error is symptomatic, because the model she criticizes, Anderson-Nairn, does not much consider working-class self activity, or history from below at any period of British history. This is a view of capitalism without labour history. There is no history of the working day, or history of wages. To Anderson the legacy of the English Revolution is "almost nil"; to Wood the historical experience of the Civil War "remained an instructive memory." (66-7) This may be true in a restricted geography; if the field is expanded to include Jamaica, Rhode Island, Madagascar for example, it is false. Even *Pilgrim's Progress*, a literary product of the defeat of the revolution, inspired revolutionaries in China (Taiping Rebellion of the 1850s) as well as among pan-Africans (Marcus Garvey returned to this inheritance while in Atlanta penitentiary). This book, not Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* as Wood avers, was the most well read book of the 18th century, apart from the Bible.

Granted, it may be said, that the Anderson-Nairn view has little to do with the material conditions of life, or even with the class struggle as workers of the world have understood the term, granted that, surely, they have made important contributions to political history. Yet, even here the conception of political history is awry. Bodin's conception of unified sovereignty is contrasted only with feudal parcellized authority. It is not placed in dialogue with the many varieties of peasant and apprentice communism that even Shakespeare recognized. Nor is it con-

trasted with the imperial state, the plantation and garrison state known so well in the same period from Ulster to Barbados. The sixth chapter of this book is based on the concept of "the national economy," and yet from the standpoint of both the movement of money and the movement of Labour capitalism was international from the beginning. For her the economy refers to national markets. There is no international mobilization of labour in these pages, and the slave trade, to take only a single instance, is mentioned, and that is all. Her account of Chartism is devoid of an Irish dimension.

The state with its monopoly of violence, indeed the state as the instrument of that blood and fire Marx mentioned, and of the gallows and the stake as we must add, is not part of the discussion at all. We need political theorists to help us with this discussion. Spenser was concerned about it in his Irish policy: which is the better guarantor of accumulation, "I said by the halter and ye saie by the sworde"? What is the relation between the accumulation of wealth and the accumulation of violence? This book is pristine in another way too, it doesn't mess with labour history, women's history, or the history of slavery.

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Raphael Samuel, ed., *History Workshop: A Collectanea 1967-1991* (London: History Workshop 1991).

IN NOVEMBER 1991, at Ruskin College in Oxford, History Workshop celebrated its silver anniversary. The Conference belonged to the finest traditions of the Workshop movement, with altogether twenty strands and plenary sessions treating of subjects old and new, including nationalism, racism, women and technology, masculinity, green history, as well as sessions on the teaching and writing of history. Critics of History Workshop (and

these are legion within the Academy) might have anticipated an acrimonious atmosphere in light of the recent collapse of Communism, but nothing of the sort was in evidence, and for the simple reason that the Workshop movement has never sought to propagate particular ideologies or 'party lines.' The great purpose of History Workshop is to democratize the *practice* of history, to provide a forum in which everyone, not just the professional scholar, can participate in the study of the past, and to feel welcome while doing it. Second, in its methodological purview, History Workshop seeks to expand the boundaries of the historian's craft, to explore questions, methods and sources which might not be receiving adequate attention in the conferences, seminars and journals of the academic establishment.

The collection of memoirs and commentaries, collected and edited by Raphael Samuel, documents in exhilarating detail the evolution, accomplishments and tribulations of the Workshop movement. Samuel's finely-crafted discussions, dispersed throughout the volume, are candid and thoughtful reflections upon the issues, contexts and people which have kept History Workshop a *movement*. Indeed, as Samuel observes, History Workshop has survived because of its flexibility and responsiveness, because it has *not* stuck to its manifestos or allowed itself 'to be trapped in orthodoxies of its own making, or the routinization of its subject matter.' (iv) During its first ten years the Workshop movement drew much of its impetus from the cultural upheavals of the 1960s, together with shop-floor militancy and expanding educational opportunities for mature students, but from the mid-1970s, or more precisely 1979, workers' rights and public education have come under violent attack by a consolidating Right. Even more alarmingly, as the Falklands syndrome attests, the Right has succeeded in co-opting much popular sentiment, thus obstructing the Workshop's long-standing quest to uncover an abiding left-wing

radicalism within 'people's history.' But rather than wither and wane in the face of these challenges, the Workshop movement has confronted Thatcherism (and now its more roundabout successor Majorism) by pursuing more deeply the textures and strains within 'people's history,' by exploring the myths and experiences which have constructed national identities, and by calling to account those who would manipulate 'Victorian Values' and school curricula for conservative ends.

History Workshop, as these documents attest, has also met with a variety of internal challenges, most notably the difficulties in maintaining a socialist-feminist axis. Sheila Rowbotham vividly recalls the problems experienced by women in gaining a foothold at early Workshops, where they sometimes met with bemused and uncooperative men. Anna Davin's and Sally Alexander's defense of feminist history, printed in the first issue of *History Workshop Journal* in 1976, still speaks to us today with all of its original relevance and truth, beginning with its timeless reminder that 'men and women *do* inhabit different worlds,' and that 'women's history is not an inevitable extension of social or socialist history.' (114-5) Similarly, Barbara Taylor, in her 1981 appeal for the inclusion of 'feminist' as well as 'socialist' historians in the *Journal*'s sub-title, makes the elementary but too often forgotten point that while socialism and feminism are inextricably connected, 'one cannot be reduced to the other.' (123) The sub-title was promptly revised, and feminist historians have continued to contribute much to the *Journal*, but the fact remains that socialism and feminism are sometimes awkward allies, and that Workshop women are still confronted, from time to time, by the vexsome assumption (mainly by men) that the class struggle counts for more than the gender one, and that the Left is somehow immune from patriarchy. Happily, of late years, men have proven more willing (both in Workshop strands and in the

*Journal*) to study constructions of masculinity and male sexuality — a trend which hopefully will further educate men in constructions of gender, and ultimately bring about a revolution in historical thought which emancipates us all from the operative assumption that our work is about men until we say otherwise.

Another area of occasional tension is the relationship between the Workshop movement and the *Journal*. Raphael Samuel writes frankly about 'aggrieved editors' sometimes being the last to learn about the calling of a local workshop, while in turn regional convenors sometimes feel neglected by the *Journal*. Nevertheless, the *Journal*'s editors would not be unduly apologetic, for through its features 'Notice Board' and 'Report Back' the *Journal* conveys a strong sense of History Workshop as a regional, national and international movement. It can also be said that the essays and reviews (a cumulative index is included in this volume) contribute in their own way to a sense of progression and camaraderie in Workshop projects. Scholarly paraphernalia abounds in the *Journal*'s articles, yet these too impart a strong sense that the study of history should be a collaborative exercise rather than a discordant or isolated series of virtuoso performances. *History Workshop Journal*, as Samuel remarks, is 'inescapably learned'; we can further say that it is the most exciting and daring of English-language historical journals. Indeed, as Christopher Hill has recently observed, it is 'the liveliest of the historical journals, combining first-class scholarship with political energy and intelligence'.

The same can be said of all the endeavours of History Workshop, both within the movement and *Journal*. The democratic inclusiveness of the Workshop, its ambition to 'learn to do by doing,' and its unique willingness to explore past and present together, ought to be a model for historical enquiry

everywhere. May the next twenty-five years be as fruitful.

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Gordon Phillips, *The Rise of the Labour Party, 1893-1931* (London: Routledge 1992).

THIS IS A SHORT (70 PAGE) BOOKLET, part of a series written by a history faculty at the University of Lancaster for use in preparing for 'A' Levels and in introductory university courses. Despite its brevity, Gordon Phillips' broad knowledge of the Labour Party and its historical treatment is apparent, as is his facility in presenting this material in a manner appropriate to his targeted audience. Quite reasonably, the narrative is structured around three questions: the reasons for the emergence of an explicitly working-class party at the end of the nineteenth century, explanations for its growth and eventual displacement of the Liberal Party, and finally, its "obvious lack of success" in power in 1924 and 1929-31. (2)

This is, of course, a familiar story. But there is more here than the founding of the ILP and the LRC, the Taff Vale and Osborne decisions, *Labour and the New Social Order* and the machinations of the TUC and Ramsay MacDonald. Phillips has seriously attempted to address broader historiographical questions about the Party's social base. In a chapter on "The nature of labour's support," he speaks to the consequences of the Party's commitment to a male "family wage" upon its appeal to women, its ability to attract the votes of unorganized workers in a time of trade union retreat, and its growing support in Irish communities. As well, Phillips notes the effects of the re-composition of working-class communities upon the fortunes of the Party, an issue key to recent debates about the decay of Labour's electoral base.

Despite these efforts, this remains another entry (in the words of Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones) in the long tradition of "generally somewhat colourless accounts of party history." Whatever passion may have been displayed on street corners or at Party conferences has been strained out. Phillips throws no particular polemical punches of his own and the contentious world of labour and socialist politics is kept at a measured academic distance. His own hand can readily be seen in the prolonged discussion of the 1931 crisis and the relatively sympathetic treatment received by Ramsay MacDonald. A description of the sense of betrayal wrought by MacDonald's actions would have raised important questions about the strengths and nature of working-class hopes and loyalties.

Given the constraints of space, the many interesting topics broached by Phillips cannot be explored. Nevertheless, it remains a notable feature of the book that it lacks an explicit discussion of the political character of the Party; how can we account for and describe "labourist" ideology? While its roots in Liberalism are briefly explored, the issue becomes more problematic in dealing with the period starting in 1918 when the Party was extensively reorganized, opened to individual membership, and committed to a form of socialism. Why had these changes taken place and what role did they play in the rather steady improvement in Labour fortunes through the 1920s? There is little sense here of the political life of the Party, particularly at local levels. What did individual members do? Did they build explicitly labourist communities? Were they active in extra-parliamentary movements? Is it inappropriate to search for agency, for a working-class that is participating in its re-making, in and around the Labour Party? Once again, the point is that the aspirations that motivated members are not acknowledged or explored.

This is, of course, a problem with the genre. A crammer cannot concern itself with the complexity and nuance that

emerges from more specialized, and particularly local, studies. Moreover, it reinforces the dominance of a single narrative through which, presumably, Labour Party history can be satisfactorily explained. Phillips is aware of the problem; mysterious "other historians" regularly emerge from behind corners to offer alternative explanations for specific phenomenon. But there is no suggestion that starkly different views of the Labour Party as a whole may be possible. Nor is there much here to excite introductory students in the pursuit of history. If the story has been told so succinctly, why continue the search? This is not meant to be overly critical, for effective means to popularize historical research remain elusive even to those committed to the project. The educational system as well as popular notions of history will create a demand for precisely this kind of text. Long and turgid monographs replete with historiographical musings will not be widely read. But, it should be possible to convey to a broader audience some sense of the tendentiousness of historical conclusions and historians' dilemmas in constructing a coherent narrative. Despite Phillips' obvious strengths, the history of the Labour Party is not seventy pages long.

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Stephen Brooke, *Labour's War. The Labour Party during the Second World War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1992).

It is not my usual practice to look at the Index at all carefully before I begin reading a book. On this occasion what I found, and more especially what I did not find, much intrigued me. There were no entries recorded for colonialism, imperialism, India, de Gaulle, Roosevelt, J.B. Priestley, Oswald Mosley, Second Front, politics of Spain, El Alamein, Union of Democratic Control. The Communist Party of Great Britain had two entries, as also for Greece. Evan Durbin, a not unimportant

intellectual but without a public presence, had as many entries as Harold Laski.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK had previously completed an MA dissertation at McGill on 'Public Opinion in Wartime Britain,' but in his Introduction to *Labour's War* he explicitly excluded the changes in public support for the Labour Party during the war years, and he also left out any detailed discussion of the place and role of the trade unions. Further, he excluded completely — although he failed to remark upon the fact — the conduct and influence of foreign affairs. We have then a volume which is entitled *Labour's War* but which omits most of the events and episodes which over six years of global war contributed to the politics of the period. If a reader wishes to enquire into the most important single question of British domestic politics during the war years, namely, how did it come about that the broken-backed Labour Party of 1939 won an overwhelming victory at the general election of 1945, the general answer, or even some particular clues to the answer, will not be found here. Dr. Brooke, like Abou Ben Adhem, woke from a 'deep dream' and had a vision. In his case it was called 'consensus' and this volume has been written to deny what he thinks historians still believe: that, in his words, the Coalition government was 'the crucible of a reformist consensus between Labour and Conservative.' (2) The contrary is the case, Dr. Brooke believes:

Labour was not a hostage to consensus in 1945. Its post-war reforms were set firmly in the party's own tradition of democratic socialism, whatever its anomalies and inconsistencies. The assumptions it brought to power in 1945 were different in important respects from the consensus supposedly prevailing in wartime Whitehall. (340-1)

What Dr. Brook means by his insistence on the consensus question is that the Labour Party had written into its new constitution of 1918 the common ownership of the means of production; during the 1930s there had been much debate and

discussion concerning the details of social change; and the manifesto for the general election of 1945 — *Let Us Face the Future* — did include specific reference to public ownership of coal, railways, public utilities, the Bank of England, and iron and steel. How then can the argument for a Coalition consensus be sustained, for the Conservative Party could not possibly approach these positions? To document this argument Dr. Brooke spends the greater part of his book in a consideration of the domestic policies of the Labour Party as they were discussed during the war years at the centre: in Transport House (the Labour Party headquarters) the War Cabinet and Whitehall in general. The middle chapters, where these matters are set out in detail, are of some limited use, but the crucial questions historians are interested in, or should be so interested, are missed. What did the leading members of the Party understand by nationalisation, and why, for example, did the Executive's policy document *Full Employment and Financial Policy*, presented to the 1944 Party Conference, adopt such an ambiguous approach to public ownership; and why was it that Ian Mikardo was able to carry his composite resolution which insisted upon a clear commitment to public ownership? Dr. Brooke notes that the Executive had 'seriously misjudged' the mood of the Party, but we are given no explanation of why the misjudgment occurred.

'History' wrote E.H. Carr 'cannot be written unless the historian can achieve some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing'. And this is Dr. Brooke's problem. He ignores the make-up of the bundle of ideas that motivated the individuals within the Labour leadership. Whether he would subscribe to Paul Addison's description of them on the eve of war as 'essentially moderate social patriots' is not clear. Dr. Brooke uses the term 'socialist' or 'democratic socialist' without precise definition. He notes that Stuart MacIntyre accepts the

phrase 'labour socialism' to characterise the ideology of most of the leadership in the inter-war years, but this is dismissed in half a sentence; and Dr. Brooke obviously does not understand the meaning of labourism in the nineteenth century and its acceptance of a socialist rhetoric in the years before 1939. When Dr. Brooke does attempt a definition, he makes some extraordinary blunders. Harold Laski is very properly given a leading place in the narrative as among the main critics of Labour's policy during the war years. Laski, it is noted, was concerned with the problems of pluralist democracy in the 1920s, but after the crisis of 1931 his writings were 'infused with an explicit Leninist Marxism.' To coin a cliché, if Dr. Brooke believes this he will believe anything. It might be thought that all twentieth-century historians understand broadly what Leninism involved, but apparently not. Dr. Brooke might care to look at the essay on Laski in Kenneth Morgan's *Labour People* (1987) published the year before Dr. Brooke obtained his doctorate. Kenneth Morgan was his supervisor, it should be added. There are other misleading uses of terminology. It may be that in North America — this is not a pejorative comment — the term 'marxisant' is used as a synonym for 'marxist', but this is not so in Europe. 'Marxisant' on this side of the Atlantic means someone whose ideas have been strongly influenced by marxist ideas but who would not describe him or herself as a marxist, *tout court*. Dr. Brooke uses the two words interchangeably, and it can be misleading. As can the term 'fundamentalist' which Dr. Brooke applies to Anceurin Bevan and to those who voted for the explicit inclusion of the public ownership clauses in the 1944 Labour Party Conference. Again this is not a usage that would normally be accepted for the 1930s or 1940s, although it might have become acceptable to some by the end of the 1950s when Hugh Gaitskell was seriously considering the elimination of Clause Four of the Constitution.

In his concluding chapter Dr. Brooke is no more successful than in his opening chapter on the labour movement in the 1930s. He argues that after 1945, in contrast with the war years, 'the party was also relatively united. Majority power temporarily quelled internal discontent and it was not until 1947 that left-wing opposition within the party began to crystallize.' (328) This is a statement which in broad terms is the opposite of what in fact happened, and it underlines the dangers of pursuing a part of a larger story without any comprehension of the interacting elements of that larger story. Down to 1947 it is correct that the Labour Party, in the country as a whole as well as within Westminster, were broadly in agreement with the domestic legislation that was being put onto the Statute book. There were critics, of course, but no concerted opposition. By contrast, in the many areas of foreign affairs, there was tenacious and vociferous opposition to Ernest Bevin and the Foreign Office, and in particular to the government's attitude towards the Soviet Union and to their increasing subservience to the United States. The high point of this opposition was the famous debate of November 1946, which Attlee summed up because Bevin was in New York, and which ended with a large number of abstentions from Labour back benchers who were not normally supportive of what, in modern British terminology, would be called the hard Left. By the end of the following year this opposition, in spite of the publication of the *Keep Left* manifesto, was beginning to disintegrate; and the intensification of the Cold War meant that left-wing opposition, on domestic as well as foreign issues, was never troublesome. The leadership evoked no serious disagreement with the expulsion of their foreign affairs critics in 1948 and 1949.

What is left of value from Dr. Brooke's 300 or so pages of text? Not very much, it has to be said. Students will find the middle chapters not unhelpful, but as a guide to *Labour's War*, whatever

the particular emphasis, it lacks many things. No one can write the history of these six years of global war without some reference to those events which began to alter the perceptions of large numbers of the British people. Beveridge and his Report are given proper attention; but there must be some mention of the steady stream of anti-capitalist and anti-Conservative literature throughout the war years — of which Michael Foot's *Guilty Men*, published in the summer of 1940, was an outstanding pioneer; or of the impact of the Second Front propaganda from 1942; or of the fury of public opinion at the release of Oswald Mosley in 1943; or the vague but pervasive radicalism that was developing through the Armed Forces in the last years of war.

There is a further point that can be offered as a contribution to the consensus argument. The Labour Government carried through the programme it had proposed to the electorate in the general election of July 1945: at least on the domestic front. The problem for the historian is to explain why the Conservative Party acquiesced in most of the economic as well as the social policies that were converted into legislation. Iron and steel is an obvious exception; and the medical profession fought a strenuous battle with Aneurin Bevin, and won important concessions. When the Conservatives came back to power in late 1951, and they were to remain in government for the next thirteen years, almost all the Labour Party's legislation remained on the Statute book. Could it be that the nature and character of the nationalisation measures were not ill-suited to the requirements of contemporary capitalism? After all, the propertied classes in Britain were to enjoy in the 1950s what was probably the biggest bonanza of any decade in the twentieth century. And the social policies? Well, together with full employment they helped to keep political life relatively peaceful, and in time they could be, as they were, gradually whittled down to meet the requirements of the market. Let



us also remember that the welfare benefits for the middle classes were not insignificant, and that the financing of social welfare for working people, to a much greater extent than is commonly recognised, involved a re-distribution of income within the working class itself.

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Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992).

THE STORY OF JACK THE RIPPER is possibly one of the best-known tales of a mass murderer of women in the Anglo-American world. It includes the Gothic novel's familiar elements of horror and fear, as well as a strong cautionary message for women about the dangers of "mean streets" on foggy nights. In *City of Dreadful Delight*, Judith Walkowitz returns to the historical terrain that first produced the story of Jack, arguing that his tale can be seen, not as an obvious and unquestionable "truth," but rather as the product of certain "cultural dynamics and social struggles ... part of a formative moment in the production of feminist sexual politics and of popular narratives of sexual danger." (2)

In order to examine these multiple and competing narratives, with their multi-layered and open-ended meanings, Walkowitz has chosen to push the boundaries of women's and social history, ending up in the realm of the "new cultural history." But *City of Dreadful Delight* is above all a feminist cultural history that wants to probe both the "competing cultural elements" that were part of this narrative and those elements that were excluded, especially those in which women were "not silent or terrorized victims." (2) In order to do so, Walkowitz draws upon the theoretical and methodological insights of a wide array of post-structuralist

and feminist critics. She is particularly concerned with Foucault's arguments concerning Victorian culture's "privileging" of sexuality, his insistence that power is dispersed throughout society, and that no one (however marginal) is left untouched by power; cultural constructs helped shape and limit the ways in which the women of Victorian London spoke about sexual passion and danger. However, Walkowitz does take issue with Foucault, insisting that as a feminist scholar she must acknowledge the "material context of discursive struggle," (9) locating these struggles within the power relations that made sexual danger an ever-present theme for Victorian women. Nor does she want to lose sight of human agency, pointing to the ways in which a number of Victorians attempted to shape their own stories (albeit with the narrative tools made available to them by forces outside their control).

The book exemplifies some of cultural historians' methodological approaches. It adheres to "chronological boundaries" for its general outline (early to late 1880s) but moves in a synchronic, rather than linear, manner through its chosen narratives. Using a variety of sources (newspapers, novels, music-hall songs, social-reformers' writings, and memoirs), Walkowitz provides a richly-textured discussion of London streets and public life in the 1880s, examining the gendered nature of this "contested urban terrain." A host of male and female characters from all classes gather on this stage; some of the most notable are the "New Women" of the period, who partook of the city in a variety of ways (as middle-class shoppers, "platform women" or political activists, and charity workers). However, their use of urban space was never a straightforward matter; they ran into harassment from "gentlemen" in the West End and, conversely, experienced a much greater degree of freedom in the streets of the East End. And it is an awareness of the contradictions and paradoxes of this context that

Walkowitz argues is needed to prove the various narratives of sexuality and gender that appear in *City of Dreadful Delight*: the journalist W.H. Stead's melodramatic "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" and social reformer Josephine Butler's attack on aristocratic male licentiousness; discussions of heterosexual gender relations conducted within the Men's and Women's Club; the tale of Georgina Weldon, a unorthodox woman who forged a successful public career out of her fight against her husband's attempts to incarcerate her in an insane asylum (because of her attraction to spiritualism); and, finally, the "new metropolitan star," who like Weldon was also "emblematic of transgression and mobility, but who evoked the darker and erotic elements of the fantastic: Jack the Ripper." (189) The book closes with an epilogue that examines the case of the "Yorkshire Ripper," another mass murderer who, from 1975 to 1980, killed 13 women in the northern English communities of Bradford and Leeds.

The dense and wide-ranging nature of Walkowitz's work is likely to stimulate, intrigue, and infuriate many historians (possibly simultaneously). *City of Dreadful Delight* is a long-awaited, innovative piece of scholarly work that builds upon some of the important insights Walkowitz developed in *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; it also demonstrates the ways in which she has changed as a historian since the latter's publication. The book raises compelling and provocative questions for feminist scholars; for example, in her discussion of Stead, Walkowitz points to the multi-faceted nature of "The Maiden Tribute," a tale of feminine victimisation that evoked responses from feminists, evangelicals, and socialists, who campaigned actively against predatory male sexuality. It also, however, gave male "rakes" a chance to publicly defend their behaviour, arguing that preying on women was both "compulsive and compulsory." (103) She also demonstrates that the London press' construction of the

Ripper murders excluded and marginalized women, encouraging a type of male protectiveness that cast the debate in the binary opposites of weak women in need of protection and strong men who would do the protecting. This discursive strategy, Walkowitz notes, resulted in "respectable" women remaining indoors while middle- and working-class men patrolled the streets of Whitechapel. Furthermore, while not wanting to argue that the Ripper murders resulted in an increase of violence against women, she does point to the number of ways in which they "established a common vocabulary and iconography for the forms of male violence that permeated the whole society, obscuring the different material conditions that provoked sexual antagonism in different classes." (220) And I think one of the book's great strengths as a piece of feminist scholarship is its discussion of the similarities and differences between Jack and the Yorkshire Ripper, one of the most important ones being the ways in which feminists and prostitutes worked actively to seize control of the terms of debate (although, as Walkowitz notes, the public unity of British feminists was illusory; the British women's movement had its own divisions that emerged over the issue of pornography). Throughout the book, Walkowitz points to the many ways in which historians can begin to think through the dichotomies that an ordering of the world into rigid, fixed categories has imposed on our conceptualization of the past.

Yet while an intriguing and challenging work of historical scholarship, *City of Dreadful Delights* is by no means without its problems. One of these is the specificity of locale. As my colleagues in British history have repeatedly told me, "London was (and is) different": in its economic structure and the kinds of industries it attracted (especially those centred on the luxury and retail trades), its position as the national capital, its size and density, in its status as an international port, the kinds of media and political groups

based in London, and so on. Now all of these factors may or may not be as relevant to Walkowitz's material as they might be to other kinds of social and economic history, but given that she is interested in the way that others responded to and retold media narratives that were located very specifically within the context of London society (most particularly that quintessential London story, the Ripper), I would have liked to have seen some consideration or at least acknowledgement, of this question. How were these tales constructed by the press (and others) of the north, for example? Were they presented as warnings of the viciousness of London society in general, as cautionary tales to those young women who might be attracted to its bright lights and commercial allurements?

However, this is not by any means a major complaint. My more serious concerns are to do with structural matters and the wider issues the book raises. Walkowitz's insistence upon the synchronic nature of the narratives she examines and her refusal to repress multiple meanings and draw neat delineations means that it is anything but a "tidy read." While I have no quarrel with this methodological approach *per se*, since many of the structural features, central motifs and symbols of these narratives recur and overlap from one chapter to the next, there are times when I wished Walkowitz had limited her scope and considered fewer narratives and discourses in order to probe more deeply into others. The reader is taken down a variety of discursive pathways but, just when the journey appears most promising, the book shoots off in another direction and to a new locale. For example, while her chapter on the men's and women's club is a fascinating discussion of the attempts of a small group of middle-class intellectuals to struggle with the discourse of shifting relations between men and women, its purpose is not as clear as those of the other chapters. I became impatient to return to the world of the "public" narratives; these seemed

much more open-ended and subject to interventions and re-telling than those of the club. I also found that the theme of sexual danger that underlies this book, and is so necessary to its argument, simply was not as immediate in this chapter (nor, I suspect, in the lives of the club's members — at least not to the extent that it was for the women of Whitechapel). And despite her insistence that the Ripper narrative evades closure (since the Ripper was never caught) and that the story contains multiple meanings (ones reshaped by those who retold it), the narratives were all-too depressingly similar in their consequences for women's use of public space — even in a city of so many "dreadful delights" as London of the 1880s.

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Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge 1991).

IN *ACTRESSES AS WORKING WOMEN* Tracy Davis, a professor of English at Northwestern University, seeks reasons for the equivocal position of actresses in Victorian society. Throughout the Victorian period, the living and working conditions of male and female performers, and the public reaction to them, remained distinctly different. Even as the status of acting as a truly artistic pursuit rose, actresses continued to be stigmatized by people inside and outside the profession. They continued to have their respectability assessed on terms different from actors, because men retained a monopoly over defining the normative rules for female activity, sexuality, and intellect, and because actresses' autonomy, mobility, and public existences went beyond the bounds of female propriety and so challenged the ideology of the domestic sphere and patriarchal supremacy. The result was that the development of actresses' careers was largely affected by a

complex network of attitudes, practices, and factors beyond their control and unrepresentative of their talents or commitment.

Because of the complexity of her task, Davis rejects narrow models of historical explanation in favour of multifaceted methodological approaches that are informed by Marxist and feminist theory, and by recent theoretical writing in theatre, business, fine art, film, and cultural history, literature, and semiotical analysis of performance. These approaches are deployed on a daunting array of primary and secondary sources, such as statutes, census and parliamentary committee reports, official publications, legal documents, plays, playbills, pictorial and sartorial evidence, books, journals, newspapers, articles, memoirs, biographies, autobiographies, and erotica. The result is a historical *tour de force*.

The book is divided into two parts of three and two chapters respectively. Part I analyzes "The Profession" on the basis of, a) the socio-economic organization of the theatre; b) sex, gender, and social demography; and c) the social dynamic and "respectability." In Part II the author uses reception theory and semiotic analysis of performance, buildings, and neighbourhoods to explore "Conditions of Work."

The first chapter addresses aspects of social and labour history and provides valuable background information on the organization and nature of employment, before examining changing attitudes to, and the expansion of, the theatrical industry, the gentrification of the professions' upper ranks and women's pursuit of theatrical careers at a time when growing numbers of surplus women needed paid employment. Attention is focused not on the successful actresses who figured prominently in previous theatre histories, but rather on the thousands of obscure performers whose pursuit of a stage career rarely resulted in decent wages, job security, or social respectability.

Relying heavily — albeit carefully because of obvious flaws — on demographic information on London, Liverpool, and Glasgow provided by house-by-house censuses, and on case histories that enliven the statistical data, chapter two examines the social, sexual, economic, and geographic characteristics of the theatrical profession. Among the areas illuminated are the enormous change in the sex ratio in the acting profession and its relationship to the broader surplus woman question, the nature of actresses' private and professional lives, the growth of schemes for systematic professional welfare, and the gendered and self-interested basis on which needs were identified and addressed.

In the next chapter, the author argues that economic circumstances and middle-class views on appropriate public and private spaces and roles had important social consequences for actresses, profoundly influencing judgments about their sexual morality and conduct. Female performers' public existences and pursuit of recognition and self-sufficiency contradicted the passive, private ideal of feminine respectability, and led to unfounded but persistent prejudices against, and real sexual danger to, them.

The sexual equivocity of actresses was constantly reinforced in the public mind by their presentation as beautiful, sensual, available creatures in a compromising venue — the theatre, the analysis of which constitutes the two chapters of Part II. Chapter four examines the effects of costume, gesture, and figural composition on actresses' equivocity. The frequent appearance of actresses in popular illustrated pornography — a neglected source that Davis considers vital to an understanding of popular culture and the sexual lexicography — convinced her "that the theatrical conventions that defied social norms were capable of receiving explicit sexual readings by spectators who were fully literate in the conventions of pornography." (xv)

The final chapter examines the interplay between society and the theatre and the reasons encoded eroticism survived for decades virtually unchanged. As long as men controlled the erotic key to deciphering performance, Davis concludes, prostitutes and actresses, no matter how chaste, would be linked in the public mind, conventions could not be successfully challenged, and the full importance of the theatre as an educational and moral forum operating for the general good could be neither understood nor appreciated.

Apart from minor linguistic flaws involving the occasional misuse or misspelling of words, there is little to criticize in *Actresses as Working Women*. The work is exhaustively researched, excellently illustrated, interestingly presented, and cogently argued. In short it is a first rate treatment of a fascinating and important subject, that is highly recommended to anyone working in the history of Victorian women or the theatre.

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Joan Campbell, ed., *European Labor Unions* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press 1992).

SCHOLARLY EFFORTS to draw up an inventory of the international development of labour movements date at the latest from the turn of the century. To my knowledge, its pioneer was the German lawyer Wilhelm Kulemann, who published a book of nearly 750 pages entitled *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (Jena 1900) in which he outlined the history of workers' and employers' organizations "in all countries." A few years later, from 1908 to 1913, Kulemann published a new and considerably expanded version of this work, *Die Berufsvereine*, consisting of six volumes and almost 2700 pages, which is still used as a source by historians.

Since then a number of authors have been active in the same field. Paul Louis for instance treated ten countries in his *Le syndicalisme européen* (Paris 1914) and Siegfried Nestriepke doubled that number in his three-volume *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (Stuttgart 1920-21). Perhaps the last major attempt along these lines was made by Alfredo Gradilone. His seven-volume *Storia del sindacalismo* (Milan 1957-69) dealt (in more than three thousand pages) with the history of trade unionism in Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Germany, and a selection of smaller West European countries.

As the historical body of knowledge of separate labour movements grew through the accumulation of scholarly results and the progression of time, it became more and more difficult for single individuals to carry out this kind of multinational project. All the relevant works appearing after Gradilone's (like Gilles Martinet's *Sept syndicalisme* [Mem Martins 1979] or Michel Launay's *Le syndicalisme en Europe* [Paris 1990]) are less thorough than their predecessor.

It is almost impossible nowadays for one researcher to acquire an in-depth knowledge of the whole literature on labour movements in ten or more countries. This is why, in addition to comprehensive single-author projects, four other approaches have surfaced.

First, comprehensive international studies realized by teams of national experts. An early case in point was the *Comparative Labor Movements* (New York 1952) volume, edited by Walter Galenson and dealing with nine countries. Second, studies taking stock of cross-national literature and data. To this category belong Victor Allen's *International Bibliography of Trade Unionism* (London 1960) or Jelle Visser's recent *European Trade Unions in Figures* (Deventer and Boston 1989). Third, studies interpreting or explaining a clearly delineated feature of national labour movements. Examples are Anders Kjellberg's *Facklig organisering i tolv länder* (Lund 1983) on union

strength in 12 countries during the years 1930-75, and the analysis of the formative stage of 28 labour movements in *The Formation of Labour Movements* (Leiden 1990), edited by Jürgen Rojahn and myself. Fourth, directories giving concise information on organizational aspects of trade unions in a large number of countries — a "tradition" at least going back to R. Palme Dutt's *Labour International Handbook* (London 1921). Among the most important publications in this category are the handy encyclopedia by Karel Král and Květa Venerová, *ABC Mezinárodního odborového hnutí* (Prague 1965), *The International Directory of the Trade Union Movement* (New York 1979), edited by A. Percy Goldrich and Philip Jones, and the *Internationales Gewerkschaftshandbuch* (Opladen 1983), edited by Siegfried Mielke.

The book under review is a mix of the first and fourth types. It consists of short portraits written by national experts on trade-union movements in thirty European countries (Albania — Yugoslavia [!]). The space allotted to a country (17 pages on the average) largely depends on its "size." The Czech and Slovak Republics are treated in one chapter, while three chapters have been devoted to Germany, dealing in turn with the period prior to 1945, the GDR, and the FRG. John Windmüller provided an additional chapter on European regional organizations. Each chapter contains a historical introduction, a short guide for further reading, and a series of individual union "profiles" arranged alphabetically under their English names with the original name in parentheses. National chronologies and a detailed index have been appended.

The book — the first part of a series designed to cover the world-wide development of organized labour — enables the reader quickly to collect some basic information on specific countries. The good thing about this is that the information is quite up to date (the deadline for contributors must have been somewhere in 1991). The bad thing is that, except for

some minor countries neglected by research like Albania or Malta, most of this information may also and just as easily be found in the older literature.

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Charles Rappoport, *Une vie révolutionnaire, 1883-1940. Les mémoires de Charles Rappoport*. Annotated by Harvey Goldberg and Georges Haupt. Presented by Marc Lagana. (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme 1991).

THE REVOLUTIONARY ENGAGEMENT of Charles Rappoport, a young Jew from an hassidic family, began in 1883 in the populist movement in Lithuanian Russia, from which he fled in 1887 following the attempted assassination of Tsar Alexander III. It reached its denouement, after decades of devoted propaganda and educational work, with the show trials of the "neo-Tsar" Stalin. (461) Rappoport's memoirs offer rich testimony on the central events, controversies, and actors that shaped a half-century of European socialism. Proper revolutionary strategy in Tsarist Russia, the Dreyfus case, French ministerialism, German revisionism, internationalism and war, the Russian Revolution and more: all are refracted through the eyes of a revolutionary whose life, in Harvey Goldberg's words, constituted a "microcosm of an epoch." (16) Rappoport's pages teem with pen portraits of revolutionary personalities. He moved between France, Switzerland (where he wrote a widely translated doctorate on the philosophy of history), Germany, and Britain before settling in Paris in 1897. Well before 1914 he had become immersed in the French socialist movement and the Second International, participated in the German movement as well, and he knew Russian exiles of every ideological bent, from the anarchist Peter Kropotkin and the social revolutionary

Victor Chernov to the social democrats from Plekhanov and Martov to Lenin and Trotsky. Rappoport is a willing and often witty witness to the first four decades of his career, a somewhat more reluctant one to the crisis of conscience into which it carried him. For Rappoport embraced a revolutionary and a humane socialism; it remained his personal tragedy, and socialism's larger one, that the movement to which he devoted his life proved unable to unite the two.

Although Engels failed to win him for Marxism in London in 1892, Rappoport converted a decade later. Directly influenced by Peter Lavrov, whose qualified materialism preserved the independence of human thought and volition, Rappoport initially found the "simplification and quasi-fatalist objectivism of the Marxists" unpalatable. (205) He remained a Lavrovian in seeing revolution as a human duty and not simply as a materialist corollary. Thus Rappoport could oppose Bernstein's revisionism as anti-revolutionary, while approving his anti-Marxism. In the 1890s he defended social revolutionary thought against Plekhanov's Russian Marxism. Increasingly critical of social revolutionary utopianism, however, even more so of the concessions of western reformists, Rappoport concluded that Marxism embodied the revolutionary insight and impetus that socialism required. The conviction that socialism must remain revolutionary carried him into some fateful political decisions, such as siding with Jules Guesde against Jean Jaurès. Rappoport described Guesde and Jaurès, the two leading French socialists, as follows: "struggle and conciliation; analysis and synthesis; harshness and generosity; intransigence and supplement." (185) The irony here is that although Rappoport shared with Jaurès suppleness, generosity, and a synthetic view, as well as erudition, culture, and humanity, not to mention personal friendship, he felt duty-bound to oppose Jaurès' compromises, reluctantly broke with him, endorsed Marxism, and entered

Guesde's *Parti socialiste* in 1902. Rappoport and Jaurès would personally reconcile before Jaurès' assassination in July 1914, and Rappoport produced the first biography of the great socialist tribune.

Following his conversion to Marxism, Rappoport supported Plekhanov in the Russian movement, Guesde in France, and Karl Kautsky in the International. But he embraced Marxism as a critical method, not a dogma, and as a creed compatible with human agency in history. Happiest as a militant between 1907-1911, defending Marxism against apolitical French syndicalists and socialist "opportunists" in Guesde's journal *Le Socialisme*, Rappoport nevertheless also valued unity in the French and Russian movements. He taught in the school of Russian agitators near Paris, and unsuccessfully counselled Lenin against his 1912 break with the Mensheviks. In January 1914 Rappoport's journal *Contre la guerre* criticized Lenin for regarding himself as "the only socialist," warning that he constituted "the greatest danger for the Russian revolution." (5) Rappoport remained critical even after the Bolsheviks' success in 1917. When they disbanded the Constituent Assembly, he dismissed Bolshevism in an oft-quoted quip as "blanquism with tartar sauce." (352)

Rappoport's memoirs say less about his 18 years as a communist than about any other period of his career. Dismayed by socialist support for World War I, including that of Guesde and Plekhanov, and impressed by the Russian revolutionary achievement, Rappoport rallied to Lenin's cause. He co-founded the French Communist Party in 1920. But he favoured an independent Party, not a mere tool of Moscow. Urging dialogue between the Comintern and the French Party, Rappoport observed that "submission is anything but a revolutionary virtue." (39) But Moscow reined in the Party, promoting compliant, mediocre, unscrupulous leaders. "On remplace les valeurs par des voleurs," observed the increasingly marginalized Rappoport.

(433) The Party excluded him from *L'Humanité* and from significant Party office, and closed its Marxist school, which he directed. He continued to espouse "a living and creative Marxism" over one "of citations," (22) and edited the promising but short-lived *La Revue marxiste* (1929-1930), of whose fidelity he failed to convince Party leaders. "My relations with the Communist Party," he once publicly commented, "are like those of Voltaire with God: we salute one another from time to time, but we do not converse." (441)

Rappoport remained in the Party, but at increasing cost to his conscience, hence the relative reticence of his memoirs on this period. He offers little beyond the fear of counter-revolution to explain his prolonged acquiescence. The pattern, however, is clear: an aversion to socialist reformism had again prompted Rappoport to align with those who seemed most resolutely revolutionary, even if much else divided them. His comment to German communist Paul Levi captures his double disaffection: "I hate the reformists ... because they obliged me to become a bolshevik." (441) To Rappoport, Stalin was a massive aberration, made possible only by premature revolution in Russia. Lenin he wholly absolves in this regard. "The whole of Stalinism, a revolver against the head that thinks," (462) climaxed in the show trials, which finally prompted Rappoport's long subordinated humanist socialism to break through his notion of revolutionary duty. The 72 year old broke with Moscow in 1938, abandoned his only income as an *Izvestia* correspondent, resigned from the French Communist Party, and for the remaining three years of his life campaigned publicly against Stalinism.

This volume consists of published and unpublished works in French, Russian, and Yiddish written between 1926-40, with variations duly noted. Admirably qualified for the task. Georges Haupt and Harvey Goldberg superbly annotated the whole (notwithstanding the occasional er-

rant reference), greatly enhancing its use as a research tool. It is a credit to Marc Lagana to have completed a project that began over twenty years ago and outlived its original editors. The result is an exceptionally valuable document on European socialism, revealing both in its assertions and in its silences.

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Éliane Gubin, ed., *Norme et marginalités. Comportements féminins aux 19e-20e siècles* (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles 1991).

NORME ET MARGINALITÉS! Voilà deux concepts qui, appliqués aux comportements féminins, semblent orienter de façon claire le sens des propos présentés et ce, d'autant plus qu'on explique au lecteur en introduction que ce titre fut l'objet de discussions d'où a découlé le choix de retenir le singulier pour qualifier la norme et le pluriel pour parler des marginalités. Le singulier pour bien marquer que les femmes, quelle que soit leur appartenance sociale, sont toutes perçues et jugées en fonction de leur mission reproductrice et le pluriel pour exprimer les multiples façons de contourner ou de rejeter cette vocation unique. Le postulat de base veut que ce soit l'homme qui élabore le code et la femme qui doit s'y soumettre à défaut de quoi, peu importe que son attitude soit le résultat d'un choix ou de la nécessité, elle sera sanctionnée et reléguée dans la marginalité. Ce schéma simple, et parfois tout à fait conforme à la réalité, constitue la base de bien des analyses des rapports entre les hommes et les femmes.

Ce petit livre, fruit d'un colloque international organisé en mai 1990 conjointement par le Centre d'études canadiennes (à Bruxelles) et le GIEF (Groupe interdisciplinaire d'études sur les femmes, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles), présente néanmoins une réalité beaucoup plus



complexe. Huit communications provenant de cinq pays [France (1), Espagne (1), Italie (1), Québec (2), Belgique (2)], permettent en effet d'entrevoir une série de subtilités qui viennent nuancer le modèle. On constate, par exemple, qu'à certains moments, on tolère, ou mieux, on va jusqu'à organiser la transgression des rôles féminins par la prostitution, subordonnant ainsi la norme quant à la conduite des femmes à des impératifs sociaux jugés plus importants. Les industriels belges du siècle dernier, quant à eux, tiennent un discours éloquent sur les vertus de la femme au foyer mais, pour préserver leurs intérêts économiques, ils s'assurent qu'elles les pratiquera ... après les heures de travail à l'usine ou à la mine. On s'aperçoit également que la norme définie par la gent masculine n'en est pas moins si bien intériorisée par certaines femmes que, non seulement elles ne semblent pas la subir, mais qu'elles en sont les plus ardentes propagandistes. Par ailleurs, des religieuses québécoises, desquelles on aurait pu s'attendre à ce qu'elles constituent le fer de lance de la soumission féminine, s'avanceront contre l'épiscopat à l'avant-garde de la défense du droit pour les filles à une instruction identique à celle des garçons. On voit bien, à la lumière de ces quelques exemples, l'intérêt de mener l'enquête au-delà du discours normatif.

Le première communication présentée par Nicole Arnaud-Duc ne dépasse cependant pas ce stade. L'auteure, non sans mérite, a épluché un dictionnaire des lois et de la juris-prudence, publié à Paris en 1844, pour identifier en quoi les règles et la pratique juridiques françaises traduisaient une conception du rôle des femmes et des relations hommes-femmes. A l'intérieur d'un regroupement thématique cohérent, elle aligne en vrac tous les éléments permettant d'y parvenir. La démarche semble exhaustive, mais elle demeure muette sur les auteurs du dictionnaire, le but et le public visés, les critères de choix du corpus retenu, de même que sur le contexte historique dans lequel les règles

ont vu le jour et ont été appliquées. Par ailleurs, même si l'idéal féminin proposé par le discours juridique n'est pas dénué de signification, il a déjà fait l'objet de multiples descriptions et la recherche féministe s'attarde maintenant plus à analyser les modalités de son influence sur les comportements.

Catherine Mougenot poursuit la discussion dans le contexte de la Belgique au XXe siècle. Normes et marginalité (remarquons sa décision inexplicable d'aller à l'encontre du choix du titre), selon elle, se définissent en fonction de formes de domination et reposent sur un consensus social. On ne peut guère contester une telle affirmation. Elle poursuit en s'inspirant d'un modèle de Bourdieu et tente de démontrer que, suite à la mécanisation et à la tertialisation, le monde rural belge serait passé, dans le cours des années 1950, d'une forme de domination fondée sur la personne, dans laquelle la norme aurait revêtu une importance très réduite à une forme de domination plus complexe reposant sur le statut. La majorité des femmes disposant d'un faible statut social dans le second type de société, elles en sortiraient automatiquement marginalisées. Plusieurs questions restent, quant à nous, en suspens et la démonstration est peu convaincante. Même si la norme n'y est pas explicitement codée, son poids s'avère-t-il si mince dans une société du premier type? Par ailleurs, un statut social peu reluisant est-il réellement signe de marginalisation? Peut-être est-ce la brièveté de cette participation d'à peine six pages qui entretient la confusion et empêche l'auteure d'établir explicitement les liens entre les deux concepts clés du colloque, les formes de domination et les rapports hommes-femmes.

Après cette première section intitulée «Définir la norme,» une seconde décrit des «Parcours individuels.» Celui de Concepcion Arrenal, présenté par Maria-José Lacalzada de Mateo, n'est pas banal. Qui aurait pu imaginer, en plein dix-neuvième siècle espagnol, une femme transgresser aussi allègrement les normes culturelles,

socio-politiques et religi-euses? C'est pourtant ce que cette femme exceptionnelle réalise par sa vie et par son invitation à le faire adressée à ses compatriotes. Engagée dans un mariage peu conformiste dans lequel, bien que mère de famille, elle exerce avec son époux une activité littéraire rémunérée, elle débordait aussi la norme par le contenu de ses écrits. Abordant des sujets politiques, elle s'adresse aux femmes pour les inciter à revendiquer le droit au développement intégral de leur personnalité et aux hommes pour dénoncer les formes du pouvoir. Elle rédige des projets de réforme des hôpitaux, des prisons, des maisons de bienfaisance, elle s'implique dans des activités en faveur des pauvres et des délinquants non sans ressemblance avec Flora Tristan. Qu'il s'agisse de la promotion professionnelle des bourgeoises ou de la dénonciation de la situation des prostituées, elle monte au front pour toutes les causes liées à l'émancipation des femmes allant jusqu'à proposer leur droit à l'ordination. L'article demeure descriptif mais parvient à nous communiquer l'enthousiasme de l'auteure pour un itinéraire féminin hors du commun.

Les romans autobiographiques de Neel Doff, émigrée de Hollande en Belgique dans le dernier quart du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle laisse voir une marginalité assumée avec beaucoup moins de conviction. L'auteure de l'article, *Madeleine Frédéric*, analyse finement les tiraillements qui déchirent la romancière. Ayant elle-même, comme son héroïne, commencé sa vie dans les bas fonds d'Amsterdam, Neel Doff passera par plusieurs formes de marginalité — tour à tour prostituée, puis modèle auprès d'artistes et femme entretenue — avant de finir en bourgeoise mariée et cossue avec pignon sur rue à Bruxelles et résidence secondaire. C'est alors la norme du discours bourgeois qui donnera le ton à son récit. Elle blâmera en effet sévèrement sa mère pour la déchéance de sa famille car, ouvrière travaillant du matin jusqu'à tard dans la nuit, celle-ci n'avait pu se préparer aux travaux ménagers dont son père aurait

eu besoin pour résister à la tentation de l'alcool! Elle jugera par ailleurs bien autrement son propre périple, pourtant peu conforme aux valeurs bourgeoises, car cette marginalité lui aura permis d'atteindre la norme. L'oeuvre autobiographique de Neel Doff témoigne de contradictions inévitables car elle cherche à valoriser sa marginalité antérieure à laquelle elle doit sa promotion alors que cette marginalité va à l'encontre d'un nouveau code qu'elle défend sans l'avoir encore parfaitement intégré.

La section suivante comporte deux articles sur les femmes «hors normes» que constituent les prostituées. Le premier rapporte une expérience passionnante analysée par Annarita Buttafuoco et tentée à Milan au tournant du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle par un groupe de féministes italiennes. Adeptes d'un féminisme «pratique,» en opposition avec les mouvements théoriques antérieurs, des militantes de l'Union féminine ouvrent, en 1902, un refuge pour les petites filles et adolescentes menacées par la prostitution ou qui y étaient déjà tombées. Leur approche s'écarte totalement de celles des institutions qui accueillaient traditionnellement ce type de clientèle car leur but premier n'est pas philanthropique mais de créer un lieu d'expérimentation de la solidarité entre les femmes. Elles cherchent à soustraire ces jeunes filles à l'exploitation et à en faire des «femmes nouvelles,» selon un modèle qu'elles s'efforcent de créer et de promouvoir. L'échec sera cuisant mais, somme toute peu étonnant, car le modèle à inculquer demeurait vague et l'objectif présupposait qu'il était possible de faire table rase du passé des jeunes filles. Destinées à une vie ouvrière dure et peu attirante, plusieurs d'entre elles regrettaient leur vie libre et autonome d'avant leur entrée au refuge. L'intérêt de cet article est double car la démarche de ces féministes s'avère très originale et l'attitude des jeunes filles peut être analysée à partir de sources d'une exceptionnelle richesse: récits de leur vie antérieure, lettres, journaux intimes, etc. La

marginalité a donc pour une fois la parole et cette parole exprime des contre-valeurs pleinement assumées et valorisantes.

La présentation suivante d'Andrée Lévesque nous transporte dans le même milieu de la prostitution à la même époque mais à Montréal. L'étude ne porte plus sur les victimes mais sur le discours des élites qui, sous l'impulsion de mouvements réformateurs américains, multiplient les analyses du phénomène. La science, la morale et le féminisme se portent au secours de la norme mais, malgré le consensus observé, juges et policiers font peu pour réprimer le «mal» parce qu'il ne menace finalement pas l'ordre social. L'article présente un bon champ d'observation sur l'écart entre un code de conduite et son application, de même que sur l'espace de tolérance qui se crée lorsque certains groupes dominants y trouvent leur compte.

La dernière section du volume présente deux articles qui analysent l'enseignement ménager comme «vecteur de la norme.» Éliane Gubin est l'auteur du premier de ces articles qui développe, à notre avis, la problématique la plus neuve de l'ensemble de l'ouvrage. Elle cherche à démontrer pourquoi et comment l'idéal de la femme au foyer s'est déplacé, en Belgique entre 1860 et 1900, des classes bourgeoises vers les classes laborieuses. Le développement de cet idéal par les bourgeois du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle est déjà largement documenté et on explique souvent de façon superficielle qu'il s'est par la suite imposé aux ouvriers et ouvrières en raison de leur embourgeoisement progressif. Madame Gubin démontre avec brio que les motifs principaux ont été autres et que c'est dans le but de garantir la paix sociale menacée par les revendications ouvrières que le patronat et les élites belges ont cherché à imposer cet idéal. On ne visait alors aucunement la promotion de l'ouvrier. On s'assurait au contraire qu'il resterait à sa place, car ses faibles ressources se trouvant mieux gérées, il serait moins tenté par l'aventure contestataire. L'enseignement ménager correspond

donc peut-être un idéal féminin théorique, mais il sera surtout développé comme outil de stabilité sociale. L'analyse du cas belge n'est peut-être pas transposable partout, mais sa présentation démontre clairement le grand intérêt de mener des recherches de terrain concrètes plutôt que de s'asseoir sur des explications théoriques généralisatrices.

La dernière collaboration s'attarde à décrire comment l'enseignement ménager s'est présenté, pendant près de 10 ans, comme la solution aux problèmes sociaux successifs qu'a connus le Québec depuis les années 1880. Nicole Thivierge résume ici son ouvrage sur les écoles ménagères et les instituts familiaux qui démontre comment l'idéologie de la femme au foyer a mobilisé plusieurs générations de nos élites clérico-conservatrices et pourquoi et par quoi elle a finalement été contestée et mise en brèche.

Ils était trop facile de s'attarder sur le cliché qui veut qu'un ouvrage collectif comporte des participations très inégales. C'est évidemment le cas. Mieux vaudrait tenter de dresser un bilan sur l'apport de l'ensemble. Comme il arrive très souvent, principalement sur les raisons de sources, domine le discours de ceux qui font la norme, c'est-à-dire des élites, qu'il s'agisse de patrons, de scientifiques, d'ecclésiastiques ou de juristes. Quelques voix parviennent de la marge et surtout l'une d'entre elle particulièrement originale et précieuse par sa richesse et sa rareté, celle des petites pensionnaires du refuge Mariuccia. C'est par ce genre de témoignage que progresse l'historiographie.

La matière présentée est variée, parfois dense et susceptible de faire avancer la réflexion méthodologique sur l'utilité des concepts retenus comme fil conducteur du colloque. On peut cependant regretter qu'aucune participante n'en ait profité pour développer cette réflexion que les lecteurs et lectrices sont réduits à mener par eux-mêmes. Jean-Pierre Nandrin, chargé de conclure les débats, ouvre quelques pistes par exemple sur les types de marginalité — forcée, revendiquée, ré-

cupérée. Les chercheuses étaient certes mieux placées pour le faire. On doit aussi mentionner la piètre qualité de l'édition: coquilles typographiques, langue souvent douteuse et traductions trop rapides nuisent à l'image globale de l'ensemble. Bref un ouvrage qui promettait, sur un thème riche, qui ménage quelques bonnes surprises mais qui aurait pu être plus stimulant.

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Diane Kirkby, *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice, The Life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991).

THIS WELL-RESEARCHED BOOK tells the story, in the context of Alice Henry's life, of the convergence of labour and feminist concerns in the Australian and American progressive movements. Since few sources survive from Henry's private life, Kirkby has written mainly about Henry's professional activity. Born of Scottish parents in Melbourne in 1857, Alice Henry came of age in Australia during heady times for those interested in reforms for labour and women. As a journalist, Henry had an excellent vantage-point from which to observe Australia's labour and social experiments.

Kirkby argues convincingly that it was American reformers' interest in Australia's social experiments and Henry's career as an Australian journalist committed to those reforms that gave Henry entry to American reform circles when she arrived in 1906. She was offered a position with the Chicago branch of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) in 1907, starting as an office secretary and later serving variously as editor, publicist, and lecturer for the National League until 1927. As a cross-class organization of middle-class "allies" and working-class women, the WTUL brought together Henry's two concerns of labour and fem-

inism. With work for the League and life in Chicago, it would be 27 years before Henry returned to live in Australia.

In her assessment of Henry's role in the WTUL, Kirkby agrees with the view that organization and legislation were original and compatible emphases of the National League and many of its branches. Furthermore, she concurs that over-emphasis on the New York League has led some scholars to insist that the WTUL turned to legislation after discouragement regarding organization. She emphasizes that education, legislation, and organization were intertwined emphases of the League.

Kirkby's treatment of the WTUL is shaped by her notion that the League's purpose was "to establish a system of industrial relations where the state was the third party to the labor contract" and that, more generally, progressivism is best seen as "a movement to increase the role of the state." From this perspective, it is not surprising that, according to Kirkby, "it was only a matter of time before legislation came to be its [WTUL's] primary goal." Kirkby makes a good case that these were Henry's views, but League members on the whole were less interested in enlarging the role of the state than in more equitably redistributing power. Their concern for state intervention and legislation — until the late 1920s at least — took place within the broader goals of civic participation, self-government, and democratic regeneration. Indeed, the League's "do everything" approach was a consequence of those broader goals. To frame those aspirations in terms of a quest for enlarging the role of the state misjudges the essential nature of the League.

Kirkby's identification with her heroine skews her account of *Life and Labor*, the League's journal which Henry edited from 1911 to 1915. For Kirkby, the conflict between Alice Henry as editor and Stella Miles Franklin as associate editor, on one hand, and Margaret Dreier Robins as president and financial mainstay, on

the other, is best understood as the professional versus the volunteer, the expert versus the "mere philanthropist," and employee versus "owner." Accordingly, Robins' "relationship with her staff conformed to the very industrial problems the WTUL was seeking to address." This conclusion, however, is made possible by a tendentious use of both primary and secondary sources. Henry, who was not college-educated and was notorious for her lack of managerial skills, was paid four times the amount of the average Chicago working-woman, travelled at League expense, and was given time off with pay to write her book. Identifying Alice Henry's employment situation — and that of her colleagues — with prevailing industrial conditions trivializes the plight of industrial workers at the time. Furthermore, in evaluating this conflict through the lens of a rigid class interpretation, Kirkby drains her discussion of vitality and humanity.

Indeed, Kirkby's interpretation of this conflict underscores her animus toward philanthropy in general, for she all but adopts her subject's attitude toward philanthropy as an "anachronistic and irrational system of labor relations." There is accordingly very little attention to the significant contribution "allies" (middle-class volunteers) made to the League. Throughout her book, philanthropy is used as a foil for professionalism, just as Robins, the volunteer, is used as a foil for Alice Henry, the professional. Given the centrality of voluntary organizations in American women's public life, Kirkby's perspective prevents her from comprehending the diversity and complexity of the WTUL. Kirkby, for example, repeatedly castigates Robins for the League's financial dependence on her, without acknowledging that Robins worked for over a decade trying to free the League from that dependence. Robins failed, but that reflected structural problems within the labour movement more than a personal shortcoming. In short, if Robins had not breathed life into the League through en-

ergy and money, it would have remained a paper facade, never amounting to a movement with enough stature to command the devotion of reformers such as Henry or the attention of scholars like Kirkby.

Except for Kirkby's emphasis on Australian-American connections and her view that Robins' management of the WTUL offices institutionalized the same relations with employees typical of factory discipline at the time, readers will find no new interpretations regarding the WTUL. The value of the book lies in the new material she brings together regarding Alice Henry's life. When she ventures into the nature of capitalism, American reform, or even the history of the League, her work becomes derivative or else an effort to situate her research within the existing literature.

Her writing on Henry's life, especially in its personal aspects, is powerful, however. This is best seen in the final chapter which traces Henry from 1933 when she returned to Australia until her death in 1943. Here Kirkby writes poignantly of Henry's cultural and physical dislocation, her sense of betrayal with labour and social reforms in Australia, and her loss of hope in global progress. She plays off Henry's increasing loss of physical abilities and control with her diminishing faith in reform and politics. Moreover, she leads the reader to see Henry's retreat into a circle of women and a world of literature as her only salvation possible in her final decade. It is especially this last chapter which will make the reader regret that Diane Kirkby did not have more personal sources from Alice Henry's life available to her.

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Lawrence A. Nurse, *Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations in the Commonwealth Caribbean: History, Contemporary practice and Prospect* (Westport: Greenwood Press 1992).

THIS SHORT BOOK, written by an experienced Caribbean trade union officer turned management studies academic, outlines the brief history of legal trade unionism in the British Caribbean, analyses its recent practice and immediate prospects, and makes an urgent appeal for the introduction of tripartism. Increased joint union-management problem solving is to be promoted by trade union leaders who have "shed old habits of thought" and employers who are prepared to demonstrate qualitatively different and higher levels of social and industrial responsibility, both operating under the auspices of governments prepared to participate as employer and manager of the economy in tripartite problem solving.

This essentially utopian formula, which leaves off the table the experience of tripartism in advanced industrial economies, does not, however, entirely prevent the author from indicating the dimensions of the crisis tripartism is intended to resolve.

Mass based trade unionism is a 20th-century phenomenon in the Commonwealth Caribbean since the concession of legal collective bargaining rights, trade unions (of a "responsible" British nature), and Departments of Labour were forced only by massive uprisings of naked and hungry peasants and workers in the 1930s depression. Once organized the unions were rapidly harnessed by middle-class leaders to the pursuit of universal suffrage and political independence.

With the middle classes in the saddle the close association of organized labour with the political parties did not — in the restrained language of management studies — result in "any uniform pattern of benefits to the labour movement." (45) In Barbados no legislation has ever been passed to strengthen either trade unions as

an institution, or the collective bargaining process. When unions can find no agreed solution to a dismissal issue, for instance, the worker has no recourse other than common law. Even in Jamaica, reputedly more liberal than Barbados, no major legislation concerning trade unions was passed between 1944 and 1972. (40) The promotion of capitalist development necessarily dictated maximum control of labour. Even where union organization is widespread recognition may be superficial and leave employers to decide which issues are negotiable. (77)

At the same time, the union-party connection has served to divide the workers even more effectively than the Westminster style two-party parliamentary system. It also complicates the government's position as employer since it is usually the largest single employer in the territory. (79)

Unions were, nevertheless, seen as a potential threat to investors and the 1965 Trinidad and Tobago Industrial Stability Act set a regional pattern for a government-sponsored mechanism to promote industrial peace and to secure cheap labour for foreign capitalists. When the 1970s oil crisis intensified structural unemployment, government intervention included wage restraints. The workers responded with new levels of union militancy which engulfed even public sector unions — including civil servants only recently emancipated from the pseudo privilege of "associationism." Organized labour, in short, indicated a capacity for rocking the boat which was, arguably, more serious in its implications than the spontaneous manifestations of the 1930s, the more particularly because organized wage workers comprise an archipelago of privilege in an expanding ocean of unemployment.

We glimpse momentarily through the grid of management relations constructs, the explosive potential of a situation in which the Commonwealth Caribbean promises to become even more closely integrated into an acutely depressed inter-

national economy where managements ruthlessly roll back benefits, close plants, and shed labour to remain profitable.

The call on governments to cushion the local economy "against the ravages of the international economic system" is to invoke a remedy Caribbean governments in thrall to the IMF are unable to consider. The Jamaican government for example in its efforts to qualify for a three-year Extended Fund Facility with the IMF has declared 8,000 of its own employees redundant. (*Caribbean Insight*, December 1992) As the author comments, the prospect is frightening and no remedy is at hand.

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Julian Barling, Clive Fullager, and E. Kevin Kelloway, *The Union & Its Members: A psychological approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1992).

THE AUTHORS of this book attempt to rectify the fact that "Organizational Psychologists" have either neglected unions altogether or used their research to help management avoid or decertify unions. They do this by reporting the demographic, occupational, and personality sources and consequences of the initial unionization process; of participation in, and commitment to, unions and decertification processes; and drawing out the practical implications for union organizers. Along the way they unearth a host of non-obvious results: while unionization appears to be a cost-benefit, rational choice for most workers, it nevertheless increases their job dissatisfaction as well as wages and benefits. Very large firms are more difficult to organize, and unionized workers are actually more subject to layoffs. Whereas single female stewards are more active than married ones, the opposite is true for male stewards. And so on.

Such findings are explained by an amazing number and variety of low-level theories, from in effect neo-classical economics ("instrumentality," "Equity" and "Exchange" theories) to those naively classified as such, but in fact Marxist (conflicts of interest between capital and labour and the former's replacing labour with machinery). Unfortunately, the authors prefer to treat collective and structural entities and processes as mainly "proxies" for individual and psychic ones, which are in turn usually explained neo-classically. I say unfortunately, because the need for an intergroup analysis has long been established by psychologists (the Sherifs and Tajfel *et al.*) as well as some of the very industrial relationists the authors often cite (T. Kochan and J. Anderson). Furthermore, a general theory of "interclass struggle" would have permitted the authors both to integrate instead of falsely separate findings about individual and collective processes, and to account for a great many more unexplained and contradictory ones.

Thus, individual rather than collective social comparisons, "job dissatisfactions," and responses (decreased effort and increased turnover) are understandable in a society and period where, on the one hand, most workers have long been "individuated" and have inter-individual rather than intergroup contracts with their employers; and, on the other, more naturally grouped by age, gender, race, ethnicity, skill, and occupation than class. Both circumstances divide workers from each other and tilt the already-skewed balance of class power even more toward capital. While the authors would have us believe that the main reason workers in very large plants are difficult to unionize is their size and impersonality, and therefore lack of natural "cohesiveness" (a Durkheimian argument), a far more important source is probably the greater subcultural and occupational diversity in such plants, and therefore the existence of serious conflicts of interest among subgroups as well as individual

workers. This is presumably why blacks and other minorities are more, rather than less, interested in unionization than others; but also why it is easier for more homogeneous, majority workers in smaller plants to succeed in unionizing.

Were we to believe the authors, initial unionization and subsequent intergroup struggle, "normal" participation in unions, and occasional strikes are necessarily and almost wholly "stressful," so much so that they worry whether they should counsel workers not to strike! Had they followed Tajfel *et al.*; and paid more attention to qualitative studies by historians and others, rather than use them only as a source of a few "anecdotes"; they would have known that intergroup struggle profoundly alters individual workers. In the first place, it creates whole new deprivations, in part by increasing the likelihood that workers will compare themselves with their employers rather than simply each other (this is not mentioned in the book); and in part because workers and union officials socialize each other into recognizing, or at least believing in, entirely new deprivations (this is mentioned). Both probably help explain why unionized workers are more dissatisfied with their jobs. Secondly, however, interclass struggle sharpens distinctions between the "ingroup and the outgroup" in other important ways, and, particularly when it is successful, greatly decreases workers' participation in, and commitment to, unions; only to find that concentrating upon loyalty alone would have saved them most of their trouble. The same is true for differences in personal style among stewards, which hardly predict even stewards' behaviour, let alone the outcomes of collective bargaining.

After successful unionization, capital first minimizes its losses by increasing, formalizing and tightening work and other rules. The authors note the practice, but not its primary source. Nor do they employ it to explain their anomalous finding that unionization decreases job satisfaction. In the longer term, capital re-

places labour with a more efficient division of labour and machinery. Again, this is not used to explain a host of otherwise contradictory findings; for example, that unionized firms are more productive but not more profitable; that the benefits of unionization are often hidden because they "spill over" into competing firms; and that unionized workers are actually more rather than less, subject to layoffs. Here our authors' own labour would be far more efficient if they simply read Marx.

The authors' treatment of the effects of economic crises is also superficial and contradictory, and here they offer no advice to union activists. At one point we are told that crises greatly increase the likelihood of unionization and militancy; at another that the complete opposite is the case. Although the latter is much closer to the truth, it would have been helpful if the authors had also explored such mediating contingencies as the market vulnerability of particular industries and occupations; existing class-organization and the balance of power; and the degree to which specific groups of workers have relatively privileged circumstances to hold on to, or are so deprived and desperate that they have little to lose by rebelling.

Finally, our authors espouse a liberal-pluralist ethics and politics which compromises the utility of their advice for unionists. Thus, they suggest, because managers also have "their rights," they should not be criticized for blocking unionization or seeking decertification, as long as they do it legally! It was the great American social psychologist, Kurt Lewin, who said, "There is nothing as useful as a good theory." It was rank-and-file workers who wrote the song, "Which side are you on, boys!"

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Albert Borgmann, *Crossing the Postmodern Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992).

THIS BOOK is a personal testimony in the postmodern sense, a collage of reflections on a wide ranging series of topics. It tells us a story about going beyond hypermodernism on the one hand and sullenness and hyperactivity on the other. The book deconstructs the modern project of realism, universalism, and individualism. It seems to encourage us toward another way — "Postmodern realism" which is presented as "a recovery of the world of eloquent things, a recovery that accepts the postmodern critique and realizes postmodern aspirations." Its emerging characteristics include "focal realism, patient vigor, and communal celebration." (6)

Short on close definition in the modern sense, long on commentary, the book is a curious mix of the modern and the postmodern. It does not offer us enough obscurantism to permit the infinity of interpretations that some postmodernists encourage. It is quite settled in its assessments and does not leave much room for a mis-reading or a "false" interpretation. The selection of vignettes that are woven together around themes throughout the book, of course, predispose us to the author's perspective and conclusions. While opting out of direct political engagement, the author seems not quite comfortable with postmodernism's anti-septic attitude vis-à-vis social justice and redistributive issues. His assessments of political reality are quiet and unemotional, but almost always faultlessly "politically correct" in the most modern sense. The author does not defend the Luddite anti-technology turn of some postmodernism but rather presents a more complex and highly knowledgeable account of advanced technology and its consequences. This is the book's strength because the author has reflected more than others on the technological in the context of the postmodern.

The author is a strong critic of "Hypermodernism" and sets out to deconstruct it telling us it is a "culturally vacuous and socially insensitive design." (127) He has a recipe for including the poor in the more attractive postmodern: work, education, and community. He suggests the need to ground postmodernism and this is a rather unorthodox view. In the last pages the author links postmodern community to the liberal Roman Catholic religious tradition. His postmodernism is enlightened by Christian divinity and reality. But renewal of Catholicism (a logocentric meta-narrative for other postmodernists) becomes part of the postmodern project? (143-6) The author, by example rather than design, illustrates how broad is the embrace of postmodernism.

There is here as well an interesting consideration of the postmodern economy. The author tells us that the shift from modern to postmodern means a transference from "information processing in place of aggressive realism, flexible specialization instead of methodical universalism, and informed cooperation rather than rugged individualism." (65)

Much of the analysis is high political theory, very concerned with style and presentation. Much pain is taken with the writing. Elegance of the text is important to this author. The cover is strikingly beautiful and postmodern in that it leaves room for an infinity of interpretations. This book is, however, also deeply historical in its reference to political and social theorists of the past. Its story on occasion unfolds in a modern linear fashion as it traces our arrival at the present postmodern gap step by step through the great thinkers of the Middle Ages up to the present. There is much exegesis of modern theorists too. It is not a tightly reasoned work, however, and those accustomed to the close writing of the modern analytical style, or the scientific text will find it slow going at best. The t-shirt my daughter gave me for Christmas says "So many books, so little time." (Vassar Col-

lege Bookstore) For those of us with this attitude, a proper reading of this lovely book may be more than we can afford.

The author speaks more to the decades of Reagan, Bush, and Thatcher than today. It is mired in the questions that the decades of right dominant discourse imposed on the agenda. This work will be of greater interest to those in the US rather than Canada. There is little or no Canadian content.

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Alison Assiter, *Pornography, Feminism and the Individual* (London: Pluto Press 1989).

ONE DECADE has passed since the Barnard Conference yet despite pleas to move beyond the sex debates of the 1980s, the conflict among feminists over porn continues into the 1990s. Earlier this year, Canadian feminist groups, with others, were able to convince the Supreme Court that state intervention was necessary to prevent the sale of pornography that "encouraged" violence towards women. While the Butler decision, as it is known, may have reaffirmed some feminists' faith in the state as the protector of women, it certainly re-invigorated the anti-porn campaign propelling the Ontario Provincial Police and Canada Customs into action with a raid on the Toronto gay bookstore Glad Day Books, and the ban on importation of the lesbian publication *Bad Attitude*. And so, the sex debate continues.

Alison Assiter's book offers an interesting commentary, explaining what is wrong with porn, but also illuminating the failure of the radical feminist critique of porn and the inadequacy of censorship. While the piece is, at times, rather confusing, it nevertheless provides a strong analytical reminder of why state intervention/protection will always fail as a politics.

The book explores the two prominent responses to pornography: the often contradictory liberal approach seen through an examination of Britain's 1979 Williams *Report on Porn* and the anti-pornography campaign of radical feminism. Assiter ultimately deflates both critiques of pornography for what she sees as a common flaw: the fixation on the individual. She criticizes feminists who enter the pornography debate on liberal individualist terms, (44) claiming that the radical feminist conception of the self is akin to the liberal individualist idealization of self-concern and self-sufficiency. (82) This critique of moral individualism, the common unit of liberals and radical feminists alike, is offered alongside a defence of liberty and autonomy, stating in Kantian terms that the removal of a person's autonomy is wrong, but that true autonomy requires value and concern for others. (53)

Assiter contends that the liberal position on porn fails because of its reliance on the atomistic concept of moral individualism: "The only unit of moral regard and blame, for the liberal, is the self." But, "the self," she reminds us, "is not an isolated, individualistic, discrete unit." (51) She insists that this perspective hides the ills of porn. "In order to see more clearly what is wrong with porn, we need to adopt the collectivist viewpoint." (44) Yet, in moving beyond moral individualism Assiter strangely constructs a collectivist position that seems strikingly similar to that utilized by the radical feminists she later critiques. That is, she draws the rather reductionist abstraction that 'men' the group can be ascribed blame for all that is wrong with pornography: "Men as a group can be held responsible for the action of the individual photographer." (43) She also notes that "the view that women are treated wholly as objects, wholly as a means, is an exaggeration. But it is one which enables us to see how closely porn approaches it." (146) Thus, Assiter realizes that this type of totalizing analysis is rather transparent. So, two

chapters later she rightly points out that class and race differences that exist among men makes discussion of men, as a unified class, rather fragile. She recognizes that "any power that a poor working-class man has over Princess Diana must be of a different order from that exerted by the factory manager over his wife." (69) (Still, I am left wondering what power at all could the "poor working-class man" exert over a Princess?)

Assiter utilizes a rhetorical method to examine the liberal line on pornography in an attempt to draw it to its "logical" yet contradictory conclusion. As a result, Assiter's engagement with liberalism's notion of freedom of expression as an individual's right does not provide a critique of that concept itself (as many other critical thinkers have already done). Instead she engages liberalism on its own terms and consequently appropriates the stale liberal-enlightenment notions of freedom, rationality, morality and truth for her own polemic. Her arguments against porn rely heavily on her conception of collective morality as opposed to the moral self of liberal individualism. And with this she concludes that from a collectivist stand-point, individualism that does not consider another's point of view is immoral. Thus assertion in Assiter's discourse itself becomes a representation of the truth.

Assiter invokes Hegel as cannon, this time to displace the popular subject-object model that many feminists use to demonstrate that pornography is wrong because it objectifies women. Assiter rejects this line. "Any subject," she claims, "needs another subject in order to be aware of him or herself as a self." Therefore, "women's" objectification can only be compounded by "man's" alienation with neither party realizing true subjectivity. (108-10) Two chapters later, expanding on this Hegelian conception of the self, Assiter claims that the liberal individualist notion that others exist purely as a means to one's own satisfactions, is self-refuting: "denying others is to ulti-

mately deny oneself. The libertine who cuts the throats of young women is cutting his own throat." (127) Can this "really" ever be the case? The absurdity of this abstraction in many ways reflects the unevenness of the book as a whole.

Following the same strategic argument, she presents reason and autonomy as inseparable components of the individual and thus argues emphatically that no rational person would want to be objectified therefore no women "freely" agrees to become a pornographic representation. Hence, to defend both freedom and autonomy, Assiter contends that we, as a collective, must prevent women from modelling for pornography. (17) In the end she determines that the freedom of expression argument, drawn to its "logical" conclusion would prevent the production of pornography because porn suppresses the individual model's freedom. Intellectual gaming aside, is there any point to all of this? Can this type of argument really subvert the liberal notion of individual rights or dismantle porn that is oppressive?

In her critique of radical feminism, Assiter rightly avoids damning all to the reductionist category "essentialist," not because she accepts arguments that turn on the valorization of an innate womanhood. She rejects the category essentialist because it tends to cast a varied range of writers into a single category without indicating their theoretical differences. As Assiter puts it: "Luce Irigaray's mystical, psychoanalytical reading of 'woman's imaginary' is about as different from Andrea Dworkin's focus on violence against women as chalk is from cheese." (83-84) One appreciates this more nuanced treatment of radical feminism.

Assiter attempts to bring some context to the porn debate in response to the hyperbolic tenor of the anti-porn forces. Assiter notes that the vast majority of pornography consumed is not of the extremely violent variety that Andrea Dworkin — who Assiter finds particularly ob-

jectionable — so frequently displays or recites, but that porn is dominated by the so-called soft-core variety as exemplified by *Playboy* or *Penthouse*. She demonstrates that not all porn is violent and that porn does not necessarily lead to violence against women. (77-9) As she wisely asks in a footnote, "Might not Dworkin's predilection for particularly nasty pieces of pornography need explaining too?" (152-3, n. 18)

The point, then, is not to grade porn on a scale from bad to worse, but to remove the debate from the realm of "evil" to a more sophisticated level that illuminates the complexities of pornographic representation, production, and consumption. Assiter suggests that the exaggerated tone of the radical feminist position, that in some cases sees rape in all heterosexual relations (including conception), as potentially dangerous: "The generalizing of the term numbs one's feelings against rape/wife beating, etc." Likewise Assiter attacks the simplistic core of Dworkin's analysis that says "in the male system women are sex, sex is the whore." (68-75)

Assiter successfully exposes the lack of radical content of the self-named radical feminist critique of pornography. She undermines the radical feminist construction of porn as both theory and method of patriarchy — where all men dominate all women. She demonstrates that porn cannot be viewed in isolation from wider power relations, rather it can only be examined in terms on gender, class, and race. (66) She correctly concludes that legal strategy cannot undo patriarchy. Citing two mid-1980s Canadian examples, Assiter recognizes that state organized censorship will likely see women-centred and homosexual literature as its first target (strikingly anticipating the aftermath of the Butler decision). And from this Assiter offers a radical alternative to the legislative program of the radical feminists: "Only by eradicating these power relations can we hope to eliminate the ills of pornography." The

point is that the liberal notion of the individual as the unit against which liberty is measured fails to conceive of how an individual's circumstance is mediated by class, race, and gender relations. Thus, the individual is an inadequate measure.

I must say, the book is, at times, less than straightforward. The argument is rather inconsistent as the author wanders from point to point. For example, when examining the issue of freedom of expression and the individual, within the span of a page Assiter leaps through so many loosely connected issues (the school administrator's right to censor school newspapers, the attempted suppression of an autobiography by surrogate mother Mary Beth Whitehead, and the attempt by some British students to remove a racist classmate from the class), that her point is never quite clear. (4-5) Passages that should illuminate important arguments are too often muddled. For instance: "If de Sade's innocent heroine Justine willingly submitted, what is wrong with her allowing herself to be treated in whatever fashion her persecutors wanted? I shall argue later that such treatment is not wrong *per se* but it is none the less wrong." (54) What does that mean? Methodologically, she takes the wrong approach in tackling liberalism because she neglects to critique its fundamental principles like reason, truth, and morality. And, this all leads to the rather boring conclusion that "pornography and the patriarchal values it, embodies, is an individualist pursuit" (139) and the cliché that censorship is wrong because "two wrongs do not make a right." (145)

The lack of organizational and stylistic clarity combined with what seems a faulty approach to dealing with the question of porn and the individual unfortunately tend to detract from what could have been an important statement. Nevertheless, Assiter's nuanced critique of radical feminism's anti-porn activity provides three important reminders: first, that identifying domination and subordination cannot result in the narrow con-

struction of two unified classes, one oppressor and the other oppressed, and that these categories — despite being useful as political identities — need to be continually problematized; second, that female erotic agency is a possibility and therefore we can escape from the quagmire of male sexual dominance as theory;

and finally, though “progressive” groups can win concessions from the liberal state, these concessions are in the end themselves hardly ever progressive.

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