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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Craig Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives: Remaking the Workers' City* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2015)

BY THE TIME I finished reading Chapter 10 of Craig Heron's *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, "The Whip Hand," the spell had been cast: I had been transported to Hamilton, Ontario, in the late 19th and early 20th century, a place and time marked by immense and far-reaching changes.

After the implementation of the National Policy in 1879, the "ambitious city" at the western head of Lake Ontario became the "Pittsburgh of Canada" as capital investment from local, national, and transnational sources grew, employment opportunities ballooned, and the value of goods produced skyrocketed – jumping nearly tenfold between 1871 and 1911. Never a company town, nor solely reliant on a single commodity in these years, Hamilton would later lean heavily on a manufacturing sector anchored by the Steel Company of Canada, International Harvester, and Canadian Westinghouse. As the economic basis of the city changed, so too did its population – surpassing 150,000 people by the Great Depression. Most of the newcomers were Canadian-born and drawn to the city by the possibility of work. Immigrants from the British Isles and to a lesser extent Southern and Eastern Europe arrived too, filling out the city's emerging vertical mosaic. By the turn of the century, new homes, neighbourhoods, communities, and relationships had come into being. Their distinctive forms, textures, and

trajectories were shaped by many things; not least of these were the vicissitudes of industrial production and state initiatives which shaped what it meant to be a family, a worker, and a Canadian.

By the mid-way point of the book when Chapter 10 begins, all of this – the city's evolving economic, political, and cultural geography – has been carefully and lovingly revealed. In the pages that follow, Heron refines and extends many of these core themes as he moves his narrative forward to the eve of World War II. The end result is a momentous scholarly achievement by a historian who has been engaged by the city of Hamilton and the field of labour and working-class history for his entire career.

Lunch-Bucket Lives is structured like a set of Russian nesting dolls, an approach that dissolves the inherent tension between chronology and theme. At the book's core – the smallest of the figures – is what Heron calls "working-class realism." (7) Neither a coherent political program, nor an easy substitute for conservatism, this notion points to the consistent attempt by wage-earning families to secure a degree of financial stability, familial integrity, and personal fulfillment within a set of circumstances so rarely – if ever – of their own choosing or making. The lunch-bucket in the book's title – and featured so prominently on its cover -- is meant to embody this broad set of pragmatic desires and choices, for it evokes in material form what Hamilton's working class understood intimately and practiced daily: "the hard-metal reality of

surviving on wage labour and the many practices that workers engaged in to make life worth living." (3)

Heron's perspective brings to mind Bryan Palmer's path breaking study of the same city, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860–1914* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979). A quick and compressed comparison is instructive. Published when the field of labour and working-class history was still in its infancy, Palmer's account accentuated the swelling of working-class culture, consciousness, and conflict that accompanied the industrial revolution in Hamilton between 1860 and 1914. Organized around the notion of "working-class realism," *Lunch-Bucket Lives* is angled in a slightly different way. Heron spends far more time with family and neighbourhood than work process and union politics; quotidian choices about homes, shopping, education, and entertainment edge moments of expanded political opportunities and overt workplace confrontation – 1886, 1919, and 1946 – to the margins. The two books, in other words, focus on the same subject, but move in contrasting directions: toward conflict and possibility in the case of Palmer; toward acceptance and pragmatism in Heron's assessment. Yet there are similarities between the texts too. To his immense credit, Palmer ranged widely over experiences outside the realm of work and not easily reduced to the economic, and urged others to extend the interpretive reach of labour history to other facets of labouring life, like family "and the wider cultural framework within which it evolves." (Palmer, 238) Over three decades later, Heron has illustrated what that more catholic vision might look like, concluding in terms more plaintive, and less pungent, than his predecessor: "over the longer term, what stands out is the much quieter heroism of families,

neighbours, gangs of friends, and groups of workmates who used every resource available to them to fashion daily lives that would give them a modicum of security and at least a small amount of pleasure." (555)

Moving out from this notion of "working-class realism," Heron explores multiple layers of working-class experience over roughly half a century. Four broad sections guide the reader along: "The View from the Mountain"; "Keeping the Wolf from the Door"; "Punching the Clock"; and "The Ties that Bind." I was especially taken by a sequence of three chapters that open Part Four of the book. They explore the intimate bonds of family – the "bedrock" of working people's lives. (307) The common domestic spaces and shared private rituals that fashioned a "deeply rooted sense of the home as a refuge of comfort, peace, and emotional security" (307) are explored in detail; so too are the important differences that gender, age, ethnicity, and income level made to life inside the home. Heron illustrates that for working-class children, youth, and young adults, both female and male, significant responsibilities and constant reminders of "behavioural boundaries" (353) were the norm, although prevailing assumptions about gender and sexuality spun these experiences off into very different formations. For females, the broad cultural expectation was safe transit from daughter to wife to mother, with as few interruptions as possible. Lessons learned at home, school, church, and the workplace reinforced this dominant view, while young women themselves pushed its limits by sporting shorter hair or frequenting public places like dance halls and movie houses, where intimacy with other young people was possible. Organized feminist options, though limited, were also available. Young men, Heron reveals, were positioned differently. In street, field, hall, and other places,

they were socialized to become providers and thus real men: "Becoming a full-time wage-earner was a major turning point in a boy's life. Like his father, he was now part of a man's world beyond the household." (394) His lunch-bucket – literally and metaphorically – tied these various experiences together.

Heron nests this fulsome account of the intimate lives of working-class families in equally generous considerations of home ownership and cash flows, geographic and educational mobility, bodies and performances, and leisure and consumption patterns. (What about the Tiger-Cats?) Yet below the ebb and flow of everyday life, the threat of financial and familial disaster due to unemployment, injury, or death rippled on. Catastrophe was never far away; the acute tensions between desire and constraint were a blunt and constant fact of life. Importantly, the author considers the ways in which ideas about race added an additional layer of complexity to the "ambitious city" – a very white place, and unlike nearby industrial centres like Detroit, Buffalo, or Cleveland. A prevailing ethno-cultural identity of Britishness shaped a racially segmented labour market, facilitated broad support for the Great War, boosted the fortunes of fraternal organizations including the Ku Klux Klan, and stoked popular perceptions of who was and was not a "foreigner" and thus a threat to God, King, and country. Working-class Tories – "deferential figure[s] whose political beliefs and behaviour combined varying doses of respect, fear, resignation, and calculating opportunism" (458) – were the norm, Heron asserts. Successful electoral challenges from labour candidates were the exception, although for a brief period after the Great War, the Independent Labor Party, led by the indefatigable Allan Studholme, made significant inroads. Taken as a whole, Heron has produced a thick, thick description

indeed – at times feeling more like narrative anthropology than Canadian history.

Lunch-Bucket Lives is an impressive publication. Artfully laid out and well-illustrated, its text exceeds 500 pages, with an additional 200 pages of notes and sources. Across its many sections, Heron addresses with care and discernment every major interpretive question produced by labour and working-class historians in Canada and elsewhere over the past half century. At least it seems that way. The panoramic qualities of his analysis evoke an entire world, a civilization born of carbon, industry, and capitalism: it is an inclusive, total history. As I prepared this review, something written many years ago by Eric Hobsbawm came to mind. He once suggested that one of the great ambitions of labour and working-class history was to show how common people "are shaped by their past and present," the "rationale of their beliefs and actions," and "how they in turn shape their societies and history" (Hobsbawm, *Uncommon People: Resistance, Rebellion, and Jazz* [London: Abacus, 1999], viii). *Lunch-Bucket Lives* will long be recognized as the pinnacle of Heron's long, distinguished, and generous career. It will no doubt – in the spirit of Hobsbawm – also be seen as one of the few publications that have realized the promise of the discipline as a whole.

ANDREW PARNABY

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Kristina R. Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Nolan Reilly, eds., *The Canadian Oral History Reader*, (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2015)

A HALF CENTURY AGO oral historians began reshaping the discipline of history by recording the stories of ordinary and often marginalized groups of

people previously ignored by the profession. Oral history became an important source and method for creating and writing a more inclusive social and labour history. Initially enthusiastic about its democratic and transformative possibilities, in recent decades scholars and collectors have become more circumspect about the interview's subjectivity. Indeed no other historical source has undergone such penetrating scrutiny in journals, conferences, and books. Oral history may have gone mainstream – it is now central to many 20th- and 21st-century studies, exhibitions, and media – but its very robustness has prompted greater scholarly reflexivity: can oral historians truly collaborate with their subjects and create a “shared authority,” as Michael Frisch once proposed? How do researchers attend to new ethical guidelines for working with oppressed populations? How do interpreters reach beyond the “facts” revealed in an interview to understand the multiple meanings, silences, and “misrememberings”? How have critical theories such as Marxism, postmodernism, and feminism informed and complicated oral history work? What role can oral history play in advocacy?

The Canadian Oral History Reader pulls together some of the seminal work of Canadian oral historians of the past two decades to explore these questions. The collection offers a useful primer for beginning practitioners, a thoughtful review of theoretical considerations for more experienced interviewers, and a teaching tool for oral history classes and workshops. That it highlights best practices within Canada – addressing the dearth of Canadian material in preceding English-language anthologies and handbooks – also makes it unique, even though most of the essays will be of interest to an international audience.

Editors Kristina R. Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Nolan Reilly have

assembled selections that speak to the variety of oral history ethical, theoretical, and practical issues. Thirteen of the sixteen essays have appeared previously in journals such as the *Oral History Forum*, *d'histoire orale*, *Canadian Historical Review*, *Journal of Academic Ethics*, and *Disability and Society*, and other anthologies published between 1992 and 2013. They are organized under four main sections: methodology, interpretation, preservation and presentation, and advocacy. The editors' introduction provides a summary of the evolution of Canadian oral history work, although one wishes that they provided more analysis of the state of the field based on the pioneering essays featured here. The volume concludes with an afterword by noted oral historian Ronald Grele and a bibliography.

One of the strengths of the collection is its focus on Indigenous oral history, reflecting the leading role of Canadian researchers and Aboriginal communities in using oral history as a tool for teaching, telling, and understanding. From her work with Yukon elders Julie Cruikshank reveals how the meaning behind stories often do not appear straightforward and depend on local metaphors and narrative conventions. The many messages in these narratives help sustain “human connections across clan, gender, and generation in the face of enormous pressures.” (194) Winona Wheeler of the Fisher River Cree First Nation finds that efforts to reconstruct community memories sometimes pose challenges, as Elders can forget details about significant events, admitting that they “hadn't really listened” or didn't realize something might be important to remember. (288) Trauma and alienation contributed to these lost memories, and Wheeler turned to the archives to help flesh out Fisher River history. But she stresses the difference between academic and Indigenous approaches: Indigenous historians “begin at community and end

up at archives,” determining first what is important work to the community rather than to the scholar. (291)

Labour, feminist, and working-class historians were among the first to embrace oral history as a method and theorize its potential. Joan Sangster offers a chapter on the politics and praxis of working-class oral histories, which cautions against embracing current cultural approaches that discourage “identifying the acuity of previous work or the limitations of current work.” (119) She argues that earlier recuperative efforts were often more reflexive than portrayed, when many oral historians were concerned about memory, narrativity, and subjectivity. And in the present, many oral historians continue to collect working-class interviews in order to understand the past and to challenge or build on existing written histories, much as their predecessors did.

In the strong final section of the book, the themes of listening, amnesia, contested memories, and advocacy are explored in essays by Bronwen Low and Emmanuelle Sonntag, who articulate a “pedagogy of listening” from their work with Montrealers displaced by war, genocide, and human rights violations; Pamela Sugiman, who describes how her Japanese Canadian narrators often challenged her own assessments; and Claudia Malacrida, who reveals the problems inherent in documenting the histories of people with intellectual disabilities when state officials inhibit research under the guise of “protection.” In the concluding chapter, Joy Parr challenges the idea that oral historians can advocate for their subjects. Evaluating the contributions of major oral historians, she sees oral history as ethnographic practice “seeking not objectivity but a highly disciplined subjectivity.” (338) It is a project of translation and long-term engagement and collaboration, yet there is always a line

that interviewers must recognize separates them from their subjects. As Parr was told by a First Nations physician, “Don’t Speak for me.” (341)

If there is a weakness in *The Canadian Oral History Reader* it is the absence of projects that emerge organically from community interests and from French and Atlantic Canada. But the selections here showcase model projects throughout much of Canada, raise questions about the complexities of interview practices and content, and reaffirm the potential of oral history collection, use, and preservation. This reader will serve as an important guide for North American oral historians for many years to come.

LAURIE MERCIER

Washington State University

Gerhard J. Ens and Joe Sawchuk, *From New Peoples to New Nations: Aspects of Métis History and Identity from the Eighteenth to Twenty-First Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2016)

FROM NEW PEOPLES to New Nations, by Gerhard J. Ens and Joe Sawchuk, offers an important update to Métis history and historiography through a metanarrative lens. A *longue durée* analysis synthesizes over 300 years of historical events, countless political choices, machinations by government(s), and the outcome of complex processes on the formation and transformation of Métis identity. The authors track the changes and continuities that shaped and reshaped Métis ethnicity from the genesis of an Indigenous post-contact nation to 2014. (5) Ens and Sawchuk’s novel approach to the topic allows them to convincingly posit that Métis ethnogenesis is perpetual and continues to the present day via “dialogical processes.” (514) Their undertaking is also significant because it has not been

attempted in a similar form since the mid-20th century. In so doing, they bring forth a considerable revision to Métis historiography and edify considerations of legal, political, and economic factors that influenced the historical development of the Métis nation. The condensed academic language in the beginning of the book thins out quickly, making understandings of Métis identity in Canada and the United States more accessible.

The authors' methodological approach distinguishes them from analyses heavily rooted in social histories and kinship. Instead, Ens and Sawchuk examine the history of Métis peoples' ethnicity, paying particular attention to the social construction of socioeconomic, cultural, legal, and imagined boundaries, shaped by both the people who self-identify as Métis and outsiders. This "instrumentalist approach" blends historical and anthropological research, enabling the authors to seamlessly blend numerous interviews with archival and historiographical texts, with a heavy penchant on secondary sources. The monograph unites content from twelve archives located across Canada and the United States. Because of the nature of the analysis, there are no bottom-up studies therein. The voices of women and the marginalized are absent, and the authors acknowledge this limitation. Although the authors provide no exploration of Quebec and British Columbia, Métis in Alberta, Ontario, Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, and the United States borderlands each have at least one chapter summarizing their individual histories, even if their treatment varies greatly in tone and scope. The first half of the book is attributed in part to Gerhard Ens, while most of the second half is credited to Joe Sawchuk.

The analysis begins with a survey of early Métis history, from the 18th to the early 20th century. The monograph

examines how the labour of voyageurs, and later the Métis, made social and economic choices that set them on the path to a distinct national identity. This distinction crystallized with the wintering of men among Indigenous nations and, later, by becoming freemen – independent hunters and traders that not hired by fur trade consorts. With an economy heavily rooted in the bison robe trade, Métis communities were born following similar socioeconomic patterns, albeit in different places. Examining the Battle of Seven Oaks and its role in Métis identity creation, the authors explain that commercial interests were central to the conflict and influenced how it was remembered. (87)

Chapter 4 explains that Louis Riel's Métis nationalism diverges tremendously from the nationalist interpretations of contemporary Métis political elites. Although the historical argument put forth is an important contribution, its execution is a testament to the field's Anglo-centrism. In attempting to make clear how Louis Riel's past is curated to define the Métis nation today, Ens and Sawchuk rely on an erroneous translation from a secondary source and anachronistic nationalisms. They state: "Even in his more private writing – his poetry – Riel put more emphasis on God's creation of the Métis Nation or People and Catholicism and Quebec Nationalism as the font of Métis identity." (102) And later: "Riel's actions and execution and the refusal of John A. Macdonald's cabinet to commute his sentence sharply divided English and French Canada and fuels heated controversy to this day. His execution served to encourage Quebec nationalism." (496) Equating Quebec nationalism, born after the Quiet Revolution, with 19th-century French Canadian Catholic (ultramontane) nationalism is rather problematic. It contradicts the French Canadian vision of *l'Amérique française*, a landscape

not bound by the territorial boundaries of Quebec, that Riel held dear. This French Canadian nationalism unified liberals, conservatives, and ultramontanes in Quebec following the state-sponsored execution of Riel. Furthermore, the authors support their classification of Riel's national identity by analyzing only four stanzas of the forty that form the ode *Le peuple Métis-Canadien-français*. The authors rely on a faulty translation of the word *trèfle*, or three-leafed clover, confusing it with the trillium, perhaps best known as the official flower of Ontario. The authors missed an opportunity to comment on an Irish Catholic symbol of religious conversion (110, 111). A closer look at Riel's *Collected Writings* (Vol. 4. University of Alberta Press 1985, 319–325) reveals both his strong theocratic leanings and the vital importance of Mechif language to his cultural vision of Métis identity in the aforementioned ode. The analysis accompanying the ode highlights the importance of the shamrock to Roman Catholicism. There was no trillium. Ens and Sawchuk's reliance on secondary source readings of Louis Riel's poetry weakens significant portions of the chapter's argument, and subsequent analyses of Riel's thoughts.

Chapters 6 to 18 emphasize the various contributions of state, church, and institutional actors – be they Métis, or outsiders, or academics – all of which, in discussion with each other, created and informed the meanings of Métis ethnicity until the present day. The importance of the *Manitoba Act* of 1870, which created a distinct status for Métis people, and the identity politics that followed its inception, is central throughout the book. The authors cogently explain the genesis of Métis and non-status associations, once a common meeting ground for Métis and non-status peoples. The authors skilfully explain the historical processes facilitating the purge of non-status members

from Métis organizations through a variety of political and ideational processes. Interviews with political leaders provide clear insights on the ethnic boundary shifts of the mid to late twentieth century. Also central is the exploration of Métis identity becoming racialized, and how this influenced self-identification through time. The authors consider the historical outcomes of people claiming Métis identity using mixed ancestry instead of self-ascription or community recognition in their fulsome study of provincial Métis associations. Caveats aside, this book is a definitive roadmap of the historical expressions of the Métis Nation from its beginning to the present day. In light of the uncertain legal landscape following the *Daniels v. Canada* judgment rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada in April 2016, “Who are the Métis?” is an increasingly asked question. As demonstrated in this book, the answer to that question depends on the historical context.

ÉMILIE PIGEON
York University

Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu, eds., *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

“THE WORLD NEEDS more Canada,” or so goes the line first concocted by the Canadian Tourism Commission, but since adopted by booksellers, rock stars, and presidents to promote Canada as a model of an open, peaceful, and pluralistic society. However, according to the authors and editors of *Within and Without the Nation*, when it comes to the writing of Canadian history the obverse is true: Canada's history has remained far too parochial in an age of globalization. To reframe Canadian history in light of the

global, the authors use the insights, methods, and possibilities raised by what has become the most important paradigm shift in the historical profession over the last two decades – transnationalism. Though the definition of what constitutes transnational history remains somewhat fuzzy, at its core is a decentring of sweeping national narratives by situating them within a flow of ideas, peoples, technologies, and institutions that transcend political borders. Though some authors here remain cautious about the “transnational turn” their insights offer exciting new directions to rethink Canada’s place in the histories of the world’s peoples.

The collection is divided into three sections that follow both temporal and thematic lines. The essays in section one examine policies of Indigenous dispossession across multiple sites of the British Empire. The contributions of Ann Curthoys and Elizabeth Elbourne seek to understand how and why imperial policies constructed to protect Indigenous peoples from the rapaciousness of settler colonial populations were quickly abandoned as colonial self-government became a reality. Tolly Bradford and Penelope Edmonds on the other hand seek to understand this transcolonial debate over the place of Indigenous peoples in colonial societies from the bottom up. Bradford in particular worries that the transnational gaze too often obscures “local voices.” Here she examines how two Indigenous missionaries attempted to navigate the liminal spaces at the edges of Indigenous and settler cultures. Similarly, Edmonds challenges the teleology of transnational analyses, which tend to conflate both British Columbian and Australian policies of racial exclusion in the name of a united Anglophone Oceania, when those responsible for shaping them saw fundamental differences. In both instances, Bradford and Edmonds remind us that good transnational history must be simultaneously local and global.

Section two focuses on the global flows of peoples and ideas. Bettina Bradbury’s contribution on property relations, gender, and the law in the Cape Colony and in Québec is an interesting examination of the conflicts between imperial and colonial understandings of British Common Law. If it is true that the British Empire was built on “law” there was little agreement on whose laws applied (colony or metropole), when they applied, or whether movement across time and space could or should change the law. Henry Yu’s examination of trans-Pacific migrations of Chinese peoples seeks to overturn the dominant Atlantic focus of much of Canadian immigration history. Like those who crossed the Atlantic to take up homesteads in the Canadian West, he emphasizes how British networks of trade also facilitated the Cantonese diaspora. Further, Yu adroitly points out that anti-Asian legislation was not meant to keep Canada “white,” but to make it so; Cantonese migrants had long been “settled” across Canada before many Europeans undertook their trans-Atlantic journeys. The final two essays by Laura Ishiguro and Karen Flynn examine the flow of ideas and emotions across borders. Ishiguro’s focus on familial epistolary networks reminds us both how mobile and dispersed families often are, and how their emotional bonds competed with and constituted other identities. Similarly, Flynn reveals how discourses of nursing professionalism provided opportunities for both physical and intellectual exchanges that created common identities across borders. Though she notes these exchanges were often unequal when it came to Caribbean nurses, the ideals of professionalism often provided connections across more divisive identities of race, class, and gender.

The final section focuses on competing claims of nationalism and internationalism in the 20th century. The diverse

essays here are among the strongest in the collection. Renisa Mawani does a nice job of examining the ripple effect of the Komagatu Maru incident that created not just a flashpoint of racial exclusion in Canada, but of anti-colonialism across the Empire. Kristine Alexander's examination of the transnational imagined community of Girl Guides is a careful reminder that internationalist discourses were often elaborate containment strategies intended to mask as well as thwart challenges to their dominant Anglocentrism. Esyllt Jones on the other hand seeks to broaden the rather insular and self-celebratory story of the birth of Canadian Medicare by examining how the Douglas government tapped into transnational networks of radical doctors to construct Saskatchewan's first state health care regime. Similarly, the essay by Fred Burrill and Catherine LeGrand on Québec missionaries in Honduras is a helpful corrective to nationalist narratives of the great darkness in pre-Quiet Revolution Québec, which tend to obscure how the Catholic Church connected Quebecers with the wider world and helped negotiate their place in it. The collection ends with Sean Mills' historiographical essay on the connections between decolonization movements in the Global South and Canada's history since the 1950s. He encourages us to revisit much of what we know about modern Canada through its "entangled histories" with the peoples of the Global South. He also argues that given the disjunctures between English and French Canadian historiography there is a great deal of transnational history that can be done without ever leaving home.

Overall, the collection does a good job of reframing Canadian history. This is particularly true of the early chapters that examine the transcolonial histories of the British Empire. Here the colonies appear not just as protean nations

waiting to be brought into existence by sagacious fathers. Rather the authors illustrate how the facilitation of free, if not necessarily seamless, flows of people, goods, and ideas across the Empire's varied geographic and political expressions challenged singular conceptions of nationhood. Similarly, later chapters that focus on trans-Pacific migrations and the formation of networks of young women, missionaries, and medical professionals demonstrate how ideas rippled outwards from multiple sites across the globe to both complement and complicate narratives of Canadianness. That said, many of the chapters here are comparative rather than necessarily transnational in their approach. As a result, too often the flow of influences is unidirectional rather than circulatory. So for instance, while we now know the impact of radical "careniks" influence on the origins of Canadian Medicare, we don't necessarily know how their Saskatchewan experiences influenced healthcare debates at other points across the globe. We also better understand how the emotional bonds of family cut across national borders, but we don't necessarily know how different national or local "emotional regimes" to borrow William Reddy's term, may have complicated family ties across time and space. Given the difficult logistics of true transnational scholarship these lacunae are understandable. Nonetheless, the collection provides Canadian historians with new and exciting foundations upon which to reconceptualize their work.

KEVIN BRUSHETT

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René Hardy, *Charivari et justice populaire au Québec*, Québec : Septentrion, 2015

VINGT ANS APRÈS une première contribution sur le sujet, René Hardy nous livre une vaste étude sur le charivari au Québec entre 1800 et 1950. L'auteur inscrit d'emblée ce rituel polymorphe, bien connu en Occident, dans la problématique plus large de la justice populaire. Interrogeant les origines, la spécificité ou le déclin du charivari dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, l'analyse met l'accent sur la violence du rituel et sa répression par l'Église et l'État durant une bonne partie du 19^e siècle. À bien y regarder, c'est surtout l'opposition entre culture populaire et culture des élites qui retient l'attention de l'historien. René Hardy explique la lente disparition du charivari par le processus de civilisation et le triomphe de l'individualisme, des traits culturels promus de multiples manières par les élites. L'âpreté, voire la brutalité du châtement populaire laisse ainsi place, durant la première moitié du 20^e siècle, à la seule version édulcorée et festive du charivari qui, à son tour, tombe en désuétude durant les années 1960. L'ouvrage, qui soulève également des interrogations fécondes sur la spatialisation du phénomène, propose donc une interprétation du phénomène sur la longue durée québécoise.

Dans ses deux premiers chapitres, le livre rappelle les principaux traits et fonctions du charivari en Europe, à la lumière surtout des travaux des années 1970 et 1980. L'apparition ou la diffusion du charivari en Amérique est évoquée au terme de cette synthèse, un peu comme l'avait fait Bryan D. Palmer dans cette revue, mais cette question ne fait pas vraiment partie de l'enquête. Malgré une discussion intéressante sur l'intrigante absence du phénomène chez les Acadiens avant le 20^e siècle, le problème de la

trajectoire du charivari en Nouvelle-France ou dans le Québec britannique du 18^e siècle demeure donc presque entier. La singularité de l'expérience québécoise est par contre interrogée plus attentivement pour le 19^e siècle aux chapitres 4 et 5 grâce à un ensemble de sources au premier rang desquelles figurent les archives judiciaires. C'est sans doute pour cette raison — le choix des sources judiciaires — que la violence du rituel, et dans une moindre mesure la diversité des types de charivari, ressort plus particulièrement de cet inventaire abondamment illustré de cas particuliers. Je me suis demandé si l'association entre le charivari et la justice populaire n'expliquait pas cette vision centrée sur la violence et la diversité des formes du rituel charivarique. L'auteur prend bien soin de distinguer le charivari des autres formes de justice populaire étudiées au chapitre 3. Mais force est de constater que la ligne semble parfois bien mince entre certains charivaris « cruels » et l'agression collective qui, malgré l'usage de masques ou l'appel exprès au terme « charivari », ne paraît plus guère appartenir au rituel. Il m'a semblé que la tradition carnavalesque — qui survit longtemps dans le charivari plaisant — est un peu négligée par l'analyse. La réflexion sur le rituel lui-même, au-delà de ses diverses formes, est somme toute peu développée au regard des travaux d'histoire culturelle sur le sujet.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'historien affirme remettre ainsi en question la vision proposée par Allan Greer dans son étude sur les charivaris durant les Rébellions, particulièrement l'unité du rituel canadien et son caractère peu violent lors de l'épisode révolutionnaire. Le charivari n'a pourtant pas toujours pour fonction de restaurer la cohésion sociale de la communauté, précise R. Hardy, il est parfois destiné à exclure ou à stigmatiser les mauvais sujets, parfois de manière brutale. Plus qu'une proposition

contradictoire, le portrait dressé par R. Hardy contribue peut-être davantage à relativiser la place du charivari politique dans l'ensemble des manifestations du même genre au 19^e siècle. Certes, certains cas liés à la guerre des éteignoirs semblent en effet plus violents et font penser aux émeutes contre les taxes soulignées plus récemment par W. Beik pour la France d'Ancien Régime. Mais l'ensemble du chapitre 6, consacré au charivari politique, illustre aussi une certaine continuité du *modus operandi* des chahuteurs qui, très souvent, s'en tiennent à des méfaits et des violences d'ordre psychologique ou symbolique. Peut-être faudrait-il ajouter à l'équation la place et le rôle de la communauté dans la manifestation charivarique, un facteur qui n'est pris en considération que dans le dernier chapitre du livre ?

L'ouvrage apporte enfin un éclairage sur les dimensions sociales, spatiales et chronologiques du phénomène. L'étude confirme, par exemple, certains traits déjà évoqués ailleurs: la présence des hommes adultes qui indique que le charivari n'est pas l'affaire d'un groupe d'âge comme la jeunesse, pas plus que des femmes en général (tant chez les victimes que chez les acteurs principaux du charivari). De même en va-t-il de la prévalence des classes populaires parmi les participants, surtout au tournant des années 1830, moment où les élites condamnent plus ouvertement la pratique et s'abstiendront d'y participer. Cela dit, entre ces deux pôles sociaux, il me semble exister des nuances que l'objet étudié, il est vrai, ne permet peut-être pas d'apporter de manière satisfaisante. L'opposition ville-campagne fait ressortir surtout le déclin plus précoce du charivari dans les grands centres urbains, où celui-ci semble disparaître au mitan du 19^e siècle, à la faveur d'une répression policière plus soutenue et de l'affirmation de valeurs élitaires de la civilité ou de la vie

privée. L'auteur invoque sans doute avec raison la décentralisation de la justice à partir de 1857 pour expliquer que, dans le monde rural, le chant du cygne du phénomène se traduit par une plus forte dénonciation dans les années 1850–1870. Cela dit, la quantification repose sur une enquête que l'auteur reconnaît être partielle, même dans les sources judiciaires. Les hypothèses suggérées pour expliquer l'absence de charivari dans certaines régions du Québec (particulièrement une très large partie de l'est du Québec) sont stimulantes et invitent à mieux comprendre la dimension communautaire du pouvoir au village, tout comme l'impact culturel du pluralisme ethnique dans l'histoire du Québec. L'apport anglo-britannique me paraît être important et mériterait une étude plus approfondie.

En somme, cette étude soulève des questions centrales pour la compréhension de l'évolution socioculturelle du Québec. Elle propose une interprétation qui, à défaut peut-être de convaincre tout un chacun, a le mérite d'inscrire la trajectoire québécoise dans les grands débats de l'historiographie occidentale.

JEAN-PHILIPPE GARNEAU

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Mary Anne Poutanen, *Beyond Brutal Passions: Prostitution in Early Nineteenth-Century Montréal* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2015)

FOR SOCIAL HISTORIANS interested in questions of labour from a critical perspective, Mary Anne Poutanen's *Beyond Brutal Passions* offers a well-researched study that makes an original, significant contribution to labour studies, the history of Montréal, and feminist scholarship.

Poutanen's work is comprised of two sections. The first offers an overview of

different forms, types, and activities of prostitution: its social geography, the culture of the brothel, and the lives of street-walkers. The second section turns its attention to legal regulation, examining in particular laws and legal procedures, the role of police officers, judgements rendered, and discourses, practices, and institutions of correction. Taken together, the two sections provide sound analysis of the lives of sex workers as well as the legal and moral regulation they faced.

When I first picked up the book, I expected a social history of labour and sex work that would shed light on the lives and work of the poor – and sometimes, the not-so-poor – in Montréal. To be sure, this book offers such an analysis. Yet its contribution extends far beyond a simple case study, and as such it warrants consideration by scholars outside narrow fields of sexuality studies or the history of Montréal; I would like to highlight three contributions of note in this regard.

First and foremost, Poutanen offers an analysis that gives considered attention to the very notion of evidence itself. She triangulates data from court records, newspaper accounts, and the census (among other sources) in order to amass a wealth of detailed information. This allows her to be able to properly situate the elements of everyday life discussed – a sex worker who has stolen food, for example – within broader social relations. She is careful to cite relevant studies on prostitution and the poor in other cities, while maintaining the specificity of the Montréal context. Scholars interested in thinking about different kinds of source documents to make sense of the poor, and especially poor women, will especially appreciate her explicit ruminations on source documents. As I read the book, I often thought of the profound pedagogical value of the text: it would be of tremendous use in the classroom to have students think through how specific kinds of documents bring

different realities into view, and how an historian can weave many sources together to advance her argument.

The second major contribution of Poutanen concerns the lives and survival strategies of sex workers. While she clearly provides a labour history, she also pays attention to the strategies of economic and social survival enacted by these women. She demonstrates instances of kindness and solidarity among sex workers, as well as between sex workers and their neighbours, or sex workers and the police. This focus on solidarity moves beyond a labour analysis of prostitution that is reduced to transactional sex. And perhaps most importantly, Poutanen suggests that the data she presents is useful to help us think, and rethink, the very notion of kinship itself. Poutanen extends consideration of kinship and solidarity outside of the bounds of the family. This move achieves two things simultaneously: firstly, it offers new theoretical ground to conceive the very idea of kinship, and secondly, it suggests that for historians who are interested in the lives of the poor in particular, an approach which begins with their myriad networks of kinship and strategies of solidarity would benefit their analysis tremendously. In this regard, Poutanen has not simply offered a case study of prostitution in Montréal. She has raised an important question about the conceptual underpinning of the very notion of kinship, and why historians ought to consider this matter.

The final contribution of *Beyond Brutal Passions* that I would like to underline is again of a conceptual order. Poutanen demonstrates that the labour of prostitution often occurred at the interstice of public and private spheres. Her chapter on the brothel, in particular, cites compelling data that confirms many brothels were established in the home and not as a separate place of business. Here, Poutanen then raises the obvious

question: given the centrality of a public/private distinction, including and perhaps especially for feminist historians, what are the implications of examining work that occurs precisely at the juncture of the public and the private? How are supposedly private spaces such as the home redefined to become semi-public as brothels with numerous guests? What does this mean for feminist inquiry that has long founded its analysis on the importance of attending to private space in order to make adequate sense of women's lives? Poutanen poses these fundamental questions in her work. Some readers, such as myself, may wish for further development and exposition of these important theoretical questions: Poutanen raises these questions at different points in the book, but they do not always structure the argument. Historians interested in these conceptual matters may want Poutanen to expand her analysis, but they will certainly be pleased that she has asked the question in the first place. Her empirical analysis of labour at the juncture of the public and the private offers an important point of entry for feminist historians, and it is my hope that scholars in the field will engage more substantially with the kinds of questions she asks.

Beyond Brutal Passions is of interest to historians of Montréal, feminist scholars, and those working in labour studies. The real contribution of the work lies beyond its mere object of study (a focus on prostitution and sex work). Poutanen raises some important methodological and conceptual questions that invite social historians to think about the best ways to theorize and operationalize historical research that attends to the lives of poor, marginalized women. To the extent that historians engage with the questions Poutanen asks, our work will be strengthened in its complexity and its diversity.

VIVIANE NAMASTE
Concordia University

Barry Wright, Eric Tucker, and Susan Binnie, eds., *Canadian State Trials, Volume IV: Security, Dissent, and the Limits of Toleration in War and Peace, 1914–1939* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History 2015)

WHAT INSPIRED the late F. Murray Greenwood, partnered by Barry Wright, to create the "Canadian State Trials" series in 1996 were the five volumes published in 1719, editing single-case impeachment trial proceedings from between the reigns of Henry IV (1399–1413) and Anne (1702–1714). That model offered primary texts of select political cases, minus secondary commentary; the Canadian model, here in its fourth volume, has collected only secondary, topical articles, each targeting a brief (usually one decade) time period and provincial place. The *English State Trials* secured original case-based evidence; our Canadian series has continued to provide mainly mini-monographs narrating multiples of cases for narrow times and places. The former was entirely the work of one scholar, Thomas Salmon (1679–1767) at Cambridge; our latter project owes editorial existence to Barry Wright, Eric Tucker and Susan Binnie at Toronto, as well as to several dozen of Canada's best legal historians. Each article tells human stories, analyses institutional systems, maps judicial procedures, assesses courtroom outcomes and attempts to contextualize anecdotal and aggregative data to determine how "typical" any case was.

In this fourth volume, *Security, Dissent, and the Limits of Toleration in War and Peace, 1914–1939*, we again get traditional political-legal history of the sort promoted by Professor Sir Geoffrey Elton (1921–1994) at the University of Cambridge. Forget about fading deconstruction and post-modernist assaults on positivist, empiricist, even objectivist, reconstruction of each piece of "the past."

These eleven historians narrate what can and cannot be known based solidly and persuasively on primary archival evidence. Doing legal history the old-fashioned way is reinforced by appendices focused on "archival sources and user challenges," on "access-to-information challenges," and transcribed "supporting documents." Seven of the eleven articles address World War I issues; all are deeply suspicious of federal executive actions and are informed by civil libertarian sensitivities.

In the editors' own words, "the previous volumes (Volume I, 1608–1837; Volume II, 1837–1839; Volume III, 1840–1914) examined trials for the classic political offences of treason and sedition, and looked at related security measures such as suspensions of habeas corpus, deportations, resorts to martial law, and the trials of civilians by military courts." (3) This new volume's time period urges a merging of such legal history topics with the "labour/le travail" events of World War I, the roaring twenties, and the Great Depression. It begins and ends with Canada going to Europe's two wars, between parliamentary passage of the War Measures Act (22 August 1914) and the declaration of war against Germany (10 September 1939).

Eight thousand, five hundred Canadian resident immigrants were interned as prisoners of war during World War I, one in ten of the 85,000 who had to register as "enemy aliens," reporting regularly to local police. The federal order authorizing this initiative came three weeks *before* the outbreak of war, followed by Canada's declaration and Order-in-Council PC 2758 implementing the War Measures Act. Separate articles by Bohdan S. Kordan and Peter McDermott document this policy but do not give an aggregative, social history sense of the numerous work camps and their impacts on local labour and employment realities. Citizens

were also subject to forced labour by the state in May 1917 when the Military Service Act created conscription, because recruitment of patriots could not keep pace with the April 1917 carnage of trench warfare at Vimy Ridge. Patricia McMahon succinctly shows how Ottawa's Justice Department "stacked the deck" to preserve its unlimited power to delegate and avoid procedural protections, in the George Edwin Gray case (1918). Prime Minister Borden had reneged on a promise of exemptions for farmers and Gray had petitioned against Borden's use of orders-in-council to abolish his and everyone else's exemptions. Gray lost at the Supreme Court of Canada, which "earned him a life sentence commuted to ten years" at Kingston Penitentiary. (156) He soon agreed to do military service overseas, which he did for two years.

An even more bizarre and brutal single case study is the article by Benjamin Isitt. In early 1919 ten French Canadian conscripts were court-martialed at Vladivostok for a mutiny that began on the streets of Victoria, British Columbia: "*On y va pas en Sibirie.*" Nine were sentenced to six months to two years hard labour, in the midst of the Winnipeg General Strike, in the midst of a sea of returning veterans from Europe. In the next article, Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell superbly reconstruct how the Borden government, fearing a soldier-labour political solidarity they feared had already turned Bolshevik, seized this opportunity to smash the nascent union movement. Ottawa's acting minister of justice, Arthur Meighen, a Tory Winnipeg lawyer, unleashed a notorious gang of local powerful legal friends (A. J. Andrews, Isaac Pitblado, J. B. Coyne, W. A. T. Sweatman) to hijack the criminal justice system, with packed rural juries screened by the "Mounties," an open ally on the bench (T. L. Metcalfe) and nearly a quarter million in taxpayer dollars

for their fees, not to mention law office expenses.

This ruling class instrumentalizing of law culminated in the 1919 creation of Section 98 in the *Canadian Criminal Code* suppressing public expressions of support for unions, communism, and post-war left-wing groups. Dennis Molinaro analyses the *Rex v. Buck et al.* (1931) case, in which eight members of the Communist Party of Canada were convicted for seditious conspiracy. Section 98 was repealed by the Liberals in 1936 but the divisive charge of sedition persisted into the 1950s, normalizing "political policing." Two articles, by Jonathan Swainger and David Frank, document respectively for Western Canada during World War I and Cape Breton in 1923, how this toxic cocktail of jingoist, racist, anti-immigrant, anti-union sentiments was drunk deeply by defenders of the British Empire, Christianity, and English legal institutions.

The remaining three articles extend the book's rather depressing focus on World War I toward war's military resumption in 1939. Andr  e L  vesque offers a vital synthesis of "Red Scares and Repression in Qu  bec, 1919–39." Its Conservative Party, Union Nationale, and Roman Catholic Church promoted prosecutions, blacklistings, "class terror," and mass arrests, mainly against alleged communists and pro-union strikers. Bill Waiser narrates a similar use of Section 98 and brute police force in his article the On-to-Ottawa Trek and the "Regina Riot" as the federal government's attempt to contain "seditious" reactions to the Great Depression. Finally, John McLaren highlights admirably how the Doukhobors survived similar government application of legal weaponry, in their case attempting systematic deportation from British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

Law collided head-on with "labour/le travail" in all eleven articles. The

collection adds up to an angry manifesto against documented reactionary governmental control, based on enforcing its own definition of "sedition." The book is a great read, in parts and as a whole, albeit as a 2015 interpretation of archival evidence from a century ago, exposing both fear driven public policy and oppositional ideologies.

DELLLOYD J. GUTH
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Jane Nicholas, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

IN RECENT YEARS, a growing scholarly attention has been given to the 1920s, and in particular to its most vibrant manifestation, the Modern Girl. As scholars have noted, women's bodies, appearance, and consumer practices, as well as new forms of popular culture such as film, automobiles, and jazz, became more than just whimsical by-products of modernity, but crucial agents in the construction of its meanings. Groundbreaking works such as Alys Eve Weinbaum, et al., eds., *The Modern Girl around the Globe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008) contributed to the internationalization of this field by pointing to the global aspects of the Modern Girl phenomenon and the active role women played in the international workings of modernity. Jane Nicholas' book, *The Modern Girl* is an important addition to this body of scholarship. Focusing on English-Canada, Nicholas brings a national case study that shed light on North American histories of the Modern Girl and her performance of modernity.

Nicholas' main contribution is her focus on the working-class girl as the main force behind the Modern Girl phenomenon. While Nicholas rightly notes that

Modern Girls crossed class lines, her attention to the role of working-class women in the construction of feminine modernities provides an important revision to previous interpretations of the Modern Girl as a privileged middle-class college student. Nicholas illuminates the crucial role working-class girls played as consumers, not just workers, in the new economy and situates them at the centre of her story. Without disregarding the limitations class posed in accessing consumer goods, Nicholas shows that these women nevertheless managed to carve a position of influence that challenged both class and gender hierarchies. Weaving class analysis into the story of the Modern Girl helps to understand the complexity of this phenomenon, particularly in the North American context.

The book's first three chapters analyze the cultural landscape that gave rise to a new consumer culture and the production of feminine modernities, while the remaining three look at specific types or manifestations of the Canadian Modern Girl. In Chapter 1, Nicholas explores the terrain that produced the Modern Girl's body and its meanings. As Nicholas rightly points out, commodities, and especially cosmetics and fashion, were crucial to the development of modern culture that offered women "new ways of appearance, performing, disciplining, and destroying their bodies based on elusive promises of pleasure, change, and success." (38) In this chapter and throughout the book, Nicholas shows how women's bodies became a site of liberation and power, and at the same time also of objectification and oppression. Young women had to negotiate between these two ends, and in the process were able to shape the meanings of the Modern Girl, both to themselves and in popular culture.

The second chapter moves its attention from commodities to how media, particularly women's magazines, provided

the main arena where notions of modernity were discussed, explained, and sometimes contested. Advice columns in popular magazines offered women critical information on how to negotiate the increasingly complicated consumer scene while simultaneously normalized the Modern Girl. Nicholas provides some very interesting close readings of these columns and popular ads. However, her analysis takes for granted the authenticity of readers' letters and disregards the intimate connections between advertisers and magazine content in the 1920s. Moreover, it would have been helpful to receive more information on these magazines' readership and numbers to better understand the workings of class politics and the influence these magazines had beyond their targeted white, middle-class audiences.

Chapter 3, which moves beyond the image of the Modern Girl to discuss actual women who embraced the look, offers the most nuanced analysis in the book. Pointing to the inherent relationship between the Modern Girl and the modern urban landscape, Nicholas provides a more localized perspective of the global style of the Modern Girl, showing how she encapsulated gender, class, and racial anxieties in this period. According to Nicholas, the Canadian Modern Girl "helped to delineate the racial boundaries of modernity in Canada," (111) by consolidating white privilege amidst fears of racial denigration and miscegenation due to demographic changes caused by immigration and the continuous blurring of class distinctions. Yet, in assuming that modernity was available only to white girls, Nicholas overlooks the multiple ways in which women of colour or Indigenous Canadians also manipulated the burgeoning consumer culture in order to make claims for inclusion and equality. While Nicholas does not deny that Indigenous Modern Girls existed,

her analysis focuses exclusively on manifestations of the Modern Girl in popular culture, which used the Modern Girl to bolster racial notions of white privilege and racial purity.

The focus on whiteness continues also in the following chapters that look at specific performances of modern femininities: beauty contests, high-art paintings, automobiles, and movies. While Chapter 6 discusses the influence of automobiles and film on the construction of Modern Girl image, both this chapter and Chapter 4 focus mainly on the beauty contestant (turned into film starlet) as an embodiment of the Modern Girl. Nicholas offers important observations on how, by celebrating the spectacular aspects of sexuality through bodies and goods, beauty contests offered new ways, especially to working-class women, to engage with modernity and to challenge middle-class notions of propriety. Yet, while her analysis takes into consideration the complexity of class politics in this period, Nicholas disregards completely the question of race. Given that beauty contests were central to racial uplift efforts in the US, a comparison on how race operated in these contests in Canada, both as a vehicle of oppression and as a means for claiming political equality, would have made Nicholas' analysis richer.

Yet, if Chapters 4 and 6 offer convincing arguments to how women's bodies and commodities reinforced each other in the production of gendered modernities, the fifth chapter, which looks at the controversy that emerged from three nude paintings in the 1927 Canadian National Exhibition, seems less related to the overall argument of the book. Nicholas uses this controversy to show how the Modern Girl transgressed boundaries of high and low culture, as well as the anxiety that her image stirred with regards to blurring gender hierarchies. However, as Nicholas herself admits, the paintings did not

depict Modern Girls *per se*, and nudity in high art was not a particularly controversial issue. Whereas popular culture, with which the working-class Modern Girl was identified, certainly posed a threat to middle-class perceptions of high art, Nicholas' analysis does not offer convincing evidence to how this controversy contributed to the production of modern feminine bodies, or to working-class Modern Girls' engagement with modern culture.

Nicholas relies heavily on magazines and articles as her evidence source, which at times skews the perspective and favours the more mainstream manifestations of the Modern Girl over alternative, yet maybe less noticeable examples of female modernities. Moreover, while the book is filled with images, and Nicholas provides very useful readings of them, a clearer reference to them in the text would have helped the reader to better follow the analysis. Yet, despite these shortcomings, *The Modern Girl* is a very delightful read that brings to light an innovative perspective on working-class women's role in consumer society. The book would be of interest to scholars and students who are interested in histories of the global Modern Girl, as well as in histories of labour and consumerism in Canada. By placing the working-class Modern Girl at the center of attention, Nicholas offers an important revision to the multiple ways in which young girls navigated power and created meanings in the interwar period.

EINAV RABINOVITCH-FOX

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Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat, *Soviet Princeton: Slim Evans and the 1932–33 Miners’ Strike* (Vancouver: New Star Books 2015)

THIS EXTRAORDINARY STORY of a coal miners’ strike in the small British Columbia town of Princeton in the midst of the Great Depression shows both the strengths and weaknesses of a local approach to history. The main strength is the story itself. Strikers and communists stand up to the provincial government and police, who are allied with local business leaders. And the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) puts in a cameo appearance.

If we went searching for grand themes of what the poet W.H. Auden called “a low dishonest decade,” we’d certainly come face to face with most of the *dramatis personae* found in *Soviet Princeton*. Place them into the context of a devastating economic collapse played out in a town struggling to hold onto its one thousand residents, throw in class conflict, communism and elements of fascism. Princeton was the drama of the 1930s writ small.

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) didn’t go looking for trouble in rural south-western British Columbia. Instead the battle was thrust upon the party. The initiative came from some 140 coal miners determined to force the Tulameen Coal Mines Ltd. to return the 10 per cent wage cut it had imposed in the spring of 1932 and to recognize a union. Facing a hostile employer and a business elite backed up by the provincial government, the Tulameen workers – augmented by 45 miners from the Pleasant Valley Mines – put out a call for assistance from the Workers’ Unity League (WUL). The miners saw the WUL – the trade union umbrella organization created by the CPC – as a means to supplement their own meagre numbers and institutional weakness. Since they had no union of

their own, they looked to the WUL and Communist Party activist Slim Evans – sent out from Vancouver – as their organizational guide.

No one contemplating the challenge faced by Evans and the miners – standing up to a reinforced 30-strong BC Provincial Police detachment that at times led Cossack-style horse-back charges on demonstrations by miners and their families – can doubt their courage. Compounding the physical threat, many of the miners were of Yugoslavian origin. Not being citizens, they were subject to arrest and arbitrary deportation, the fate of tens of thousands of Canadian residents in that decade.

Since Princeton was unincorporated and had no town council, local business owners took on the task of defending the Tulameen corporation and what they perceived to be the reputation and survival of their town. Percy Gregory, with a hand in several enterprises, and *Princeton Star* editor Dave Taylor were two of the most vociferous.

The arrival of the BC Provincial Police reinforcements within days of the launch of the strike brought down a reign of repression onto the town. For example, a striker was arrested and fined for “singing a song on the King’s Highway.” (24) Strike leaders were charged with creating a disturbance after police on horses charged their picket line.

But the strikers and Evans had their allies as well. Most powerful were the unemployed workers in Relief Camp No. 25, one of the network of work camps set up under the administration of Prime Minister R.B. (popularly known as Iron Heel) Bennett. Living under strict discipline and earning just 20 cents a day, the young men in the camp were actively enrolled by WUL activists, and at times scores of them left the camp to join striking comrades in Princeton, two kilometers away.

As the confrontation grew hotter, the Ku Klux Klan, a vigilante group not usually seen as significant in Canada, made its presence known in Princeton. The first of several cross burnings occurred on 18 December 1932, and strike leaders were soon receiving anonymous letters warning that the "Klan will take you for a ride." (49) It was no idle threat. Late on 27 April 1933, after addressing a meeting of strikers, Evans was kidnapped by a mob of 25 men, led by a local KKK recruiter, and put onto a train bound for Vancouver. Terrifying as it must have been for him, Evans wasn't gone long. He left the train at a stop half way to Vancouver and took the next train back to Princeton. Pressed to lay charges against the mob leaders, who had not bothered to hide their identities, provincial police and the attorney general did nothing. Another mob attempted to intimidate Evans again two weeks later, but this also came to naught.

Rather than vigilantes, it was state repression that was key to sidelining Evans. The CPC was illegal at the time under the infamous Criminal Code Section 98, which had been passed in the hysteria of the 1919 labour uprising that swept Canada and other countries. Section 98 allowed authorities to jail for up to 20 years anyone who advocated governmental, political, social, industrial and economic change by force or by threat of force, or who defended the use of force for this purpose. Its most public use came in August 1931, when Tim Buck and seven other leaders of the CPC were charged, convicted and sent to jail for five years under the law.

But in Princeton in April 1933 the weight of Section 98 came down again, this time "to kick the union out of its hall, to prevent it from meeting anywhere indoors in the Princeton area, and to stop Evans from speaking in halls in Princeton and Tulameen." (60) Later that

year Evans would be jailed for 18 months under Section 98.

Despite these setbacks, the miners were able to win a victory against Tulameen, forcing the company to rescind the wage cut and recognize the union and its demands for mine safety. But their success was short lived. In 1936 the mine closed after continued flooding raised production costs.

Perhaps the book's main limitation is laid out in the preface, where the authors declare that because "there are memories in our town which will be dislodged on reading this book," (viii) they chose not to include oral histories as sources. Bartlett and Ruebsaat are recent transplants from Vancouver to Princeton, and the potential to stir up social animosity in their adopted town appears to have led them not to include interviews with locals. In any case, there might be very few survivors from that time to recount their experience. However, including first-hand accounts of the impact of the clash of 1932 and 1933 or second-hand stories from relatives or friends would have helped to weave added threads of colour into the fabric of *Soviet Princeton*.

This flaw is compounded by occasional cases where the authors don't take up or explain an issue adequately. For example, the second vigilante assault on Evans was marked by a threat to "make a mulligan" of him. But Bartlett and Ruebsaat deflate what comes across as high drama in a single enigmatic sentence: "No mulligan was made of anyone, and the occasion seems to have petered out." (82)

Such limitations aside, *Soviet Princeton* conveys a fascinating story that merits the attention of anyone intrigued by the class struggles of the tumultuous 1930s.

LARRY HANNANT

Camosun College and the
University of Victoria

Manon Tremblay, ed., *Queer Mobilizations: Social Movement Activism and Canadian Public Policy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2015)

THIS VOLUME PROVIDES a useful compendium of the wide array of actions, both collective and individual, that have come to make up queer mobilizations in Canada over the last half century. Its 13 chapters show just how decentralized and heterogeneous the LGBTQ movement has become over time. From the singular city or campus-based organization of the 1970s, LGBTQ activism has diversified and proliferated on numerous sites and has come to employ a wide range of strategies in pursuit of citizenship rights for LGBTQ people across the country. The editor defines the mandate of the book as presenting “the numerous and diverse relationships between LGBTQ activism and the federal, provincial, and local governments in Canada” (4) and it is organized by jurisdiction: two chapters provide national overviews of legal changes since the 1969 decriminalization of homosexual relations between consenting adult men in private and of the intersection between LGBTQ and Aboriginal rights anchored by the “two spirit” category since 1988. Another set of chapters treat Ontario, Québec, British Columbia, Alberta, and the Atlantic and finally four city level chapters deal with Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver, and Halifax. The division between provincial or regional chapters and their capital cities – or in the case of Vancouver, major city – results in sometimes arbitrary divisions in coverage. While the Montréal chapter, for example, covers years of police repression directed against venues frequented by gay men from the 1960s through 1980s, the equivalent story in Toronto is missing from the Toronto chapter but gets a couple of paragraphs in the Ontario chapter. In other instances, there is a degree of

unavoidable duplication as organizations rarely restricted themselves to a single level of government but took on adversaries wherever necessary. In other words, the city and provincial chapters should be read together for the more complete vision of the historical record.

It is should be borne in mind when reading this book that the focus on the engagement of LGBTQ movements with the state, while an entirely legitimate organizing principle for a book, does leave behind a number of aspects of queer mobilizations. What it does not cover is a range of non-state social institutions where LGBTQ people have sought full inclusion such as in religious denominations, the arts and media, sport, the non-profit sector, and the workplace outside the public service. For workplace-specific issues, Gerald Hunt and David Rayside’s edited collection, *Equity, Diversity and Canadian Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), offers much more comprehensive inquiries into the intersection of labour and sexual orientation. Labour unions were often pioneers in LGBTQ equality rights, adding them into union contracts well before politicians thought them uncontroversial enough to legislate. Non-legislative state functions in education and health receive somewhat uneven treatment: schools as battlegrounds for the equitable treatment of students and teachers are most comprehensively dealt with in the British Columbia and Halifax chapters. In health, community-based AIDS mobilization show up in some but not other chapters and ongoing struggles over LGBTQ health inequities are largely missed. Just one such current health example is the state provision of vaccine for human papillomavirus (HPV). HPV vaccine was first introduced for school girls only because of a public discourse that coded the vaccine as a prevention for cervical cancer, itself a product of the culture wars in the

United States where the developer of the vaccine chose to avoid Christian right opposition by characterizing HPV as a cause of cervical cancer and not as a sexually transmitted infection responsible for a number of cancers. The result of this cultural construction was public policy excluding men who have sex with men from protection from HPV and a subsequent ongoing struggle to bring school boys and adult gay men into vaccine programs.

Certainly no volume can cover everything, even in 322 pages, but the omission of Saskatchewan and Manitoba leaves out one interesting form of queer mobilization, the co-op-based Saskatoon LGBTQ community centre that built on the province's Co-operative Commonwealth Federation roots. The Halifax chapter does include another example of a community-based venue.

For the most part, the volume is largely a descriptive inventory of groups and milestones and does not venture into more analytical territory until the editor's concluding chapter. There Tremblay makes seven "observations" about the overall state of queer mobilizations in Canada. The conclusion relies strongly on Miriam Smith's thesis that LGBTQ successes in Canada, particularly in comparison with the United States, are due to the structure of the Canadian state in offering a variety of access points and because of the impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Indeed when legislative routes for claiming equality rights closed off in various jurisdictions, often because of the election of Conservative governments, individuals and movement groups often initiated long treks through the judicial system, invoking Charter rights, in efforts to claim full citizenship. But that is not the whole story. While one of Tremblay's seven observations points to the role of the 1969 decriminalization as a turning point to a new era of queer mobilization, it does not take account of

larger social forces that underlay both decriminalization and queer mobilization. Very similar historical trends were underway in other liberal democratic systems in western Europe, the United States (but with a formidable opposition), Australia, and ultimately throughout Latin America as well, despite variable state structures and human rights legislation in these many countries. LGBTQ people have been participants in a much larger socio-historical struggle for more than a century that has counter-posed conservative ideologies relegating whole categories of people by race, gender, class, and sexuality into hierarchies of the deserving and undeserving against democratic and egalitarian trends toward greater inclusion and participation of all in full social citizenship. For LGBTQ people, this has meant combatting ideologies of moral abjection, often backed by religion, in favour of a rights discourse that asserts the freedom to love and live with persons of one's choice without having to endure social and political penalties. It is a struggle that is far from over, the latest manifestation of which is "religious freedom" laws spreading across the United States that formulate a right of religious believers to withdraw services or opportunities from people at the undeserving end of the hierarchy.

This is a good book to turn to for an overall inventory of LGBTQ equality-seeking actions across the country over the years. It will likely prove to be an important resource for anyone interested in social change, social movements, and LGBTQ studies in Canada.

BARRY ADAM
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Elvi Whittaker, ed., *Solitudes of the Workplace: Women in Universities*
(Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2015)

SOLITUDES OF THE WORKPLACE, edited by Elvi Whittaker, provides a much needed and refreshing volume focused on the university and its exclusionary dealings with women in the multiple roles they occupy on Canadian campuses. It is inclusive of women administrators, full-time and contractual faculty, staff, students, and researchers. It examines both policy and process in the form of new and changing curriculum, as well as federal policies favouring workplace inclusivity. In weaving together the diverse female voices and their everyday experiences in the corridors of academia, the writers highlight detailed patterns of the ways in which women are subjugated, devalued, silenced, and excluded as they undertake their work and education through the university labyrinth. Their feelings of individual solitude become collective forms of agency as they learn to garner strength negotiating social and structural barriers and injustices such as systemic discrimination. One can only wonder if the ivory towers of learning in Canada will continue these toxic practices and disturbing challenges facing women, particularly given the context of increased fiscal restraint, decreased government funding, reduced workforce participation, and corporatization in the learning and working milieu of the university system. It is a vulnerable time in the history of advanced education, given that some university administrators are busting the financial bubble with egregious incomes, double-dipping pay enhancements, lack visibility on their campuses, and often neglect and disregard the faculty, staff, and researchers who work for the advancement of the university system.

The book opens with an interview by Sally E. Thorne with Martha Piper, former and first female president of the University of British Columbia. As a powerful woman at the helm of a large Canadian university, she highlights how the variable of gender placed under close scrutiny her personal presentation of self, and her lifestyle, as well as the pushback she experienced, both within and outside of the university system. Her nine years of dedicated hard work and the contested terrain of an engaged university leader are delineated.

The book is divided into two distinct parts. In the first, the authors note how disciplines incorporate new knowledge and changing epistemologies, as well as how federal policies are put in place for public sector workers who deal with issues of equity and diversity. Annalee Lepp writes on the changing landscape of women's studies and how the discipline has been developed and refined according to university programming and politics. Some programs have been sustained, others have been reworked, renamed, or merged with other disciplines, while some have been dismantled. Winnie Lem accounts for how feminism was introduced into the discipline of anthropology in Canada, and the important need for these epistemological changes as they intersect with advances in teaching, learning, and research.

Joan M. Anderson, in dialogue with Noga Gayle, notes how the Federal Contractors Program, put in place to make for equitable public sector workplace practices for visible minorities, often overshadows their experiences and does not make for meaningful distinctions between those women and men of diverse class, race, ethnicity, disability, and/or sexuality. Hence, their work struggles may continue given that the federal policy lacks precision and fine-tuned

designations and categories as they relate to the fabric of human's lives.

Part Two of the book captures women's everyday lived experiences and their identity transformations. Pauline Palulis bravely relates her struggle in attaining tenure and her outside status given the insecure, in-between, place she occupied in contesting the feeling of otherness as she was initially denied tenure. The work to successfully overturn the decision demonstrates the unfair and discriminatory processes that collude against worthy women faculty. Cecilia Maloney captures the feeling of isolation faced by female scientists as they teach and research in male dominated fields. In their quest for objectivity, publishing, and undertaking appropriate amounts of service, their hard science voices are re-worked, and their research is greeted with bias.

If women faculty continue to struggle for academic success, so too do women students, despite their overwhelming presence on university campuses. Katie Aubrecht and Isabel Mackenzie Lay's qualitative research with undergraduate and graduate students sheds light on the precarious terrain found under foot of women university students. Supports in the form of clubs and social activities, faculty mentorship, and personal intellectual growth and knowledge development allow for successful student outcomes and an enhanced future. The experience of mature women students interviewed by Lelia Kennedy three to eight years after their graduation demonstrates that they had university friends of various ages, enhanced self-confidence, and overall job access and satisfaction. Despite challenges, their lives were enhanced by advances made through their post-secondary education.

Isabella Losinger researched clerical staff and highlights how their non-worth, and limited research on their lives, contributes to their silenced voices, and fear

of reprisal, and job loss in the system of academe. Whether they front line workers or night shift workers, they are well aware of a staff/faculty divide. While integral to the working of the university, they are less valued and not regarded as part of the university history. Kersti Krug identifies staff as caste, as the hierarchical ladder in the university keeps staff down and on the employment fringes. Ironically, she found that some of the most difficult liaisons were to be found with older female faculty.

Linda Cohen's article on precarious work undertaken by contractual faculty includes both men and women. Their lives are fettered with stress, invisibility, anonymous teaching evaluations, financial duress, and no certainty or control over their working lives. Sadly, in the Canadian university system, more are being employed under these provisions as retired faculty are not being replaced by tenure stream academics. Hence, more work is added onto the backs of full-time faculty, and greater divisions are made between the various faculty members.

Patricia Kaufert awakens us to the invaluable role of research nurses who go unidentified in Tri-Council research ethics policy documents, and yet are required to secure informed patient consent in order to conduct medical research. They are critical to advances in medical research but are compromised through their lack of voice and invisibility.

Lastly, Zelda Abramson, Phyllis L.F. Rippeyoung, and E. Lisa Price's found that women faculty at a smaller Atlantic university earned less, had high service workloads given that there are fewer faculty, had difficulty in the balancing act of work and home life, and collectively were less confident in a system that devalues their presence and worth. Hence, they were less likely to climb the ladder of success at the same pace as men and must vie to have their voices heard.

In closing, Elvi Whittaker suggests that transformative changes in programs, policies, and women's experiences in the university system collectively allow for hope – hope that the future experiences of women will be less challenging and the policies of change will make for more just transitions, and be inclusive of diversity, in all women's lives that pass through the halls of academe in their various roles and relationships. This important book should be part of university curriculum and a foundation upon which further research is based.

Sadly, the book is a reminder of how far we still need to go to solidify equity for women who work and study in the academy. It is a call to equity officers, collective bargaining units, and grievance officers to assist in reworking the terrain of opportunity to make for fair and equitable outcomes for women in universities in Canada.

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Yonatan Reshef and Charles Keim,
Bad Time Stories: Government-Union Conflicts and the Rhetoric of Legitimation Strategies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

ANY CASUAL OBSERVATIONS about public sector labour disputes must recognize the dual power that governments maintain as both employer and legislator. This power often sets the stage for bitter labour conflict, as public sector workers and their unions have to contend with the vast resources of the national or sub-national state to legislate workers' salaries, benefits, or to end a strike if it becomes too politically damaging. As Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz have demonstrated in *From Consent to Coersion: The Assault*

on Trade Union Freedoms (Toronto: Garamond Press, 2003), since the transition to neoliberalism in the early 1970s, governments of all political stripes have utilized this legislative power to end public sector disputes with increasing frequency.

Recognizing this power imbalance, public sector unions have a variety of tools at their disposal to challenge the dual power of governments. In most cases, that power exerts itself through the collective withdrawal of labour, but can also include vast public relations campaigns, political organizing, or a combination of all three. In rare cases, however, does union power have the collective capacity to significantly challenge the power of the state.

Yet, in their new book, *Bad Time Stories: Government-Union Conflicts and the Rhetoric of Legitimation Strategies*, Industrial Relations scholars Yonatan Reshef and Charles Keim have jettisoned these long held casual observations of state and union power. Instead, the authors attempt to move the focus of labour conflict "away from labour collective action" (5) and instead craft a story of government-union conflicts that paints the participants as relatively equal participants striving to craft a social narrative about the legitimacy of their respective struggles. In order to do this, the authors have decided to focus on how "public-sector unions and governments mobilize language to legitimate their own, and delegitimize their opponent's behaviour during conflicts." (5) In the authors' minds, language is central to explaining how both sides in industrial disputes attempt to justify their actions in order to win support from the public. The success or failure of either party to garner public success through its public relations strategy ultimately can determine the outcome of the struggle while also "shape future relationships, power structures,

agendas and perhaps even the contours of the next dispute.” (7)

In order to map out their study, Reshef and Keim utilize what they describe as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The authors argue that CDA is designed to “decode relationships between language and ideology, language and power, language and control.” (10) Utilizing CDA, the authors seek to pull back what they describe as the “rhetorical trappings” of everyday political discourse and instead “reveal the semantic strategies, or moves, mused by speakers to elicit certain reactions.” (10) In so doing, the book utilizes seven case studies in seven different provinces to examine how language is used by both governments and unions to craft legitimization strategies in order to win their dispute. As a tool, using the concept of “legitimacy” and “legitimation struggles” makes sense for the authors because actors in both institutions seek to preserve their individual power and win supporters to their cause. It is well known in political science, the authors claim, that government actors wish to preserve the legitimacy of their regime (and thus win re-election) regardless of whether their actions in a labour dispute are “legal.” While that point is certainly contested outside of liberal pluralist studies in political science, the authors claim that the concept of legitimacy is equally important, for union leaders (but not necessarily rank-and-file workers) to preserve their legitimacy for three reasons: first, to win re-election as a union leader; second to maintain internal union solidarity; and third, to convince the public at large to support the union struggle. (13) While the authors never address the first two claims, the point of their book is to examine the words that union leaders use to build public support and attempt to win their dispute.

In order to address these broad goals, the book introduces four legitimization

strategies in order to analyze government and union discourse. The first strategy is what they term Authorization-Legitimacy in which the speaker relies on the authority of office to defend their choice of action. The second is Rationalization-Legitimacy where speakers attempt to defend their choices of action by appealing to rational and moral arguments. Third, and not entirely different from the second theme, is Moralization-Legitimacy where speakers attempt to explain their actions in terms of “public values” and those that will be “publically endorsed.” (119) Finally, the fourth approach is what the authors term Mythopoesis-Legitimation strategy. In the Mythopoesis stage, speakers attempt to paint their struggles in terms of stories, applying a classical myth in which the authors attempt to paint their struggle as one simply of good versus evil. While the authors do not state this directly, there is a great deal of overlap in these case studies. In fact, despite claiming that they are using selective quotes amongst numerous other data, similar quotes are used multiple times to defend the stated legitimization strategy.

To be sure, the analysis of language during labour disputes certainly raises important questions about class struggle in the contemporary period. Yet, the book suffers from several flaws that undermine its usefulness as a study of contemporary labour-government conflict. First, the book’s central research method is profoundly lacking. As evidence, the authors rely exclusively on language as reported by newspaper journalists. Not only is this a narrow scope to examine language, it is also filtered through a third party: the journalist and the newspaper. That the authors would not expand their analysis to include social media, webpages, or press releases misses a vital area of speech that is unfiltered and certainly misses a vital space of linguistic struggle in the modern

era. More concretely, the authors demonstrate only a superficial understanding of many of the labour conflicts in which they study, making broad generalizations about why government or union officials made the arguments rather than actually interview the participants. This lack of concrete understanding of local labour struggles led to at least one instance where the authors mistakenly stated that Saskatchewan Union of Nurses president Rosalee Longmoore was actually the president of the employer group the Saskatchewan Association of Health Organizations. (81–82) Mistakes like this speak to the lack of analytical rigour.

In the end, the authors' statement that while Canadian provincial governments have routinely engaged in "anti-union intervention" but that "Canadian governments did not have an anti-union agenda" (29) throughout the 1990s and 2000s suggests that government and unions really are equal players struggling over limited resources. While the authors recognize language is an important weapon within the industrial relations framework, it is not placed within a context that recognizes that these disputes occur within a broader class struggle. Ignoring that fact suggests that the dual power governments maintain in public sector labour disputes is pushed aside and that the dispute really boils down to questions over ideas as expressed through language. Thus while the authors ask interesting questions, the flaws in their framework make their conclusions broad assumptions at best.

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Michael J. Lansing, *Insurgent Democracy: The Nonpartisan League in North American Politics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2015)

MICHAEL LANSING'S *Insurgent Democracy* is the story of the Nonpartisan League (NPL), a continental agrarian organization that, in the US, achieved a measure of national and especially regional prominence during and right after World War I, but fizzled out and collapsed in the 1920s. At its peak, it counted almost a quarter of a million members in thirteen American states, controlled the North Dakota state government, and had spread into two Canadian provinces where it ran candidates for the provincial and federal houses. In one of these provinces, Alberta, it pushed the United Farmers of Alberta organization to enter politics, which led to a decade and a half of farmer government in that province. In the United States, it inspired several farmer-labour political alliances and eventually helped elect several Senators who agitated, albeit with little success, for pro-farmer legislation.

Despite the socialistic background of many of the League's leading lights, including its founder, Albert E. Bowen and its president, Arthur C. Townley, Lansing correctly emphasizes that most US farmers (and this applies to Canadian farmers also) were not socialists. Rather, consistent with the American anti-monopoly tradition and their middle-class identity, they sought a fair capitalism. Simply put, they wanted equality of opportunity, not equality of condition. They felt that, at present, the cards were stacked against them: powerful corporations, not the people, were reaping the benefits of the economic system, sometimes fraudulently, and were generally exploiting farmers through their control of industries affecting agriculture. The NPL's message – and appeal – was that it would level the

playing field for producers – give them a real chance to succeed and even prosper – by creating genuine competition in the marketplace though state ownership of key businesses and institutions.

More or less chronologically, Lansing effectively outlines the League's meteoric rise, its achievements and failures, and its demise. Its quick start owed much to agrarian anger over politicians' rejection of a voter-approved terminal grain elevator bill, but much of the actual building of the membership was done by well-paid and well-trained canvassers using Model-T Fords to get around the countryside. In the US, the League's message was spread by its official organ, the *Non-Partisan Leader*, and by a host of local newspapers purchased by local League farmers. In Canada, the *Alberta Non-Partisan*, edited by the witty William Irvine, a strong supporter of organized labour, disseminated League propaganda.

Lansing highlights the American NPL's main political strategy, which was not to create a new party or endorse an existing one but to use the direct primary system to endorse candidates who supported the NPL's program, regardless of their political affiliation. This strategy allowed the NPL to elect sympathetic politicians in several states and, in 1916, to gain power in North Dakota. It solidified its hold on office in that state in 1918 and, implementing its platform, established state-owned insurance and a state-owned bank, flour mill, and grain elevator.

Lansing demonstrates that, although churches were often divided about the League, it attracted farmers of different religious and other backgrounds. It was, however, primarily a movement of men, and Lansing duly notes its appeal to "agrarian manhood" and "manly independence." (32, 36) Given this gendered culture, the League was predictably slow to organize farm women, a failure that hurt the League's growth and political

support. When it did belatedly reach out to women, it was somewhat too late because the movement was on the cusp of its decline.

In the US, opposition to the NPL began in earnest toward the end of World War I when it was branded as "pro-German" owing to its calls for conscription of wealth and its initial anti-war stance. Consequently, League members were sometimes jailed without charges or warrants. Meanwhile, threatened by the NPL's calls for state involvement in the economy, large business interests and many newspapers actively fought the League. The greatest challenge to the NPL, however, came from farmers, especially its own members, who were disgruntled with the League's top-down, non-democratic power structure in which League leaders, especially Townley, controlled the League organization and even its politicians. These critics' demands for the League's democratization and the autocratic leadership's initial refusal to move in that direction "broke the NPL wide open," (186) according to Lansing. Moreover, the League undertook several ill-advised and sometimes shady commercial endeavors, including the establishment of retail stores, which shattered its credibility. All this, coupled with a post-war rural economic crisis, which hurt NPL membership numbers, and relentless outside criticism, including red-baiting from the American Legion, pushed the League into steady decline after 1919. If that were not enough, party politicians' weakening of primary laws, which had allowed the NPL to elect supporters to public office, damaged its electoral prospects in certain states, contributing to its political downfall. Soon the NPL organization and its political movement were a dead letter.

To the reviewer, two things about the NPL's story in the US stand in contrast to the experience of early Western Canadian farm movements. First, in the US, there

was consistent animosity between small-town businessmen and farmers in general and the NPL in particular, (as Lansing emphasizes), but this was not so much the case north of the border where small business often supported farm interests, believing that their own economic prospects were closely linked to the health of prairie agriculture. Second, unlike their Canadian counterparts, US NPL supporters were sometimes victims of a vigilante, frontier culture that still operated in American society and politics: they were physically intimidated, beaten, or even tarred-and-feathered by opponents.

Passionate about his subject, Lansing arguably falls prey to exaggerating the NPL's impact and historical importance. In the reviewer's view, it is a stretch to say that the NPL "dramatically shaped North American politics in the late 1910s and early 1920s." (ix) Yes, the NPL's opponents feared its threat to the political status quo, but apart from its mark on North Dakota state politics, the American NPL's electoral successes and legislative impact were, in the grand scheme of things, relatively insignificant, at both the state and national levels. In Canada, it elected but two provincial representatives and disappeared three years after its appearance. Moreover, Lansing is on shaky ground to argue that Canada's Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the forerunner of today's New Democratic Party (NDP), was a "direct descendent" of the NPL. (269) In fact, thirteen years separated the Canadian League's demise and the CCF's formation, and the links between the Canadian NPL and the CCF were few – and there is no doubt the CCF would have been formed without any NPL influence. Finally, the reviewer is skeptical that the NPL offers today's America a "powerful model for creating citizen-centred politics." (278) Can the political strategies of a relatively short-lived agrarian organization that existed in a fairly

rural society apply to an overwhelmingly urban, post-industrial society?

These quibbles aside, the strengths of *Insurgent Democracy* far outweigh its shortcomings. It is meticulously researched, accurate and workmanlike, insightful, and smoothly written. For anyone wishing to learn about a little-known chapter in early 20th-century North American agrarian politics, this book is very good.

BRADFORD J. RENNIE
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Jacob A.C. Remes, *Disaster Citizenship: Survivors, Solidarity, and Power in the Progressive Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)

IN THIS WELL-RESEARCHED and well-written book, Jacob A.C. Remes explores the way that disasters offer the opportunity for communities and organizations to develop a new sense of identity and belonging. In doing so, Remes demonstrates that disasters are often more than finite events that present historians with a snapshot of a specific place and time, but they also "alter the direction of historical change" itself. (5) Through his examination of the Salem Fire of 1914 and the Halifax Explosion of 1917, Remes details this dual effect of disasters at the local level, while also connecting each to larger changes in the American and Canadian states during the Progressive Era. This results in a comprehensive look at the ways in which the state attempted to assert control over the working class during periods of disaster, and the ways in which the working class resisted this control by shaping their own processes of relief and recovery, rooted in a newfound sense of citizenship created from the ground up in the aftermath of tragedy.

Remes terms this working class-led ownership of disaster relief "disaster

citizenship," and expands on it throughout each chapter. By detailing attempts made by the state, churches, and unions to assist those most affected by the two disasters in the days, months, and years that followed, Remes highlights how these organizations tried to "elevate" the working class populations of Salem and Halifax according to strict Progressive Era ideas and judgements of how families should live, work, and interact. Counterbalancing the new class of disaster management "experts" fostered by the state in the wake of each disaster, Remes highlights the ways in which the working classes of Salem and Halifax chose instead to rely on their own authority as disaster survivors, which they developed through informal modes of relief and community support in the aftermath of each disaster. Remes asserts that it was this local preference for solidarity and mutual aid, rather than external formal assistance programs, which fostered a sense of disaster citizenship.

Despite the strong sense of identity and belonging formed through informal means of support following the Salem Fire and the Halifax Explosion, Remes does not generalize the "working class" in either location, nor does he overlook the very real obstacles those who did not fit the dominant white, Christian, Anglophone demographic faced when seeking aid. One minor critique with the way Remes presents this issue is that he provides considerable statistical evidence about the diverse demographics of Salem at the time of the fire, but does not do the same for Halifax in 1917, instead relying on more general statements about it being largely British, English Canadian, and American, thereby erasing much of the ethnic diversity of the port city. Indeed, the context and descriptions Remes provides of Halifax often pale in comparison to the details he provides for Salem throughout the book, which occasionally

makes it seem as though it was simply a passive echo of the American case study. Despite this, Remes goes to great effort to problematize disaster citizenship throughout each chapter, emphasizing complexities of belonging and exclusion in both locations.

Although Remes focuses on disasters that occurred in two communities located in two different countries, *Disaster Citizenship* is not simply a comparative study. In fact, even though some of the same figures involved in local disaster relief programs in Salem in 1914 were also present in Halifax in 1917, Remes contends that each disaster was distinct, and the handling of reconstruction efforts occurred within specific local, regional, and national contexts. By keeping each chapter focused on either Salem or Halifax, Remes manages to keep the two locations separate, while still furthering the field of transnational studies.

Detailing how these two communities and their disasters were distinct, yet connected, *Disaster Citizenship* shows how the transnational movement of people and ideas become incorporated into local life at times of disaster and subsequent relief efforts. Remes demonstrates the fluidity of the international border dividing the United States and Canada. Mirroring his analysis of disaster relief and citizenship, Remes again successfully compares the contrasting perspectives and abilities of the state and local families. While the state necessarily distinguished between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, the United States and Canada, the people who were living in these locations often had much in common with each other, especially at times of disaster, and thereby resisted official distinctions between the two.

While the way Remes structures *Disaster Citizenship* successfully keeps Salem and Halifax as distinct case studies, it also highlights one of the only real

problems with the book. There are three themed sections in the book, each with two paired chapters, one on Salem and one on Halifax. However, Remes chose to alternate the order in which he placed each chapter, explaining in the introduction that he did so because the case studies do not depend on any chronological difference between the two disasters and the ways in which they facilitated the development of new identities and roles. This non-linear historical examination works for the most part, but it was jarring to read the first chapter on Halifax in 1917, and then Chapter 2 on Salem in 1914. While Remes is right in stating that one does not necessarily depend on the other, with the weight of the First World War throughout this period, the important local and global contexts for each disaster are indeed important and time specific. Furthermore, many of the American disaster relief officials who cut their teeth during the Salem fire in 1914 journeyed to Halifax in 1917 because of the expertise they had gained in Salem.

Despite the structure of the chapters seemingly erasing the three years between the two disasters, this remains an excellent historical study rooted in high quality research. Remes' management of the two case studies successfully supports his central arguments relating to the state, the people, and ways of forming citizenship at times of crisis and relief, and his methodologies encourage us to look at disasters, both past and present, in new ways.

JESSICA VAN HORSSSEN
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Sam Mitrani, *The Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict, 1850–1894* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT the development of the Chicago police department and how and why the city's business elite was able to mould the police into an institution that would protect its interests. Mitrani locates the development of police forces in the United States in the mid-to-late 19th century. His main question is: why did police forces spring into existence when they did? He argues that the Chicago police department emerged from the alliance between the city's political leaders and its capitalist class as both tried to create and maintain their vision of order and to protect capital's interests in a rapidly growing, multi-ethnic city. Mitrani also seeks to understand the development of the Chicago police, and by implication, all big-city police departments, as a crucial step in the development of the American state. He demonstrates that by the end of the 19th century, the Chicago police "had developed professional leadership that removed crucial aspects of police policy from politics and portrayed their activities as a politically neutral municipal service." (3) The Chicago police would act to protect capital's interests, but the "deeper question of whether or not municipalities should maintain massive organizations of armed men to enforce order on the population was effectively removed from the political debate." (4) Mitrani succeeds admirably in accomplishing his goals in a book that is clearly written and persuasively argued.

Mitrani sees the work that Chicago's elites did to organize themselves to meet the challenge that a multi-ethnic and increasingly united working class posed as crucial for understanding the development of the city's police department.

Chicago grew rapidly from a small outpost in the 1830s to the second largest city in the United States by the 1890s. This swift development meant that the city did not have the entrenched elite that characterized Boston, New York, and Philadelphia when the Second Industrial Revolution got underway in earnest in the years after the American Civil War. While Mitrani charts the development of the Chicago police, he also shows how the city's capitalists organized themselves as a class and exerted more and more influence over the city's governance. In Chapters 4 and 5, for instance, he explores the new organizations the city's capitalist class founded during the 1870s – the Committee of Seventy, the Citizens' Association, and then the Chicago Commercial Club – to exert influence on who had authority over the police, what and who the Chicago police would police, and how the city's government operated more broadly.

Mitrani also focuses on how Chicago's working class perceived the police. He shows how the police helped break the 1877 railroad strike in Chicago, but also contends that by the late 1870s, the police "had yet to prove that they could attain the legitimacy and respect from the city's workers that they needed to enforce everyday order." (133) Mitrani argues that Mayor Carter Harrison instituted reforms in the 1880s that were aimed at helping the police achieve legitimacy. Mitrani characterizes Harrison as a machine politician who implemented civil service reforms aimed at professionalizing the police department as well as establishing a political alliance with the city's working class. He directed the department to become more ethnically diverse in hiring and moved the police away from keeping order through the use of force and toward doing more social service work in the city's neighborhoods. Such work, however, created

a different kind of coercion as the police became increasingly involved in enforcing anti-abortion laws and more generally enforcing middle-class and native-born ideas about sex, sexuality, and the consumption of alcohol. On the other hand, Harrison stopped using the police to break strikes. With this new policy in place during the first half of the 1880s, the city's workers won several strikes, but Harrison then revoked this policy in 1885 as the city's elite placed increasing pressure on him. It was in this context that the Haymarket bombing took place on 4 May 1886. The city's anarchists were the most vocal critics of the police in the city during the years leading up to the bombing. Their opposition pushed the city's elite, who had been previously willing to let the city's government grind to a halt rather than pay higher taxes, to provide all the funding the police department needed.

I have one quibble: Mitrani's focus is on the development of the Chicago police as an institution. He does not attempt to understand why working-class men join the police department and what motivated them to police the working class in ways that helped create and maintain capital's dominance in the city. He understands police officers as wage workers, and observes that "the separation between the police and the rest of the city encouraged the development of a specific police ideology that included many of the free-labor ideas of the elite, but also included a deeply pessimistic view of human nature." (11) Mitrani, however, does not try to explain how police officers were recruited or why they worked in ways that were contrary to the interests of their own class.

This is a timely book. Mitrani effectively shows that the Chicago police department was created to protect the interests of the city's elite. The police then spent much of their time keeping order in the city's immigrant, working-class

neighbourhoods through the use of force in ways that benefitted the Chicago's wealthiest and most powerful residents. We can see today that police department's enforce the law unevenly as they carry out the war on drugs primarily in poor and working-class African American neighbourhoods. That such uneven policing has been with us since the beginning and is engrained in the purpose of establishing police departments can help us think through how to reform policing in our own day. Mitrani also shows that under Carter Harrison, the police stopped breaking strikes and began to take on duties and responsibilities that moved beyond keeping order through the use of force. The policy against strike breaking did not last and the social service work the police did was problematic, but this interruption in "business as usual" for the police did allow Chicago's workers to make significant gains. Who holds political office can matter, an important lesson to re-learn as the United States enters another election season.

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Chad Pearson, *Reform or Repression: Organizing America's Anti-Union Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2016)

CHAD PEARSON acknowledges that few historians have challenged the judgement offered 50 years ago by Robert Wiebe that organized employers were counter-reformist. No matter. In *Reform or Repression: Organizing America's Anti-Union Movement*, Pearson explores the progressive credentials of America's turn of the century open shop advocates. He has a complicated story to tell. On the one hand open-shop proponents where opponents of working class activism; on the other, they might be considered

reformers in the progressive tradition of the early 20th century. Pearson's open shop advocates fought unions, but they were also proponents of welfare capitalism, honest government, municipal efficiency, industrial progress, urban beautification, and temperance. Pearson raises the possibility that the open-shop struggle was perhaps the finest hour of America's employer-class progressives.

Pearson has set out to explore how open shop advocates viewed their struggle against labour and their role in it. He argues that open-shop proponents, including both employers and those outside workplace settings, did not see themselves as agents of repression standing in the way of working-class progress. Rather, they were anti-monopolists who acted within and were inspired by "a noble tradition stretching back to the mid-nineteenth century, one fashioned by an assortment of abolitionists, anti-monopolists, and promoters of peace." (217) In this story the "labour question" is transformed into a social problem akin to alcoholism, poverty, or municipal efficiency: organized labour – the "labour question" – appears as a social ill to be ameliorated; *ipso facto*, open shop advocates could and did embrace the role of social reformers or liberators.

In *Reform or Repression* men from America's leading business strata and their associates in civil society emerge as the subjects of history, standing at the centre of a progressive narrative in which they exercise agency as benefactors to the nation. The men who engineered the creation of the National Founders' Association (NFA) may have been businessmen concerned with managerial freedom and the bottom line, but says Pearson, "they were not exclusively inspired by the supposed joys of materialistic individualism or the emotional pleasures of ego building." (27) And, if the new NFA became a labour busting

organization it was because organized labour became "belligerent." (36)

The reformist progressive agenda of the open shop movement comes into clearer view with Pearson's account of the evolution of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), formed in 1895, and transformed into an anti-labour organization under the leadership of David M. Perry who had "clear, class-based reasons to oppose organized labor." (49) In Perry's world organized labour threatened "liberty-loving people." Under Parry, the NAM embraced an emancipatory mission to help "thousands of men shake off the shackles of unionism." (51) In the open shop narrative the "free worker" was enslaved by organized labour, and Perry, the liberator, was a "Lincolnesque" visionary. (52) Pearson contends that open shop advocates like Parry did not attack labour simply to diminish its power and maximize profits; they "felt a moral obligation to defend ... the labor movement's most vulnerable targets: innocent children, widows, small tradesmen, modest sized business owners and above all, 'free' workers." (53)

Pearson does not accept such assertions at face value and at various points he critically examines the claims of open shop advocates. However, he is interested in exploring the open shop advocates *own* sense of what they were doing, their vision of a proper civil order, and their notion of labour's place in it. He creates space to consider the possibility that open shop advocates held social and political commitments in a Rawlsian way – prior to or apart from their class positions – not just as dressed-up versions of their material interests. In *Reform or Repression* the nostrums of the open shop movement just might become principles upon which society might be ordered.

Accounts of the civic spiritedness of open-shop advocates give way to accounts of mostly conventional

regional employer-based anti-labour organizations that sought to convince workers of the benefits of the open shop, carried on an extensive public relations campaigns against organized labour, lobbied politicians for open shop legislation, fired and blacklisted labour activists. Pearson describes the struggle of open shop advocates against a strike of the Iron Molders' Union in Cleveland in 1900. Here the open shop cause was led by Jay P. Dawley, a Cleveland-based management-side labour lawyer and National Founders' Association Detroit-based functionary John A. Penton. In Buffalo, in 1906, members of the Buffalo Foundrymen's Association took on the Iron Moulders' Union in a months-long struggle to demonstrate that "neither radicalism nor closed-shop unionism were welcome." (128) In Worcester, Massachusetts, Pearson describes a 1902 strike of the International Association of Machinists that involved manufacturer unity, coordination with national employers' associations, and "unequivocal sympathy for the plight of non-union strikebreakers." (153) Here industrial leaders and open shop advocates like Joseph H. Walker were also advocates of welfare capitalism. Pearson takes readers into the South and recounts the career of N.F. Thompson, Chamber of Commerce activist and former Klansman, and "the South's most ambitious and visible opponent of closed-shop unionism." (184) With Thompson, anti-labour agitation included calls for legislation "that would make it justifiable homicide for any killing that occurred in defense of any lawful occupation." (183)

Pearson's focus extends beyond employers' associations. Allied citizens' associations, largely the creation of employers, were an important feature of the open-shop movement in communities across America. While Pearson's regional accounts offer a grass roots perspective

on employer anti-labour activity, he says little about virulent anti-labour activity undertaken by citizens' associations in, for example, turn of the century Colorado and elsewhere. In 1903, these anti-labour citizens' committees gained a national organization when David M. Parry and the National Association of Manufacturers launched the Citizens Industrial Association of America. Pearson tells us that Parry's told the founding convention that labour challenged "the whole social, political, and governmental systems of the nation." (10) Here Pearson has selected one of Parry's less apocalyptic denunciations of organized labour.

Pearson's explorations of the varied commitments of open shop advocates to reform causes – including the open shop – provides a salutary illustration of the dangers of reductionist historical accounts. Nevertheless, he appears to accept Robert Wiebe's assessment of open shop advocates as counter-reformists. As he explains, notwithstanding "their often high-minded, patriotic, and class-blind rhetoric about fairness and freedom, they were fundamentally self-interested, concerned above all about profits and power." (224) To paraphrase Adam Smith, the open shop movement was, it seems, simply the tacit union of employers against labour made explicit and ferocious.

TOM MITCHELL

Brandon University

Leon Fink, *The Long Gilded Age: American Capitalism and the Lessons of a New World Order* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2015)

LEON FINK IS AT it again. First, in 2002, he encouraged labour historians to think about the future by asking "What is to Be Done – In Labor History." (*Labor History*, 43, no. 4: 419–424) He hoped they would

respect what had been the strengths of the field while also looking for new paths to understand old questions. Now, in *The Long Gilded Age* he is following his own prescription. He hopes to convince labour historians that an America-in-the-world approach, or what Fink calls a "grounded globalism," can offer fresh insights to traditional themes of working-class history. (8) The five essays consider how political ideas, the question of workers' power, and internationalism shaped the politics, industrial relations, and reform movements of the era. Fink explores the options available to the historical actors of 1880 to 1920 and thinks just as seriously about what might have been as much as what was.

Fink showcases the promise of his approach by narrowly focusing each essay on a specific theme and using political culture and contingency as connective threads to tie them together. A discussion of the promises and perils of free labour ideology in Chapter 1 serves as a cultural frame for the Long Gilded Age. Fink suggests that the labour movement vacillated between embracing and challenging the individualist focus of free labour. Leaders used the ideology to expose deformations in market culture such as contract, convict, and sweatshop labour. However, employers mobilized other interpretations of free labour to privilege individual property rights and the right to work over collective concerns. Fink draws two conclusions from this history. First, free labour ideology limited workers' ability to steer economic development in a mutualist direction by creating a paradox: the ideas that had the potential to set them free also provided employers powerful tools to limit workers' successes. Second, this outcome was not predetermined. Fink compares the United States with France to show how two countries responded differently to similar economic changes. Whereas

Americans chose individual liberty, the French emphasized collective obligation.

Fink continues to explore the themes of political culture and contingency in the next three chapters. In Chapter 2, he reexamines three key clashes between capital and labour, focusing on the central figures of the Homestead, Pullman, and anthracite strikes to explain the decisions they made and identify other possible options. Even readers familiar with these strikes will appreciate Fink's examination. He eschews simple narrative strategies that celebrate heroes and demonize villains. Instead, he situates the pivotal actors, such as Andrew Carnegie, Eugene Debs, and Mark Hanna, in the moment and explains their actions within the context of their times. Fink asserts that the lessons to be derived from the strikes are that the power of capital was not unassailable and that no single system of labour relations existed during the period. Possibilities therefore existed for alternative outcomes. American workers could have formed industrial unions and labour parties just as their British and Australian counterparts did. Labour could have won collective bargaining rights through a tripartite system of power that balanced the interests of business, labour, and the state in the wake of the anthracite strike. The fact that American workers failed in these endeavors allows Fink to showcase the interpretive power of identifying historical contingencies.

From the battlefields of the three strikes, Fink moves to public policy debates in Chapter 3. He considers how US intellectuals, particularly those academics affiliated with the Wisconsin Idea of social reform such as Richard T. Ely and John R. Commons, inspired progressive reform but ultimately failed to establish the research university as a powerful advocate for American workers. Fink contrasts this history of unrealized potential with the experiences of the British

Fabians and German Verein who managed some key reforms and wielded influence in their respective countries.

From the hallowed halls of the University of Wisconsin, in Chapter 4, Fink next looks at how Americans viewed the proper roles for business, labour, and the state in mediating disputes and preserving public welfare. They used models devised by other English-speaking countries to shape their own understanding. Britain, New Zealand, and Australia each created systems – more voluntary in Britain and more compulsory in New Zealand and Australia – that recognized labour's legitimacy to shape the civic order. Americans, Fink shows, followed a different path. While some labour leaders and progressive reformers favoured an Australasian model of compulsory arbitration, business leaders and the two main political parties opposed it. So, too, did the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL rejected the Australasian model in favor of the British solution of collective *laissez-faire*. Americans ended up with neither as corporate power marginalized workers by the end of the period. Fink's America-in-the-world approach works most effectively in this chapter. He shows that historians cannot understand the American trajectory without recognizing the international conversations.

In the last essay Fink examines the making of socialist identity in the United States before World War I. He contributes to the historiographical debate about socialism by disputing Daniel Bell's famous claim that socialists were disconnected from the world – *in* it but not *of* it. Fink counters by asserting that the socialist identity politics of the early 20th century were a product of the flow of people and ideas around the globe. He points to the youth of socialists in the United States – where he finds about 70 per cent were younger than 32 years old – to suggest

that the movement represented a coming of age philosophy that was at once dependent upon, and sustained by, engagement with the world beyond American borders. In addition to reading as an entertaining “who was who” of the American socialist left between 1900 and World War I, this chapter puts an effective methodological punctuation mark on the book. It clearly shows how embracing an American-in-the-world approach can challenge entrenched ideas.

Readers familiar with Fink’s impressive body of previous scholarship will find familiar themes in *The Long Gilded Age*. He has written on several of these topics, as have others. Yet, it would be a mistake to dismiss the book merely as a synthesis of earlier work. Here Fink plays the role of provocateur. Most directly, he goads labour historians to rethink a historiographical trend rooted in the New Labour history that suggests much of American labour history can be explained by internal developments rather than a more complex international exchange of people and ideas. While the narrow focus of the essays allows Fink to deeply explore some of the questions he poses, it should also inspire other scholars to continue the discussion and expand it to include additional questions and other groups not examined in these pages. Fink has provided a suggestive glimpse at how an America-in-the-world approach can disrupt staid narratives and better capture the complicated world in which historical actors operated during the Gilded Age and beyond. This, indeed, is one compelling answer to what can be done in labour history.

MICHAEL K. ROSENOW

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Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2016)

FOCUSING PRIMARILY on the highly educated upper middle class reformers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Thomas C. Leonard in *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era* traces the development of a larger social and political movement which valued efficiency, expertise, and order in organizing the modern world. Leonard shows how psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, educators, and economists underwent a profound change in these years, becoming members of increasingly professionalized and accredited fields where members were expected to apply their expertise to the improvement of society.

Leonard argues that this desire to reform society grew out of a concern brought on by the crises of large scale industrial capitalism. Progressive economists, like Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and Edward A. Ross thought that through centralized planning, guided by social expertise, one could master the increasing problems of the modern economy.

It is why, Leonard argues, Taylorism and scientific management became such popular and widely celebrated concepts. Decried today as manipulative and exploitive, in its time Progressives viewed Taylorism, with its time and motion studies, as a reform that epitomized humane economic planning. Eventually this commitment to efficiency spread to all spheres of life, from Shailer Matthews who promoted the idea of scientific management to govern churches and education, to political figures like Woodrow Wilson and others who saw much of the division between various branches of government as wasteful and counterproductive.

Leonard likewise cites the work of Ellen Swallow Richards, an educator, who applied the principles of efficiency to home life. Specifically, she developed the study of home economics and popularized the idea of introducing it as a subject in schools. "Home economics," Leonard explains, "was not just the study of stretching a dollar. Richards conceived of her discipline as a science of 'human ecology.' She coined the term 'euthenics' to describe the science of producing 'more efficient human beings' by improving living conditions." (68)

This was an important development because it signified a larger shift where Progressive Era reformers collapsed the divide between traditionally public and private spheres. Based on a belief in modernity, and that expertise, planning, and efficiency could provide a way to address the problems of modern society, it is not surprising that the reform efforts eventually included people's basic reproduction. The development of eugenics, therefore, was a result of this ideological shift brought on by changes in the political economy. Of course Western science had a long established history of using hierarchies to justify racism and European supremacy. However, this new expression was markedly different as Progressive reformers began to read and apply the thoughts found in Darwin and evolutionary biology. This became particularly popular with William Z. Ripley's 1899 book *The Races of Europe* which paved the way for future work in scientifically classifying and labeling groups of people. Psychologists, such as Lewis Terman and Henry Herbert Goddard, went further with this, convincing government agencies that intelligence, and therefore citizenship, immigration, and fitness to reproduce could be determined not only by race, but also by "intelligence."

Devising series of tests, these psychologists were able to convince the growing

administrative state to give them access to large swaths of people for testing. This was justified as it "would expose the tens of thousands of mental defectives passing as normal and bring them under the 'surveillance and protection of society.'" (73) This was appealing to the state because, as Goddard, Terman, and others promised, "identification of mental defectives would significantly reduce the social cost, increasingly borne by the government of 'crime, pauperism, and industrial inefficiency.'" (72)

Yet it is important to ask: what was the overarching aim of the broader Progressive Era? Why were these individuals committed to a particular expression of social reform? Leonard demonstrates that the genesis of these reforms to control the literal bodies in the body politic were economic in nature. But this raises a larger question. Why attempt to control and shape that biological reality via the particular parameters of eugenics? Why not adopt a mindset where bodies were bred to fulfill particular social, political, and economic functions? The answer resided in the very origins of the modern period's views of economics. Tracing this development back to Adam Smith, the early Atlantic World, and the tumultuous changes initiated by the republican revolutions, Leonard argues that classic liberal thought shunned hierarchies, at least in theory, and instead pursued a market oriented world where people were free to pursue their own self-interests.

"And therein lay the rub," Leonard explains. "American republican liberty was built for a decentralized, sparsely settled agrarian republic with free land (for white men). Republicanism made liberty hostage to every white man obtaining enough land or capital sufficient to become an independent entrepreneur. As the scale of American industrial organization increased, first in transportation, then in production, the entry costs

for republican liberty became prohibitively high.” (83) Leonard argues then this assault on the “free market” reflected the progressives’ desire “to create an American nationality, to make the United States singular rather than plural.... For progressives, the United States was an organic, evolved, singular entity – a social organism. The social organism subordinated its constituent individuals, and its health, welfare, and morals trumped the individual’s rights and liberties.” (191)

However, the point of these reforms was not to control the bodies of people from the vantage point of sinister intent. Instead, what Leonard demonstrates is that this desire for control, management, and order was born from a deep-seated commitment to make a free and open society work properly. “What nature does blindly, slowly and ruthlessly,” Leonard quotes from one reformer, “man may do providently, quickly and kindly.” (190) Leonard provides little argument in his concluding section about the implications of this, although it is clear from his concluding remarks he has given the question considerable thought. Literally, we are shown the troubling results of when people are successful in economic intervention. Therefore, it would be interesting to see what Leonard thinks this argument means for the way we view economic planning, centralized authority, and decreases in classic liberalism.

As such, we are left with a well-researched and clearly argued work which effectively ties changes in political economy to changes in popular thought, and shows how those changes to thinking effected the very bodies of people living in that society. A very accessible book, this work is recommended to anyone interested in the eugenics movement, political economy, or the broader history of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

WESLEY R. BISHOP
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Christopher D. Cantwell, Heath W. Carter, and Janine Giordano Drake, eds., *The Pew and the Picket Line: Christianity and the American Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)

THE PEW AND THE PICKET LINE is a welcome contribution to the recent dialogue between religious history (or the history of lived religion) and the history of the working class. In the its foreword, Ken Fones-Wolf praises the book for evaluating the role of Christianity in the lives of the working class without reducing it to a question of Christianity’s ability to “assist or impede class formation.” (vii) The editors’ introduction argues that the faith of workers shaped both American Christianity and American capitalism. They provide an extremely useful overview of the historiography of labour and religion and their intersection, highlighting changes in these fields and innovations of the last decade, including the new history of capitalism and the history of lived religion.

The essays in this collection are grouped into two sections. The first, “Manufacturing Christianity,” includes five essays that discuss workers as part of the history of Christianity. The second, “Christianizing Capitalism,” contains four essays that address religious workers’ influence on capitalism.

In the first essay in Part One, Dan McKanan examines the literary works of George Lippard and Ignatius Donnelly, two 19th-century novelists who made use of “esoteric Christianity” to inspire the workers who were their target audience. Their writing demonstrates that lay people were interested in and working on theological issues related to labour long before Protestant clergy and theologians were doing so. McKanan argues that these authors’ understanding of social sin was also “more profound” than those

who later developed the Social Gospel. (24) They saw that sexual exploitation of women and religious leaders' hypocrisy were connected to capitalism, for example, and were aware that "efforts to overcome oppression might reconstitute that oppression in a new form." (33)

Evelyn Sterne discusses the role of the Catholic church in developing leadership skills in workers in Providence, Rhode Island, and the workers' subsequent use of those skills both in building the labour movement and in critiquing the church itself. For these workers, she concludes, the church was "a vehicle that mobilized people who lacked other institutions through which to advance their interests." (69)

The legacy of Charles Fox Parham, one of the founders of Pentecostalism, is re-examined by Jarod Roll. Roll counters the traditional views of the origins of Pentecostalism as either an escapist response by workers to the problems of industrial capitalism, or a way to resist capitalism through religious means. He demonstrates that revivalism was rather a function of worker belief in the "magic" of late Gilded Age capitalism. (77) The work lives of miners in Galena, Illinois were predicated on a belief that the hard work of their bodies might make them rich. "Their faith in individual economic miracles played a crucial role in the creation of Pentecostalism," he concludes, "not the other way around." (91)

The two final essays in this first section are by Matthew Pehl and Kerry Pimblott. Pehl discusses the work of the Detroit Industrial Mission, a group of Protestant middle-class pastors who took jobs in the auto industry in the 1950s in order to examine the connection between faith and work for the working class. The pastors' class position prevented them from seeing aspects of religiosity in the lives of autoworkers that differed from their own. Pimblott counters the common view of

the de-Christianizing of Black Power, exploring the use by this movement in Cairo, Illinois of the Biblical story of the nation-building Nehemiah.

The essays in Part Two of this edited volume skew more towards labour history than religious history, and so will be more familiar ground for many labour historians (and thus receive less detail in this review). In the first essay, Arlene Sánchez-Walsh examines the non-institutional Catholic beliefs of a female communist leader of a 1938 strike by Mexican pecan shellers in San Antonio, Texas. The Christianity-inspired birth and violent death of an inter-racial farming cooperative and credit union in 1940s North Carolina are studied by Alison Collis Greene. Brett Hendrickson discusses the role of Catholic social doctrine (particularly *Rerum Novarum*) in Catholic clergy's decision to support Mexican migrant workers and oppose the bracero program. He presents this decision as a forerunner to their later support of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers movement. Finally, Erik Gellman examines Chicago's Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, a joint Protestant effort to make the church relevant in 1960s urban America.

The challenge of edited collections like this one is that the reader can't always see the forest for the trees: essays may not be obviously linked to the volume's broader theme, much less to each other. Jarod Roll's essay is one of the stronger ones in this collection, connecting his essay both to the broader conventional literature that this edited volume is meant to counter, as well as to some of the other essays in the collection. A concluding essay revisiting common themes would have been welcome.

The Pew and the Picket Line is a useful addition to the recent literature that seeks to examine the historical interplay of religion and labour. What distinguishes this

book from some others in the field is its focus on the working class itself – those in the pew – rather than leadership. The contributors' willingness to engage seriously with the religious beliefs of their subjects is to be commended, as well as their attention to race, gender, ethnicity, class, place, and denomination. Finally, the editors' introductory essay should be required reading for anyone interested in why Christianity has received such little attention from labour historians in the past.

JANIS THIESSEN

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Steve Fraser, *The Age of Acquiescence: The Life and Death of American Resistance to Organized Wealth and Power* (New York: Little, Brown and Company 2015)

LABOUR HISTORIAN Steve Fraser has written a book that addresses one of the central issues of our era, the combination of sharp and ever-increasing social polarization with a relatively low level of resistance. Certainly, there is anger at the glaring accumulation of wealth, but to date this has not fuelled the kind of sustained mass protest that emerged in the past. There are important examples of militant and creative mobilization in such movements as Black Lives Matter, Idle No More, and Occupy. To date, however, these movements have tended to be momentary rather than sustained and have not generally developed the social weight, infrastructure of dissent, or transformative vision to really push back against employers and the state.

Fraser's book fuels the fire of the radical imagination, providing a rich and compelling picture of mass insurgency in the United States over the period from the "second civil war" of the 1870s to the great struggles of the 1930s and 1940s.

The core argument here is that these waves of mobilization were a response to the brutal process of dispossession that created the conditions for capitalist development by violently separating toilers from control over the means of production and beginning the commodification of everything. This account is attentive to the ways that racism, slavery, and the destruction of Indigenous ways of life were central to the process of primitive accumulation in the US. The process of dispossession interrupts all previously existing cycles of production and subsistence: "the process of primitive accumulation worked its magic by absorbing and eliminating all those preexisting forms of household and craft production that until then had supplied those markets." (46)

Within 15 years of the wrenching violence of the Civil War, the United States was engaged in a "second civil war" around issues of class and inequality. This included farmer mobilization on the land and worker activism in industry. Farmers were squeezed by the intensified commodification of agriculture that often left them in debt and beholden to corporations for supplies, storage, and the sale of their produce. Increased speculation made the market price of the harvest less predictable, increasing the precariousness of farming life. In response, farmers developed new forms of organization and political expressions from co-operatives to political parties that organized the countryside and transformed relations in important ways.

Worker activism in industry paralleled farmer mobilization on the land. The long depression of the 1870s intensified the misery and insecurity that was already being produced by processes of dispossession. Workers began to fight back at whole new scale and level of militancy. These mobilizations did not shy away from violence, which is not surprising given the brutality that workers faced in

their everyday lives and especially when they acted politically. One of the slogans "common at working-class demonstrations" at this time was "Bread or Blood." (109)

The great uprising of 1877 took the form of a mass strike with rail workers playing a central role. During this period members of the working class began to develop a set of demands and a repertoire of organizational and political tools. The labour movement set an ambitious agenda of demands for reforms like the 8 hour day that were really only fulfilled with the introduction of the New Deal in the 1930s and 1940s, and then only for parts of the working class. But the vision of these insurgent workers went beyond these reforms: "A culture of anticapitalism defined the horizon of what was then conceivable; it had become a common element of the atmosphere." (142)

The trajectory of this great upsurge from below continued in waves right through to the establishment of the "New Deal Order" in which sections of the working class won a place within capitalism that included collective bargaining rights, social insurance benefits, and increased living standards. Yet these very rights tended to isolate the labour movement as the exclusive representative of specific layers of workers in certain areas of employment (such as industry) whose rights were increasingly detached from the rest of the working class.

Employers and the state developed new strategies for profitability that fit with the New Deal Order, though the massive polarization of the Gilded Age was contained. This settlement lasted until the early 1970s, when state policy-makers and employers began to recalibrate strategies in the face of increasing resistance and decreasing returns. Over time, they developed the tool chest of brutal neo-liberal restructuring, which they used to crush the New Deal Order. This opened

the door to a New Gilded Age of polarization between wealth and poverty. But rather than a return to the mass insurgency of "Bread or Blood," this was to become an Age of Acquiescence marked by limited resistance.

Fraser traces out with great clarity the ideological and material tool chest of neo-liberalism, ranging from the mythology of the entrepreneur to the restructuring of work. This process of restructuring has transformed the world-view from below so that "the notion of rebelling against the state is a foreign instinct where it was once a birthright." (413) Yet I think his analysis of the loss of this birthright of mass insurgency fall short. His account of popular mobilization is anchored in the resistance to primitive accumulation connected to pre-capitalist conditions. The great uprisings he tracked in the book "always originated in a realm before money and looked for gratification in a realm beyond money." (420)

I think this underestimates the creativity of working-class resistance, which has been reinvented from below a number of times in response to capitalist restructuring. The shift to Taylorist mass production in the early 20th century succeeded for some time in undermining working-class organization and workers' control over the labour process. But workers found new ways to establish collectivity in the context of Taylorism, creating an era of mass insurgency in the 1930s and 1940s marked by wildcat strikes, militant and massive picket lines, and a rainbow of community activism.

The New Deal Order did bring an end to this round of mobilization, but in the 1960s new forms of collectivity emerged, sparked by anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-poverty movements that inspired new forms of mass insurgency in the streets, schools, communities, and workplaces. Fraser does not really engage with the mobilizations of the 1960s,

which would complicate the connection he draws between pre-capitalist conditions and mass insurgency. Employers and state policy-makers keep trying to develop regimes that are totalizing and worker-proof, shutting off the horizons of possibility to exclude any reference point outside of capitalism. Yet members of the working class, oppressed, and colonized groups grope towards new ways of understanding, remembering, and resisting. I think the gap between polarization and resistance that we face now is an indication that members of the working class have not yet found the tools of resistance to forge collectivity in the light of neoliberal globalization. Despite this difference, I think Fraser's book is an important contribution to our understanding of resistance oriented around power from below in the face of neoliberalism.

ALAN SEARS

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Donna T. Haverty-Stacke, *Trotskyists on Trial: Free Speech and Political Persecution since the Age of FDR* (New York: New York University Press 2015)

ON 8 DECEMBER 1941, eighteen defendants in a Minneapolis courtroom were sentenced to prison-terms ranging from twelve months plus a day to sixteen months. Having ostensibly violated a peacetime anti-sedition law that criminalized "disloyalty" as dissemination of anything – from casual speech to published pamphlets to distribution of classic 19th-century socialist tracts – that could be construed as advocating the overthrowing of the government, those convicted were sentenced one day after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. Much of the trial turned on testimony relating to the accused's association with the Socialist Workers Party (swp), known to be an opponent of imperialist war.

The Act under which these defendants were convicted was named after Congressman Howard K. Smith of Virginia, who in 1939 promoted a bill against the threats of fascism and communism to the governance of the United States. Most commonly associated with the post-World War II Cold War judicial persecution of the Communist Party, USA, the Smith Act first targeted 29 individuals active in the Trotskyist swp and their like-minded counterparts in the militant Minneapolis labour movement, most especially the General Drivers Union, Local 574/544 of teamsters, coal handlers, and market labourers, and, secondarily, the Federal Workers Section of unemployed workers and the Union Defense Guard. A number of the original 29 defendants were found not guilty, and one committed suicide before the trial. The contingent that eventually went to jail, exhausting a fruitless appeals process in 1943, included swp leaders James P. Cannon, Vincent Ray Dunne, Albert Goldman, Felix Morrow, Farrell Dobbs, Carl Skoglund, and Grace Carlson.

The first Smith Act trial was also directed at a highly successful and militant union, led by some of these revolutionary Left Oppositionists, which had exploded into national prominence in 1934. Three truckers' strikes brought the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Minneapolis local out of the doldrums of the Great Depression. Its membership soared from a paltry 200 in 1933 to an amazing 7,000 a year later. All of this was accomplished *against* the foot-dragging, obstructionist conservatism of a reactionary, bureaucratic "craft unionism," epitomized by IBT head, Daniel Tobin. The General Drivers Union, under the leadership of Dunne, Dobbs, and Skoglund, then spring-boarded this local success into a massive inter-state organizing campaign that, over the course of the late 1930s, saw the IBT make dramatic

gains in the Midwest, bringing hundreds of thousands of new members into the international union. As Haverty-Stacke shows, in what is the most deeply researched and carefully argued study of this "little Red Scare," those involved in bringing the Trotskyists and others to trial included Teamster boss Dan Tobin; J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Attorney General Francis Biddle, and the Justice Department.

The 1941-1943 persecution of Trotskyists and Minneapolis militants was an egregious attack on basic freedom of expression. It in effect outlawed being a communist and declared belief in basic tenets of Marxism itself a seditious conspiracy. The Smith Act was loudly and justifiably condemned by progressives in the labour movement, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and a wide array of critics, including I. F. Stone.

Ironically, however, the very Communist Party, USA that would later find itself subjected to Smith Act attack, applauded the state's move against what it considered a "Trotskyite" fifth-column. It went so far as to equate the defendants with "a sabotage organization" that deserved no more support than the "National Socialist Workers Party," or Nazis. Earl Browder's lawyers provided an affidavit and ostensible evidence of Trotskyism's threat to the war effort – in the form of quotes supposedly establishing the swp's intention to overthrow the government that included citations from standard, and long distributed, Marxist literature – as part of their appeal to Roosevelt to pardon Browder, then in jail on trumped-up, anti-communist, passport violation charges dating to the 1920s.

The story of the first Smith Act trial has been told before, including by Farrell Dobbs in his *Teamster Bureaucracy* (New York: Monad, 1977). Haverty-Stacke's

account provides much in the way of new detail, especially with respect to the complex layers that contributed to the persecution of the Minneapolis Trotskyists. Contemporaries, in the parlance of 1941-1943 political commentary and defence campaign pamphlets, tended to simplify matters. They spoke of what constituted a "political debt" paid by Roosevelt to Tobin, a crucial trade union supporter. In this analysis, the President of the country repaid a loyal labour leader by unleashing the Smith Act on union dissidents who had long proven an irksome political thorn in the side of the IBT's ossified officialdom.

Haverty-Stacke counters this claim with complications, as indeed does Dobbs in his 1977 book. She is no doubt right that the 1941 Minneapolis prosecution was "the product of the convergence of multiple historical forces." (61) In the end, it seems reasonable to conclude, the Smith Act was unleashed because the hounds of an entrenched but now challenged labour bureaucracy and all of the President's and J. Edgar Hoover's men, in both the Department of Justice and the secret surveillance state, found themselves in agreement that a band of Minneapolis revolutionaries had to be brought to repressive heel.

One component of Haverty-Stacke's claims for complicating the issues involved in this constellation of forces that brought Trotskyists into an American courtroom in 1941 is discussion of what she calls a rank-and-file opposition movement, known as the Committee of 99. This dissident faction, led by James Bartlett and Tommy Williams (who died of a heart attack in 1941 amidst the Committee's anti-Local 544 leadership campaign), was relentless in attacking Vincent Ray Dunne and other swp-affiliated Minneapolis trade union leaders. Beyond a handful of malcontents among the IBT Local (and indeed

outside of it), it is difficult to grasp what this Committee actually was, including the numbers of workers who supported it. By Haverty-Stacke's own account, it was a small, shadowy affair. Claiming that the Committee of 99 must be treated as a serious and autonomous voice of grievance within Local 544, as Haverty-Stacke does, may well be a questionable premise given the opaque nature of the so-called opposition movement. How can we consider the Committee apart from the powerful structures antagonistic to class struggle unionism that fed an appetite for anti-communism among a small cohort of Minneapolis workers and trade union officials.

There is no denying, for instance, the importance of Bartlett, who was encouraged by both Tobin and the FBI, and provided testimony (truthful or not remains a question) helping to convict the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis teamsters. What kind of a figure was Bartlett? Was he indeed animated by a balanced mixture of motives, one part "concern for the integrity of the union," another part "personal animosity and professional jealousy" relating to Dunne, Skoglund, and others. (44) This perhaps overstates the positive in Bartlett and understates the negative.

Bartlett joined the Communist Party in 1932 and later hooked up with Dunne and his Left Oppositionist comrades. He vacationed in Mexico, where his swp connections secured him an introduction to Trotsky in 1940. He became a business manager of an IBT Local, although, significantly, *not* Local 544 against which he would testify in the 1940s. Eventually falling out with the Trotskyists, Bartlett then turned to the Farmer-Labor Party, ran for alderman, and purchased a bowling alley. He found his desired advance up the ladder of trade union officialdom blocked by swpers, whose view was that he had proven himself a crass

opportunist. At the end of this journey, coinciding with the entry of the United States into World War II, Bartlett blossomed into a full-blown anti-communist. He had Tobin's ear, and was soon recruited into the network of FBI informants providing the Bureau with claims that Local 544 leaders were planning to overthrow the government, using the Union Defense Guard (which had in fact been formed to protect trade unionists from the violence of home-grown fascists) as a vehicle of armed revolution. Bartlett claimed Trotsky himself had told him as much, an unbelievable claim given the characteristic reticence of Trotsky when talking with new recruits to the movement he headed.

It is difficult to see much in the way of integrity with respect to a one-time Communist and past Trotskyist who would appear at a trial against his former comrades and fellow unionists to suggest that the *Communist Manifesto* and its dissemination by the swp constituted grounds for convicting people of being an illegal conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the US government by force. Those, like Bartlett, who informed on Local 544 to the FBI and fingered former comrades in testimony that seemed concocted and self-serving are hardly exemplars of trade union principles. That Bartlett's factional co-workers conjured up wildly-unbelievable stories about Trotskyists stockpiling weapons in the walls of churches, or building up an arsenal at a local farm, raises serious questions about the balanced judgement and capacity for truthful testimony of this trade union opposition. As Albert Goldman, defense counsel of the group indicted in 1941, noted of Bartlett, he was a disgruntled and spurned former left dissident, a mercurial figure looking for both the main chance to feather his own nest and settle a score, one willing to be a stool pigeon for the state. "In a parade of perjury,"

Goldman mocked, "Bartlett rose to the ceiling and way above." (129)

Haverty-Stacke's *Trotskyists On Trial* is an account of an important episode in the struggle for civil liberties, waged by those whom the state, employers, and a hard core within labour's reactionary officialdom were willing to demonize. It has much to recommend it, constituting an extended treatment of one of the most vigorous and principled labour defence campaigns in the history of the modern left. The book concludes with an account of a 1986 vindication of the Socialist Workers Party, which won a case against FBI surveillance of the Trotskyist organization that reached back to 1940. Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI's use of informants to spy and report on political meetings, demonstrations, and other lawful events was "unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly." (220) This late but liberal victory, Haverty-Stacke suggests, speaks well of justice and its capacities in our current age, shrouded as it is in the threat of terrorism. This should give us hope, she claims, that "Americans can be vigilant and effective in preserving the life of the nation while they protect the freedoms that give life to their nation." (226)

As I finished this book, I had a different thought. It was about one of the Smith Act trial victims, Carl Skoglund. Born into poverty in Sweden in 1884, 'Skogie' immigrated to the United States in 1911. One of the "undocumented" of his time, Skoglund joined the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, then became an early convert to communism. Expelled from the Communist Party, USA in 1929, Skoglund joined the Trotskyist Communist League of America (Opposition), and was one of the key strategists of the successful 1934 Minneapolis uprising. He helped to found the SWP in 1938. Threatened

with deportation, and offered citizenship papers by the FBI if he would inform on his comrades and make common cause with the Committee of 99, Skoglund refused and served his time as a convicted Smith Act defendant. But he was never thereafter out of the collective sights of Dan Tobin and the IWT bureaucracy, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, the Department of Justice, and the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. Jailed, and hounded repeatedly by the state, Tobin's IWT blacklisted Skoglund, and job sites where the socialist Swede found work were quickly picketed by his former union, driving the swper from paid employment. The left-wing workers' movement defended Skoglund from deportation until the day he died in 1960. Skoglund, in our times, would be the equivalent of 'Mexican' or 'Muslim', with the added designation of being a convicted seditious conspirator. Justice for people of his political stripe was and is seldom so much vigilant as it is vigilante.

BRYAN D. PALMER

Trent University

Ruth Milkman, *On Gender, Labor and Inequality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)

A LEADING SCHOLAR of labour studies in the US, Ruth Milkman has helped to shape multiple fields of study that cross disciplinary and interdisciplinary boundaries; her important work has challenged and re-shaped our historical and contemporary understanding of gender, class, and labour. This collection draws together some of her most important essays, published over four decades between 1976 and 2016, complimented by an introduction situating them in academic context and short introductory paragraphs doing likewise for each chapter.

Milkman's book is a must read, not only to remind those of us influenced by her excellent work how significant her scholarship was and is, but also for new scholars who can trace the intellectual evolution of a labour studies author whose writing has always been grounded in painstaking empirical research, and simultaneously dedicated to analyzing the origins and operation of social inequality, even as specific topics, theories, and approaches have shifted over time.

The essays can be divided into four groupings. The first few pieces, likely better known to historians, deal with case studies of women workers in the Depression, World War II, and the post-war decades, especially those women toiling in mass production industries like auto manufacturing. These pieces are thoroughly grounded in archival and other historical sources, and were often shaped, as she points out, by debates in Marxist-feminist and socialist-feminist theories of the time. Milkman's ability to create a useful, dialectical dialogue between theory and evidence is especially noteworthy: using the situation of working women during the Depression, to take only one example, she challenged older "reserve army of labour" theories by showing that the gender segmentation of the labour force offered women some protection against unemployment, if only because they were clustered in low-wage, highly gender-specific job ghettos.

These essays also allow us to see how different sets of historical sources offer cumulative insights into women's occupational choices (or lack of them) and the resilience of race and gender divisions in the labour force – these being, for Milkman, a key element of women's ongoing oppression. While "Redefining Women's Work" explores the role of trade unions in sustaining gendered and raced job categorization during the war years, a subsequent essay builds on these

findings, arguing that the critical element in the re-imposition of the pre-war gender order was management prerogative in defining the contours of its workforce. In all of this historical work, Milkman tries to situate the union movement, the central focus of her work, within the broader context of changing class and gender relations, though I sometimes wish she had written more about the political context. In an essay dealing with post-World War II retrenchment, for instance, it seems to me that the Cold War and decline of the Left (orchestrated by state repression and replayed through the unions) was absolutely critical in shutting down more radical alternatives to retrenchment.

The second grouping of chapters moves into the contemporary period, though often still using history as a key resource. Her cogent essay exploring the famous "Sears" court case of 1984, in which two historians of women testified on different sides of an important Equal Employment Opportunity Commission workplace gender discrimination case, is reprinted, along with pieces that examine how unions have responded to women, the feminization of work, and the gendered division of labour over long periods of time. Many of these essays offer broad, retrospective analyses that sketch out how and why social change does and does not transpire. For example, "Gender and Trade Unionism in Historical Perspective" suggests that the basic character of a union at the time of its creation tends to persist in its gender dynamics over time: a sort of "path dependency" theory for unions. While perhaps schematic for historians, it is provocative and suggestive in interesting ways. Reflecting shifts in the academic context, this venturesome piece is grounded more in sociological organizational theory rather than in debates in Marxist-feminism, as some earlier pieces were. Another essay, similarly broad-ranging, looks at four

different “waves” of unionization, beginning with craft and “new unions” up to 1920, followed by industrial unions (the 1930s) and public sector organizing after the 1960s; Milkman relates the structural characteristics of each unionization effort and the state of gender relations in society at the time to the roles women assumed within each wave of union organization.

A third and fourth grouping of essays explores contemporary examples of social and gender inequality, including growing inequalities between groups of women. As Milkman points out in her introduction, intersectionality theory, more popular after the 1990s, often sidelined class, which became more and more “uncool” (4) as a key analytical category of analysis. Ironically, at precisely this point in time, women’s own work lives reflected heightened patterns of social inequality: not only was income inequality as a whole widening, but the success of the feminist movement was seen only in the lives of professional women, whose work was increasingly distinct from the insecure, contingent and low-paid labour of the vast majority of working women. An extremely interesting co-authored piece on paid domestic labour builds on, but also challenges the many qualitative studies which stress race, ethnicity, and immigrant/citizenship status as the key variables creating the resurgence of low-paid domestic labour after the 1980s. Using quantitative data from one state, the authors argue that a missing analytic link, too often devalued, is class inequality: the degree of income inequality, they contend, is a key determinant of the growing size (and historically shifting expansion and contraction) of the paid domestic labour workforce. Another essay explores the work-family policy dynamic. In the US, there is almost no paid family leave, making it a remarkable outlier in terms of social policy compared

to other industrialized countries. Using a California success story in securing paid family leave legislation at the state level, Milkman suggests how and why the campaign succeeded: by building a broad coalition that could take on the powerful business lobby against the legislation.

The final piece provides a wonderful finale, tying together Milkman’s initial scholarship with her latest research: it compares gender, work, and inequality during the Great Depression and the recent Great Recession after the 2008 meltdown. There may be some common structural characteristics of both crises in terms of women’s initial protection against unemployment in gendered job ghettos, but as she notes, one of the most depressing points of comparison is the political mobilization that occurred during the Depression, compared to the sporadic, but ultimately lackluster lack of mobilization after the recent Recession. The “urgency” (10) of understanding gender and class inequalities, as Milkman concludes, can be no more prescient than in our times.

Assessing retrospective collections of a scholar’s work is difficult; critiquing someone’s collected life *oeuvre* even more so. The pieces here are well chosen and presented, offering the reader an excellent view of an important, and in many ways pathbreaking pioneer, pioneering a new field: feminist labour studies. Milkman’s work ranges across history and sociology, is exemplary in terms of its commitment to extensive empirical research of both a qualitative and quantitative nature, and it betrays a great passion for both understanding and rectifying social inequalities. As a senior scholar with immense stature in the field, I wish she had offered us a little more theoretical and political boldness in her introductory reflections. It is striking to me that, as her early interest in Marxist-feminist theory waned, she simply redoubled her

efforts to marry empirical evidence and sociological insights into cogent analyses of themes (unions, class) that many other scholars had abandoned. She notes her initial disinterest in post-structuralism, but some feminists have sustained an interest in materialist and Marxist-feminist theorizing as a way of analyzing paid and unpaid work; others have linked the neo-liberal turn that Milkman documents so well with the decline of the Left and the cultural theoretical turn she very briefly mentions. I don't have a sense of what Milkman thinks about these theoretical developments, but I would certainly like to know.

JOAN SANGSTER
Trent University

Jeffrey T. Manuel, *Taconite Dreams: The Struggle to Sustain Mining on Minnesota's Iron Range, 1915–2000*
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2015)

THE COMBINED IMPACTS of deindustrialization, job loss, and economic change have dramatically transformed the politics of the industrial areas of the upper Midwestern United States, as can be seen by recent events in Wisconsin, Michigan, and elsewhere. Jeffrey T. Manuel contributes a historical perspective on these changes with a case analysis of the Iron Range mining district of northeastern Minnesota, a less well-studied area which nonetheless was an integral part of the Great Lakes industrial complex in the 20th century. The book explores interesting questions about the role of technology in fostering postwar development and the growing awareness of its environmental impacts, the shaping of public policy to stave off economic decline, and the use of industrial "heritage" as a basis for revival though tourism promotion. While focused mainly on local events,

the book provides useful example of the kinds of dislocations that have affected cities and regions across the American "Rust Belt."

The Iron Range first boomed in the late 19th and early 20th century, becoming a primary source of high-grade hematite ore for the US steel industry. Rapid growth brought an immigrant working class that quickly developed a radical politics and became a core constituency of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). In towns like Hibbing and elsewhere, local politicians did not hesitate to tax large national corporations to support municipal budgets, ameliorate the worst excesses of a volatile, extractive industry, and compensate for the removal of natural resources.

By the mid-20th century, however, the region was already facing depletion of the older underground mines, threatening the area's economic future. At the same time, newer methods for processing lower-grade taconite ore, which remained abundant, promised to extend the life of the mining sector for several generations. The technological "fix" of taconite, however, was by itself not enough to persuade big employers to spend millions of dollars to build processing plants in Minnesota. Manuel does a good job showing how the earlier populist politics of taxing wealthy corporations gave way to the advocacy of tax breaks in order to secure investment and jobs. The tax issue drove a wedge between the DFL and its electoral base and led to the extraordinary campaign to amend the state constitution to limit taxes on taconite producers, passed by a voter referendum in 1964.

Production of taconite relied on high volume and hastened the shift from underground to open-pit mining in the Iron Range. Yet Manuel reminds us how short-lived such development paths can be and how rapidly the terms can change. Within a decade the environmental

impacts of taconite production were becoming evident, as massive amounts of waste were dumped into Lake Superior at the Reserve Mining Company processing plant in Silver Bay. Manuel is careful to note that the issue of jobs versus the environment was never that simple or clear-cut; local residents, workers, and union activists held mixed views on the future of their region but their choices were sharply limited. The technological fix of taconite had saved jobs, but it was not a painless solution as local communities bore the burden of pollution in their own backyard.

The Iron Range mining economy collapsed with the crisis of US steel in the 1980s. Manuel argues that efforts by state and local authorities to redevelop the area and diversify its economic base only highlight the lack of a coordinated national industrial policy in the US. The state Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Board (IRRRB) struggled for funds and flailed around in search of alternative enterprises to support like logging and wood manufacture. The policy framework, however, left the IRRRB with few tools to boost employment other than the tax incentives and expenditures in which the state bore the cost and risk. The Iron Range now found itself competing with other older, struggling manufacturing areas throughout the Midwest.

Inevitably, it seems, policymakers turned to tourism to revive the region. Manuel makes a pointed criticism of the role of historians and cultural preservationists in the formation of "heritage tourism" as a compromise strategy, maintaining the industrial identity of the area as nostalgic memory and de-politicizing the economic turn away from its mining past. Tourism brought much-needed jobs but in fewer numbers and at wages far below those of the older industrial base. Again, local residents were fully aware of the contradictions but seemed to have

few options. The Iron Range survived and did not become a string of ghost towns, but it no longer possessed the economic might that it once had. At the dawn of the 21st century, there was speculation on the emergence of copper-nickel mining activity, but the confidence of the post-war era was gone.

Solidly researched, clearly structured, and profusely illustrated with evocative photographs, *Taconite Dreams* highlights a paradoxical feature of modern capitalism, the rapid devaluation of formerly powerful industrial complexes. Manuel makes the good point that the focus on local heritage that frames working class communities against the forces of global capitalism lacks a national perspective and runs the danger of reifying community as an inescapable loser. The book itself, however, does not provide that larger point of view, beyond the occasional invocation of rising global competition. As a dense, single-case study of a specific area, it offers a thick narrative of events in and near the Iron Range itself. That is a fine achievement, but it might benefit from more comparison and contrast with other cases, or reflection on the unique features of the locale and its position within larger economic and political structures.

So, for example, the process of industrial decline appears as a predestined fate, only temporarily delayed by a technological fix, yet this may be truer for extractive industries than for manufacturing. The US auto industry, for example, has rebounded since the crisis of the 1980s, only the expansion has occurred in the non-union Southern states. The analysis calls for a more explicit recognition of the contradictory forces and actors affecting different industries and sectors. Likewise, a variety of institutional conditions limit local workers and residents' ability to respond to change, e.g. US labour law and precedent severely restrict unions' ability

to bargain over management decisions on investment and siting of plants and facilities.

Finally, while the book is well-researched it suffers from a bland writing style and an excessive repetitiveness, even within the same paragraphs, that makes the reading unduly burdensome and suggests an uncertainty of purpose. Too often, the author simply re-states basic points in virtually the same language when he could have developed the analysis and pushed it farther. *Taconite Dreams* is a solid contribution to our understanding of one region's struggle to contend with industrial change. It remains for us to build on its findings to achieve a broader view.

CHRIS RHOMBERG
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Amanda H. Littauer, *Bad Girls: Young Women, Sex, and Rebellion before the Sixties* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2015)

AT A GLANCE, when considering pre-1960s notions or representations of sexuality in US culture, "sexual nonconformity" and rebellion would typically be unlikely terms applied to the wartime and the Cold War era. These decades may indeed conjure up popular images of long-limbed white pin up girls and Hollywood glamour, but the prevailing discourses, messages, and morals that circulated around women's sexuality are often recalled as conservative, revolving around the institution of heterosexual marriage and the (white) nuclear family as a microcosm of the nation. While revolutionary fervour, changing sexual mores, and increased visible articulations of female sexual agency are ordinarily associated with the proceeding decades, during the 1940s and 1950s many teen girls and women participated in a range

of sexual behaviours and practices that flouted normative expectations of feminized sexuality. As Amanda Littauer contends in *Bad Girls*, World War II "left a legacy of young female sexual self-assertion that would generate both conservative and liberal responses in the postwar years," galvanizing calls for women's sexual agency, and influencing the sexual cultures of the 1960s and 1970s. (19)

While scholars have highlighted the more liberal facets of the 1940s and 1950s, very little of this scholarship examines the experiences, thoughts, and experiences of sexual agency of women and girls. Beginning in the 1970s, feminist and queer historians have worked to make visible how the wartime home front generated new opportunities for heterosexual women, gay men, and lesbians to claim sexual and economic agency in ways that were unprecedented. Postwar America was a period of paradox concerning sexuality; these decades may have been rife with restriction, but also of vocal debate, giving rise to the Homophile and Civil Rights movements, prompting challenges to racial segregation, and seeing the publication of the Kinsey reports. There was also a heightened sense of panic about the sexual morality of women and girls, fears surrounding the spread of venereal diseases and miscegenation, and efforts to surveil and contain these "threats." Considering that heightened restrictions so often suggest greater contestation, *Bad Girls* refutes the notion that practices of pre-1960s sexual nonconformity were temporary, but rather recognizes these practices as part of "the long sexual revolution," and refuses to cordon off women and girls articulation of sexual agency to the 1960s and 1970s. (2)

The task of locating and making visible the experiences and agency of women and their sexuality in this historical moment is no easy task. Considering that "the thoughts of most women and girls

are lost to history" – particularly when historians rightly attend to intersections of gender, race, sexuality, and class – feminist historians have to be methodologically and theoretically creative. (82) Littauer presents an "omnivorous approach" in her text, tracking the relationships between prevailing ideologies and representations, working with and extrapolating from a myriad of sources, including: state and federal contact reports that attempted to track women who were named by servicemen as possible sources of venereal diseases; policy makers and law enforcement agents who used their power and authority in forms of social control; social scientific studies that sought to observe and understand postwar sexual cultures; and, when possible, the testimonies of women and girls themselves. (11)

Littauer infers evidence of female sexual agency and practices through the sites of contact that women often had with institutions of authority, such as through the documents ("contact reports") left by government officials who sought to limit the interactions between servicemen and civilian women, many of whom were seen as infringing on social spaces typically reserved for men. Well aware that wartime had altered the sexual landscape, Littauer argues that officials and the public alike feared that what they saw as an encroaching tide of sexual liberalism would erode the institution of marriage and increase occurrences of "juvenile delinquency." (21) These anxieties were largely focused on the bodies of women and girls; from figures like Victory Girls and B-Girls of the 1940s and 1950s – who were understood as women who were sexually available outside of marriage – to teenage sexual experimentation with the practice of "going steady," and the threat that queer women posed to the social-sexual order.

A key moment that Littauer argues made visible the already tenuous foundations of the idealized white heterosexual nuclear family was the 1953 publication of Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behaviour of the Human Female* which illustrated the gap between normative patriarchal sexual values and the experiences and sexual practices of "average" American women. Littauer clearly and carefully treats the report as a product of its time rather than an implicitly radical text; the report centres exclusively on the experiences of white women, and centres heterosexual experience, yet also made clear that experiences like premarital sex and homosexuality were common. The 1940s and 1950s may have been a time of intense homophobic restriction, but Littauer joins a chorus of other queer historians who argue that it also saw the expansion of queer sexual cultures. The rise of popular Freudian psychology as a discipline reshaped the dominant perception of homosexuality from constituting illness to a product of faulty parenting. Yet the obsession with naming and publicizing the threat of lesbianism also made queerness as a discernable identity more visible.

Another common sexual practice that troubled the boundaries between premarital and marital sex was the notion of "going steady." Scholars have illustrated the many ways that the precarity of wartime and Cold War American culture deeply influenced sexual practice; "going steady" implied the commitment of marriage, allowing many teens to justify having pre-marital sex. While many teen girls undoubtedly consented to this practice, the prevailing sexual authorities routinely punished women who were caught in pre-marital sexual transgressions; those who became pregnant, or who were coerced or raped – particularly if they were poor or women of colour – paid the highest price.

Littauer's focus on examining sites and discourses of power and normativity – social scientific studies, federal contact reports, heterosexual pre-marital practices, and homophobic pathologization – seeks evidence of experiences of a spectrum of sexual nonconformity through these attempts to control sexuality. Before the mainstream availability of sexually liberatory discourses in the 1960s and 1970s, *Bad Girls* clearly demonstrates that women and girls – across demographics of race, class, and sexuality – found ways to reinterpret, circumvent, and challenge normative sexual mores and control. One of the difficulties inherent in this particular kind of feminist historical work concerns the uses and readings of historical silence. Littauer frequently attempts to make visible the ways that many of the sexual norms of this time were shaped by race, class, and sexuality. Yet the sites of power on which she centres parts of her analysis provided more space – albeit limited and tenuous – for women who may have had less to lose through interacting with authority. Of particular importance is Littauer's attention to non-normative sexual practices through the lens of queer theory, both heterosexual and queer, as part of a similar spectrum of sexual nonconformist practices. This text troubles the decadal approach to history, refusing to cordon off experiences of sexual nonconformity to a post-1960s America, and refuses to replicate the historical silencing of the experiences and voices of women and girls vis-à-vis sites of power and authority.

NADINE BOULAY

Simon Fraser University

Thomas M. Grace, *Kent State: Death and Dissent in the Long Sixties* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 2016)

THE STORY OF THE EVENTS which took place at Kent State University on 4 May 1970 has been told by novelists, film makers, political scientists, songwriters, sociologists, and others. Ohio National Guardsmen fired on protesting students, killing four and wounding nine. Largely absent from this pantheon of arts and letters is the work of historians. In this respect Thomas M. Grace's *Kent State: Death and Dissent in the Long Sixties* is long overdue.

The subject is not entirely unexplored by historians. Several edited oral history collections exist, the most recent being Craig Simpson and Gregory Wilson's *Above the Shots: An Oral History of the Kent State Shootings* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2016). Kenneth Heineman includes Kent State as one of four case studies in which law enforcement agencies fired upon student demonstrators in his book *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). Heineman argues that only at a predominantly working-class university such as Kent would the state turn its guns on its own children.

Grace continues with Heineman's class analysis, situating the university squarely within the context of north-eastern Ohio's post-war working class. Established as a teachers' college in the early 20th century, the university and its student body expanded exponentially in the years following World War II. Located within the industrial triangle of Cleveland, Youngstown, and Akron, to a large degree students matriculating at Kent State in the late 1950s and 1960s were the children of unionized workers, themselves no strangers to political

mobilization. In 1958, Ohio's Republican Governor placed on the ballot a proposed "right to work" amendment to the state constitution. Labour organized a grass-roots campaign and defeated the proposal. Albert Canfora, a local United Auto Workers vice-president, was one of the many union leaders involved in the campaign. A photo of his son, Alan, adorns the cover of Grace's book. He is waving a black flag, taunting Ohio National Guardsmen, who point their M1 rifles at him across a practice football field at Kent State. As with many working-class families in northeastern Ohio, a tradition of political activism had been passed from one generation to the next. Moments later, Guardsmen shot and wounded the younger Canfora.

But class is just one sub-theme in what Grace describes as "a bottom-up history of dissident political activity over fifteen years." (6) Race is equally important. The civil rights movement arrived at Kent State in 1960 in the form of the Kent Council on Human Affairs (CHA). Its accomplishments included desegregating a local bar and approved off-campus student housing. The Black Power movement on campus manifested in itself in the form of Black United Students (BUS), established in 1967. It was fed by a series of riots that engulfed African American neighbourhoods in Cleveland and Akron between 1964 and 1968. Time and again Republican Governor James Rhodes deployed Ohio National Guardsmen to quell the disturbances, often resulting in African American fatalities. Having lived through these events, Black students enrolled at Kent State became active in, or sympathized with, BUS. One former BUS president remembered, "I've seen the riots. Those cats (Ohio National Guardsmen) move in with rifles, man, they blow your head right off." (116) Wisely, when Guardsmen occupied Kent State on 2 May, BUS advised African

American students to avoid the soldiers and to stay away from demonstrations. All of those killed and wounded on 4 May were white.

Grace's third and most important sub-theme is the debunking of the widespread belief that the events of 4 May 1970 occurred at (citing the late David Halberstam as representative) "an activist backwater ... distanced physically and emotionally from the centre of the anti-war movement." (8) Far from it, Grace demonstrates how Kent State was representative of the larger antiwar movement. In doing so Grace provides something unique to the historiography of the antiwar movement: a local history. Unlike other 1960s local histories such as W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), William Billingsley's *Communists on Campus: Race, Politics, and the Public University in Sixties North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), or Mary Ann Wynkoop's *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University* (Indiana University Press 2002), which all include a chapter on the antiwar movement, Grace has given us a book.

In February 1965, in response to renewed US bombings, all six members of the newly-accredited campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance picketed. Confronting them was a crowd of between 100 and 200 angry counterdemonstrators. In October about a dozen Kent activists demonstrated in Cleveland as part of the first International Days of Protest to End the War in Vietnam. Upon their return, with the YSA playing a leading, but not exclusive, role, activists formed the Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam (KCEWV). Seventeen people attended the start-up meeting. In November, the committee filled a bus and sent it to Washington, DC, to march with the National Coordinating Committee to

End the War in Vietnam. By the spring of 1966 the ranks of KCEWV had grown by several dozen more as it organized teach-ins and pickets. The introduction of silent vigils in June 1967 proved especially popular with faculty members and the organization “doubled or tripled in size.” (80) That fall several hundred Kent State students attended the October 21 Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam in Washington. Mirroring developments in antiwar groups across the country, increasing friction developed between Trotskyists and those whom Grace describes as “groups to their political left, especially those like SDS.” The Kent State chapter of Students for a Democratic Society had only been established in February 1968. Its first order of business was to leave KCEWV, thereby splitting the on-campus antiwar movement. SDS brought to campus leading firebrands of the organization – Terry Robbins, Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn, and Mark Rudd. Like its national leadership, Kent SDS rejected the single-issue, antiwar focus of YSA and KCEWV. By April of 1969, however, its confrontational methods had led to the arrest and suspension of several of its members, the revocation of its student organization status, and an investigation by the House Committee on Internal Security. By the fall of 1969 Kent SDS had ceased to exist.

Despite the collapse of SDS, the antiwar movement on campus continued to grow. In October, Mike Alewitz, one of the few remaining members of Kent YSA, found himself at the centre of organizing local activities as part of the national Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam. Almost 4,000 students turned out. It was the largest antiwar demonstration at Kent State during the 1960s. The following month Kent State delivered 600 marchers to the Moratorium/Mobilization demonstration in Washington. Unfortunately, by late April 1970 when the United States

invaded Cambodia, antiwar sentiment on campus was just that – sentiment. It lacked structure, leadership, and discipline. We know the rest.

Grace has made an outstanding contribution to the historiography of the antiwar movement. *Kent State* will be an invaluable resource for courses on post-war America. The author makes extensive use of archival materials available at Kent State University's Special Collections and Archives, particularly the May 4 Collection, as well as the Kent State Collection at Yale University. Unfortunately, rather than listing all of the archives consulted prior to the book's footnotes, Grace only provides a list of archives whose names are abbreviated in the notes. Similarly, there is no bibliography. Strangely, given the prominence accorded SDS, the papers of that organization, available at the University of Wisconsin, have not been consulted. Newspapers, in particular the *Daily Kent Stater*, are put to excellent use. Most impressive, however, is Professor Grace's use of 44 oral history interviews, some of which would not have been available to him except for his “insider credentials” – 4 May 1970, Grace was shot by Ohio National Guardsmen.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL
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Katrina Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789–1848*
(Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016)

FOCUSING MAINLY on the industrial parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, though providing useful comparisons with other regions in the North, this book investigates the control and use of public space, the spatial tactics of political movements, the claims of radicals and workers to the right to meet and deliberate, and the

development of these protesters' sense of place and how it related to questions about power and representation.

Katrina Navickas demonstrates that the landed, commercial, and professional elites that dominated local society and ran local government – and occupied and passed laws in parliament – responded to reform agitation with repeated efforts to exclude their political opponents from public space and to impose a “Tory-loyalist” version of rules and ideas concerning it. In effect, spaces were increasingly “privatized.” Moves to this end peaked quickly during the 1790s, but reformers proved resilient and mass protest revived in the postwar years. Navickas dwells on the importance of the Peterloo massacre of 1819 in inspiring reformers through shock and anger and in prompting the elites to close down space and opportunity. The Six Acts were motivated by the same priorities that would again rise to the fore in later times, notably in the early years of Chartism. The royal proclamation of 1839 against seditious meetings, for example, was very much in keeping with the elites' long-term strategy. Spaces could be closed off in various other ways too, through street improvements, policing methods, building design, railings and physical obstacles; and increasingly, as ratepayers' money was used to change the layout of the built environment, disputes could arise over whether or not a space was really “public.”

Between Peterloo and Chartism both sides in the struggle found ways to redefine, challenge, remove, and reinforce barriers. Indeed, conflicts surrounding the Reform Act of 1832 and Whig policies of the 1830s necessitated that they did so. Mass collective action remained viable, and by the 1840s, as the elites persisted with their restrictive “privatization” project, radical activists and workers' organizations constructed their own spaces, where “education, religion, alternative

consumption, and entertainment offered inclusive ways of weaving politics into everyday life.” (20) Here was a promise of independence, of control over space; and while insisting that the raising of money and building of halls and other sites were unmistakably political acts, Navickas points out that the goal was not usually to make “subversive statements” but to pursue “positive alternatives to the limited options available to the working classes.” (203) The battle for space clearly had its class dimensions. It also heightened attachments to particular places – to a landscape, the locality, a perceived community, the environment – and these places were linked with customary forms of protest, with folk narratives, with pride and identity. Rural resistance could be just as strong as the commitment to protest in urban places. Local hierarchies of authority were difficult to break down, however, and for many protesters the abiding attitude was one of dispossession.

The book displays a superb mastery of primary sources, and Navickas has also read widely in the secondary literature and made effective use of the conceptual tools therein. She seeks to go beyond the “spatial turn,” the thinking of space as a construction, not neutral but a site of power and agency. She combines and builds upon the work of a host of scholars – for example (and this is merely the tip of the iceberg) James Vernon, Patrick Joyce, and James Epstein on the politicization of space and problems of applicability arising from ideas about the public sphere; E.P. Thompson on class and place; Christina Parolin on radical spaces; John Bohstedt and Andrew Charlesworth on class, protest, community, and place; Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja on space as material reality and representative symbol; Andy Wood on the role of custom and law in the shaping of distinctive places. As an exercise in synthesis the book is truly impressive.

We learn a great deal about the formation of “northern” and “working-class” identities, the “pan-Pennine connection,” the awareness of the divide between rulers and ruled, popular narratives and rituals, the associational and convivial aspects of political campaigns, the desire for an alternative and competing culture to that of the elites, and the combining of performance and protest. To specialists, however, many of the book’s findings will not be surprising. Navickas covers familiar ground – and does it very well – but spends less time exploring wholly new territory. This is not a complaint, just an observation. Some of the book is not directly about space or place, which is probably inevitable given the wider issues it addresses.

The choice and availability of spaces might have been better explained; and one wonders whether an activity that could have been staged anywhere – like the carrying of a cabbage, damaged by caterpillars, to represent the constitution riddled with corruption – made the specific place in which it happened relatively unimportant. What about the many venues *not* used for radical politics – were other ideas, aims, and identities operating there? Presumably, different interpretations of space and place would result in the writing of a different book.

A little more on the context, motives, and intentions of the “Tory-loyalism” pitted against the reform movements – and how the “reforming Whigs” fit into this paradigm – would have been helpful. Certainly more careful editing before publication would have been advisable. Some individuals and organizations are not properly identified on first mention. There are sections in which the detail is rather dense and the writing clumsy: for instance, “the insurrectionary plots and other events that followed in 1820 were as, if not more than, significant as those of 1819.” (84) “Critique” is used as a verb.

We are told repeatedly that something is “highly symbolic” or “hugely symbolic.” Every few pages we have a “symbolic” happening. The word is over-used. Though all sources are included in the footnotes, some readers might wish for a full bibliography rather than the “select” version provided.

There are shortcomings, no doubt, but they are not especially serious. The book remains interesting and informative throughout, and on the whole it is both well-organized and well-written. The research basis is better than solid. This book has merits that outweigh its weaknesses, and for anyone wishing to know more about British popular politics between 1789 and 1848 it will be essential reading.

MICHAEL TURNER

Appalachian State University

Kate Evans, *Red Rosa: A Graphic Biography of Rosa Luxemburg* (New York: Verso 2016)

A BOOK REVIEW NORMALLY has a little of this and a little of that – strong points, followed by some criticisms. Except I can’t think of anything negative. This book touches on everything – history, Marxist theory, political analysis, feminism, sex, disability, and love of nature with some wonderful art, joy, and humour as well – all packed into a graphic history of about 180 pages. The graphic art form can provide another dimension, another level of complexity to the story. One example: Rosa is expounding on how Marx used Hegel’s theory of dialectics to explain the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. The picture shows Rosa at the table thinking through her path-breaking theoretical analysis while her maid is serving her dinner and lighting the fire to make her mistress tea. “Ma’am, ma’am shall I take your plate?” “Yes, yes” Rosa

absentmindedly replies. (34) In the footnotes, the author, Kate Evans, reminds us, displaying her sharp critical eye, that sensitivity to individual workers was not Luxemburg's strong point. This was true of many of her revolutionary comrades. It was the working class to whom they fearlessly devoted their lives.

Red Rosa uses Luxemburg's own words taken from her theoretical works and her letters to celebrate the life of this remarkable woman. She sends one of her many suitors away because she is busy contemplating how capitalism survives through imperialist expansion, "by occupation, by theft, by extortion, by extermination, by taxation, by the supply of cheap goods, by the appropriation of natural resources, by international loans and everywhere by the use and threat of military force." (108) Rosa is explaining this to her cat, while the discarded bouquet of roses lies on a nearby table. Here is one more example: Rosa is describing the flaws in Eduard Bernstein's revisionist approach to social democracy to her friend, Clara Zetkin. For Rosa, "revolution is the only factor distinguishing social democracy from bourgeois radicalism." Clara Zetkin replies, "I couldn't agree more". On the side of the panel Zetkin who, the author tells us, is the editor of the feminist paper *Die Gleichheit* and a single parent, says to her small child, who is picking his nose, "Kostya, don't do that." (57) The reader basks in the glow of Luxemburg's warm friendship with Luisa Kautsky – which she maintains even after her break with Luisa's husband Karl over the program of the German Social Democratic Party – through a joyous picture of the three women having a wonderful time together. (105) Words alone can't relay the emotion the panel evokes with its visual depiction of the three laughing women.

Many readers may already be familiar with a bit of biographical information

about Rosa's short but intense life. She was born in 1871 into a loving Jewish family in Poland, and from birth had to deal with a disability which the author in the (consistently excellent) footnotes describes as most likely congenital hip dysplasia. It caused her to limp and limited her growth. As a woman, as a Jew, and as a person with a disability – but with a formidable intellect – Luxemburg breaks all kinds of normal conventions for women. The gold medal she earns at school is denied her because of her "rebellious attitude." (11) As a young woman in Poland Luxemburg begins reading Marx and here we have a clear and concise illustrated introduction to Marx's theories. We learn about use value and exchange value, the nature of money, and Marx's great contribution, the labour theory of value. The illustrations make these theories accessible and fun, inviting the reader to learn more. The footnotes elaborate and suggest where to turn for a more complete theoretical education.

In late 19th century Poland, a woman was not permitted to attend university anywhere in the country. Rosa gets her parents to allow her to move to Zurich where she receives a doctorate in Public Law and Economic Affairs. By this time she is already involved in a sexual relationship with Leo Jogiches, a difficult, emotionally challenged man, although politically and intellectually they remain comrades all her life.

The reader is treated to rather graphic (no pun intended) illustrations of the pleasure and pain in her sexual relationships, the flush of a new love, and the difficult partings Rosa has throughout her life – with Jogiches, years later with the much younger Kostya Zetkin, with her attorney, Paul Levy, and with Hans Diefenbach who is killed in World War I. Upon the ending of her relationship with Kostya, a crying Rosa, holding her cat,

says "I cleave to the idea that a woman's character doesn't show itself when love begins, but when it ends." (102)

In 1908, Rosa moves to Germany, marries to get German citizenship, and it is in Germany where her major political work is done. She becomes an active member of the SPD, the Social Democratic Party, and has a falling out with the male leadership who do not accept her insistence on the need to not reform, but to overthrow capitalism. They dismiss her theories as irresponsible, and denounce Rosa herself as a "poisonous bitch" who must be stopped. (106) When World War I threatens, all 110 SPD deputies vote to support the war, to Rosa's great disappointment. She writes, "all Europe will be called to arms and sixteen to eighteen million men, the flower of the nations, armed with the best instruments of war, will make war upon each other. They are leading us straight into a catastrophe." (112) She continues speaking against the war and is imprisoned. In 1918, as the war ends, revolution seems a real possibility. Rosa qualifies her previous excitement about the revolution in Russia and her support for the Bolsheviks, writing that "freedom for the supporters of one party is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for those who think differently." (153) Germany is in turmoil, and hundreds of thousands of people are in the streets. But the counterrevolutionary SPD leader, Friedrich Ebert, in a deal made with the armed forces, regains control and a price of 100,000 marks is set for the capture of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. She refuses to flee and, on 19 January 1919, Rosa is murdered. Following her death are several wordless pages where, at the moment of death, she revisits her life.

And what a life it was! And what a book this is, bringing together the activities of this amazing woman – brilliant, fearless in life, in love – who lived so fully. The

graphics are sometimes beautiful, sometimes moving, and always thoughtful, contributing to an understanding of this revolutionary woman that is not just intellectual, but also emotional. The final pictures called "The Coming Spring" are scenes of more current uprisings – including Indigenous people, the mothers of the disappeared, a strike for "Pan y Rosas," and finally a young woman confronting the police – on her shield is a picture of Rosa Luxemburg, and the *Accumulation of Capital*. (180)

ESTER REITER
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Mark Pittaway, *The Workers' State: Industrial Labor and the Making of Socialist Hungary, 1944–1958*

(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 2012)

MAJOR CHANGES accompanied the end of World War II in East-Central Europe, a large geographical area where it had all started on 1 September 1939 with the German invasion of Poland, and where the Soviet Red Army had finally defeated Hitler's *Wehrmacht* in May 1945. One of these changes was the progressive coming to power in the years 1945 to 1948 of Communist Parties determined to implement a set of policies inspired by what defined them in the first place – Marxism in its Leninist-Stalinist version. The beginning of the Cold War and the defection of Titoist Yugoslavia in 1948 naturally added an extra sense of urgency to this project. Mark Pittaway's groundbreaking study deals with the Hungarian experience.

The socialist industrialization drive in post-World War II Hungary, characterized by severe shortages of housing and consumer goods (food and clothing, in particular), intensification of labour (payment-by-result wages and labour

competition, for example), and reductions in wage levels, created a gulf between the emerging socialist state and its workers that resulted in a deep crisis of legitimacy for the regime. Workers felt betrayed by politicians who had promised, then failed, to bring about material improvement. As discontent and social protest increased, the state responded at first with fairly widespread repressive measures; then, under the leadership of a new prime minister, the reformist Communist Imre Nagy (1953–1955), more conciliatory policies – the so-called “New Course” – were introduced. This new approach had a double effect: on the one hand, it accentuated divisions within an already fractured Communist Party; on the other, it raised expectations among the working class. The dismissal of Nagy in April 1955 and, the following year, the dramatic impact in Hungary of Nikita S. Khrushchev’s Secret Speech of February 1956 – an event that inaugurated the process of de-Stalinization – triggered a national explosion that had a lethal impact on the regime: “the very fact of large numbers of workers taking to the streets, while none were prepared to defend the regime, led to the collapse of its authority, as the credibility of its claim to legitimacy evaporated.” (266)

In the wake of the 1956 revolution, brutally crushed in early November by the Soviet military, the Kádár regime, installed by the army of a foreign power, faced a particularly challenging task: how to pacify Hungarian society, and how to construct a semblance of legitimacy for itself? Bloody and costly as it had proved to be, the uprising of 1956 nevertheless cast a long shadow in Hungary: it made all participants conscious of the fact that a return to the politics of the recent past was no longer an option and that, therefore, legitimacy would have to rest on the ability of the Communist authorities to deliver material improvement. The latter

managed to generate a degree of acceptance in the late 1950s by distancing themselves from the practices of their Stalinist predecessors (Rákosi – “Stalin’s best pupil” – and Gerő, in particular), by approving tacit bargains in the workplace, by giving trade unions greater independence from management and the Party, and by improving the standards of living of the industrial workers (more generous family allowances for large families, introduction of a minimum wage in industry, increase in the value of pensions, major housing construction programs, wage increases, significant investments in public health services, improvements to public transport, and greater cultural opportunities for youth). These measures – a clever exercise in “plac[ing] material flesh on ... ideological bones” (233) – provided the bases for the emergence of a still, however, conditional and brittle legitimacy for the regime among urban workers.

Pittaway focused his research on three industrial communities that were very different in terms of their patterns of industrialization, local identities, occupational structures (skilled and unskilled workers), cultures, and political outlooks: the industrial suburb of Újpest, with its large textile plants and a machine-manufacturing sector; the multiethnic coal mining community of Tatabánya, and the oil workers of southern Zala County, who were also deeply embedded in the agrarian culture of the region and, not surprisingly, more than annoyed by the introduction of collectivization in August 1948.

A meticulous and thorough study of the complex relationship between industrial workers and socialist state formation in postwar Hungary, as well as yet another successful assault on the totalitarian paradigm, *The Workers’ State* will likely challenge more than one reader. The book started its life as a doctoral

dissertation at the University of Liverpool and it bears many of the hallmarks associated with such a birth: the research is absolutely exemplary in its thoroughness and includes material written in several languages, including Hungarian; however, there are many repetitions and, at times, a certain stylistic heaviness that may discourage some readers. They should persevere, though, because the book makes an important point: when state policies toward social benefits, wages, and working conditions, even when initiated by rulers claiming to govern in the name of the working class, clash with workers' aspirations, protest will inevitably arise. Indeed, as this case study clearly illustrates, attempts to forge a new Communist working class and to enlist the latter's support for a project of radical social transformation will inevitably fail, whenever a workforce feels alienated from the workers' state. Karl Marx could not have said it better!

The tragic death of the author at the young age of thirty-nine has deprived the field of Hungarian studies of a very promising labour historian who understood that good labour history can only be written from the bottom up.

J.-GUY LALANDE

St. Francis Xavier University

Hwa-Jen Liu, *Leverage of the Weak: Labor and Environmental Movements in Taiwan and South Korea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2015)

LEVERAGE OF THE WEAK begins with a provocative puzzle. Despite their many similarities in terms of size, population density, and emphasis on export-led industrialization in the latter decades of the 20th century, South Korea and Taiwan have starkly contrasting trajectories when it comes to labour and environmental movements. In South Korea,

the labour movement was the early riser, waging militant strikes against injustice and repression at the hands of authoritarian developmental state regimes in the 1970s and 1980s. The environmental movement did not flourish until industrial trade unions secured the institutional basis of their movement power in the late 1980s and 1990s amidst popular struggles for democratization. In contrast, the early decades of state-led industrialization in Taiwan catalyzed a robust environmental movement led by farmers and fishers who waged frequent, repeated, and widespread protests against land and water contamination due to industrial waste pollution. Labour disputes remained unorganized and isolated until the late 1980s when workers in large enterprises began waging large strikes, in part, to challenge the long-standing influence of the party-state in trade union affairs. What explains these "reverse movement sequences" in Taiwan and South Korea, two countries that Liu describes as "perfect twins" of the post-war developmental order?

Interrogating "movement sequences" – that is, when and how different movements come into being – is well-trodden terrain in the social movement literature. However, most studies focus on a single movement in multiple places or multiple movements in a single place. Liu's study breaks new empirical ground by examining multiple movements in different national contexts, utilizing an impressive range of comparative time series protest data, in-depth interviews, and archival sources. Liu's study also advances new theoretical ground by challenging the assumption that labour movements necessarily precede environmental movements, an occurrence that is based upon the particular histories of early industrialization in Europe. Building upon Karl Polanyi's arguments about the rise of social protectionist movements against capitalism,

Liu argues that different movements emerged at different periods and in different forms in Taiwan and South Korea to challenge the corrosive effects of marketization and commercialization. In addition, she demonstrates that the way in which early-riser movements consolidated their power against capital and the state had profound legacies for future movements when they invoked similar grievances and tactics, albeit for different aims and constituencies. By showing how the power-maximization strategies of early-riser movements matter for shaping the terrain of future struggles, Liu brilliantly moves from a capital-centred understanding of Polanyi's double movement – one that views social protectionist movements as mere reactions to deepening capitalist commodification – to a movement-centred analysis that views struggles to protect the dignity of human and ecological life as a major obstacle to unfettered capital accumulation.

To discern exactly how and under what conditions social movements shape the dynamics of change, Liu develops a sophisticated analytics of power that connects Gramsci's framework about different levels of political struggle (e.g. economic-corporate, economic class, and hegemonic) to the cultivation of distinct forms of movement power. *Leverage* – or what Liu describes as positional power, enables movement actors to secure concessions in the context of unequal yet interdependent power relations. *Ideological power* enables movement actors to use the power of ideas to undermine hegemonic discourses. Given these differences, Liu points out that labour movements are more likely to wage initial struggles at the economic-corporate and economic class levels – in the form of demands for wage increases and union rights – to secure gains against more powerful opponents; whereas environmental movements rely on the media and intellectuals to

challenge common sense notions about pollution and public safety to win public support for their struggles. While these forms of power result in the cultivation of important strategic resources, be they intellectual expertise or rank-and-file militancy, they also create sobering dilemmas for early-riser movements as they are pressured to move from one level of struggle to the next to maintain their base of collective power. How do labour movements transition from building leverage for militant industrial workers to cultivating broad-based ideological power against inequality in the transition from the economic class to the hegemonic level of struggle? How do environmental movements with an effective tradition of waging cultural ideological struggles on behalf of the disempowered constrain future efforts to win material gains and build a rank-and-file leadership?

To carry out such ambitious lines of inquiry, Liu devotes three chapters to systematically comparing movement sequences in Taiwan and South Korea at three different temporal moments. In Chapter 3, Liu finds that the spatial and regulatory features of state-directed industrialization decisively shaped when and how movements emerged first in each country. In Korea, rapid industrialization took place in concentrated urban economic zones that relied on the military junta to directly suppress movement challengers. While this pattern was fairly effective in mitigating the ideological strength of environmental protests and relocating polluting facilities to other regions, it was less effective in containing the militancy and solidarity of industrial workers who waged bitter workplace strikes in large factories to secure better working conditions and labour rights protections. In contrast, Taiwan's decentralized industrial structure dispersed labour and environmental disputes across the country. The ruling

party, the Kuomintang (KMT), was able to use its party cell structure to monitor independent labour activities and mediate small-scale labour disputes. However, the geographic dispersion of land and water contamination by hundreds of small and medium enterprises located around the country could not be easily absorbed or relocated, especially when the human and ecological costs of industrial pollution were vividly projected onto the national consciousness by urban intellectuals and the media.

The success of each respective movement in contesting the legitimacy of state-led industrialization projects profoundly influenced both the character of subsequent movements as well as state responses to movement power. The public resonance of Taiwan's environmental movement with the citizenry forced the KMT to incorporate key movement demands into its electoral platform, as they faced more serious challenges from opposition candidates. Workers, particularly in larger factories, followed suit in the 1980s to purge workplaces of the KMT's influence and win more concrete electoral support for workers' issues. The KMT, however, had become more adept to resolving the dilemmas of ideological power by the 1990s by deploying more sophisticated forms of discursive power against environmental and labour activists. The militancy of Korean industrial workers catalyzed the political will of pro-democracy activists and newer environmental movement activists who continued to engage in direct and often violent confrontations against the state, even after the end of military rule and the re-establishment of direct presidential elections. The success of workers' leverage in winning economic gains, however, did not go unnoticed by ruling elites, and both the state and capital engaged in targeted strategies to divide the workforce by dismantling lifetime employment for

industrial workers and creating more precarious forms of part-time and irregular employment.

Liu's rigorous, provocative, and ground-breaking analysis of the mutually constitutive relationship between movement power and capitalist transformation should be required reading for anyone interested in the political possibilities and challenges of social movements in today's global political economy. The regional comparison anchoring the study also reveals the urgency of conducting careful, systematic comparative research. Although I would have appreciated a more nuanced historical frame in thinking through the distinct characteristics of movement sequences in each country at times, the practicalities of engaging in rigorous, cross-national, and cross-movement inquiry often call for more disciplined investigation. *Leverage of the Weak* epitomizes the kind of scholarship that compels us to take the power of the aggrieved more seriously in understanding how to achieve a more just, equitable and sustainable world. It also reminds us that building systemic knowledge about social movement praxis is crucial for tackling the global scale of human and ecological destruction under 21st century global capitalism.

JENNIFER JIHYE CHUN

University of Toronto

Junaid Rana, *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press 2011)

IN *TERRIFYING MUSLIMS*, Junaid Rana helps us to see how the political and socio-economic processes of neoliberalism have constructed a racialized figure out of the religious category of Muslims. Rana contends that such processes of racialization draw from a "global racial system" (25) that thrives on demonizing

the Muslim migrant as illegal, criminal, and as perpetrator of terrorism. The resulting Islamophobia creates a rhetorical universe which ignores all complexities and heterogeneity in the Islamic world, and proceeds to create a racial image of Islamic peril – the alleged quintessential “other” of modern democratic society. In Rana’s views, the racial system has been nurtured and strengthened in the post 9/11 world, but importantly, it has discernible earlier roots and continuities. Innovative, complex, and ambitious, the book is an important intervention in a neglected area of diaspora studies, namely the world of Pakistani labour migrants within the rubric of contemporary global economic system.

It is hard to pin the book down to any disciplinary focus. Rather it touches on or responds to several inter-related disciplines, including anthropology, history, migration, transnational studies, race theory, and theories of globalization. Some may find such disciplinary promiscuity to be undesirable, but to me, this is one of the strongest elements of the book. The subject matter lends itself well to disciplinary transgressions, and reveals the limits of conventional disciplinary routes. Equally enterprising is Rana’s use of sources. Drawing mainly from ethnographic work carried out both before and after 9/11 in a variety of locations, including New York, Lahore, and Dubai, the book also delves into historical sources of Indian labour migrations in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Alongside, Rana examines film and media resources to understand the process of racialization and the creation of cultural tropes of alienation. Theoretically, the work engages with ideas about neoliberalism, feminism, gender, and critical race theory, and stresses the intersectionality of theoretical currents. Geographically, the book is primarily on Pakistani migrants dispersed in the Persian Gulf, but

the central focus on Islamophobia helps us to locate a coherent global process. Temporally, the book responds mainly to contemporary issues, but hinges on histories of indentured labour migration stretching back to the 1830s, and even earlier racial formations in Catholic Spain.

The introduction to the book, “Migrants in a Neoliberal World” lays out the conceptual, theoretical and empirical framework of the work. In Part I, “Racializing Muslims,” Rana attempts to unravel the intersection of race and migration by engaging in an interdisciplinary analysis of both recent and distant history of Islamophobia under the sign of race and racialization. In Chapter 1, “Islam and Racism,” the author traces the logic that converts the Muslim into a category of race. Rather than a recent phenomenon, Rana contends that Islamophobia has deep roots in European imagination that saw “religion not just as a belief but as a level of human evolution.” (32) Citing evidence of exclusionary thinking in Catholic Spain, Rana offers the thought that a combination of physiognomic and cultural difference cast the figure of the Muslim as the ultimate other – a construction that was later on transferred and transposed across the Atlantic during Spanish colonization and afterwards. Based on ethnographic work done in Lahore and New York, the following chapter, “Racial Panic, Islamic Peril, and Terror,” seeks to expose the strategies that use the rhetoric of terror and peril to cast the Muslim as dangerous and as a racial category. Through the use of two examples of panic events, Rana goes on to argue that the “role of the racial panic is to intensify the categories of racialization within the racial formation.” (53) In one of the more creative chapters of the book, “Imperial Targets,” the third in the first part, Rana uses the miniseries *Sleeper Cell*, and the film *Syriana* to reveal how

visual culture contributes to stoking fear against multiculturalism through the use of “racial semiotics.” (77) Rana argues that “covert cultural racism” (93) at play in these representations serve to conflate all diversities in the Islamic World into the central figure of the Muslim. The chapter then engages with the film *Children of Men* to reveal a potential dystopic inheritance of racial semiotics – an Orwellian world where “migrants are terrorists until proven otherwise.” (91)

In Part II, “Globalizing Labor,” the focus is on the state and what Rana calls the “migration industry.” (117) The emphasis is on the processes of production of labour migrants and their simultaneous relegation to the trope of illegality. In the fourth chapter of the book, the first in the second part, Rana argues that we should move away from earlier works on South Asian migration and diaspora that saw a distinct rupture between the earlier train of indentured migration in the 19th century and contemporary “South Asian” labour migration. Instead, Rana notices in the indentured system “important parameters for, and precursors to” contemporary labour migration. (101) The argument is provocative, but I wish Rana had engaged in a careful historical analysis to make his case. Many of the devices symptomatic of structural resemblance and continuity are not exclusive to the South Asian diaspora. The longer and wider history of global indenture renders Rana’s assertion to be problematic.

In the next chapter, “Migration, Illegality, and the Security State,” one of the more poignant chapters in the book, Rana locates the hidden migrant worker within the world of hyper-capitalism. Here Rana stresses on the production of illegality as a formal category created through the instruments of state legality and policing. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork in Dubai, Rana makes the very perceptive observation that illegality is

“a condition of political subjectivity that places migrants outside the law.” (140) In the final chapter, “The Muslim Body,” Rana captures the surreal world of in-betweenness among the return migrants who no longer fit in their home societies and at the same time, are constantly regulated, controlled, monitored, detained, and deported in the United States. Rana contends that through the mechanisms of detention and deportation, the migrant Muslim Body is conveniently “removed from the national body.” (173)

The book is strikingly innovative, and I do not want to quibble too much, as I am convinced that it will be received well. Let me conclude, however, with two lingering thoughts. I wonder whether Rana leaves his central theoretical device – the global racial system – somewhat incomplete by not adequately engaging with the systemic prejudice, alienation, and even racism within the variegated Muslim societies. Seen from that perspective, perhaps the agentive role ascribed to the state becomes less articulate. More importantly, Rana’s insistence on the long arc of history makes me think whether there is more in Islamophobia than that can be captured within the analytic of race. In some ways, I am left craving for a new theory of difference that stands in excess of race.

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Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood, eds.,
Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Analysis from Historical Sources (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2015)

THE EDITED VOLUME *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Analysis from Historical Sources* has arrived at a propitious moment when academic researchers are foregrounding the critical importance

of early life conditions on later-life outcomes at the same time that public concern for intergenerational social inequality has intensified. This collection touches on both issues, and more. The chapters in this volume are grouped into four themes – transnational migrations, mobility in the rural world, mobility in the urban world, and ethnicity and war – and encompass 19th and 20th-century Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. While most of the chapters address the lives of free white male groups such as farmers, industrial labourers, and migrating settlers, some chapters address marginalized populations such as convicts and Aborigines. This book is particularly notable for its integration of methodological innovations with path-breaking evidence on historical life course patterns.

This volume serves as an excellent primer on various approaches to constructing linked data sets, usually via census-to-census linkage, but often with the integration of other historic sources. Some of the studies relied upon high-performance computing and machine-learning to develop automatic record linkage programs. Luiza Antonie, Peter Baskerville, Kris Inwood and J. Andrew Ross linked women and men between the 1871 and 1881 censuses to study Canadian occupational mobility while Gordon Darroch linked census microdata from 1861 and 1871 Ontario to study factors conditioning entry into farming. In his analysis of factors predicting movement and persistence in rural Perth County, Ontario, 1871–1881, Baskerville focused on 1871 residents in a smaller geographic unit but then searched for each resident across Canada and the United States in the censuses of 1880/1881; by doing so, Baskerville situated his population at the crossroads of micro- and national history. Kenneth M. Sylvester and Susan Hautaniemi Leonard traced farm

operators and their households over time, drawing upon both personal and agricultural schedules of the Kansas census from selected communities.

Other scholars broadened their studies by tapping into complementary resources. In his study of US social mobility between 1900 and World War II, Evan Roberts used a survey of Chicago working-class families conducted in 1924 and 1925, linking survey respondents backward to the 1920 census and forward to the 1930 census. John Cranfield and Inwood drew upon the personnel records of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) 1914–1918, linking them to the 1901 Canadian census. Sherry Olson linked Montréal residents enumerated in the 1881 census to the 1901 census, but also attached addresses and rental values from the municipal tax roll to her data, consulted Catholic and Protestant marriage records to help with the matching effort, and used GIS to estimate distances between households. By linking aborigines and mixed-race men in the CEF records back to the 1901 Canadian census, Allegra Fryxell, Inwood, and Aaron van Tassel discovered that “Aboriginal participation in the war was considerably more extensive than has been recognized.” (270) The two studies of British convicts transported to Tasmania drew upon British convict records which meticulously recorded extensive details of convicts’ origins, physical characteristics, and experience under sentence, as well as surgeon-superintendent voyage journals. Rebecca Kippen and Janet McCalman used this source to identify a unique set of “character” variables in terms of convicts’ behaviour under sentence; the researchers then searched across a wide variety of genealogical sources for the destiny of each convict. Lenihan also used crowd-sourced genealogical information, a register of 6,243 immigrants of Scottish birth arriving

in New Zealand before 1921. Kandace Bogaert, Jane van Koeverden and D. Ann Herring consult largely qualitative sources, including recruitment materials, church records, advertisements and letters in newspapers and army records, to understand the origins and spread of influenza in 1918 in the Polish Army Camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake.

The various papers demonstrate two basic approaches: a national-level or provincial/state-level study which uses two censuses to trace broad change over time, or sub-national studies of a city or a particular social group which consult a wide variety of sources and provide a more in-depth view. The use of complementary sources is persuasive; for example, Rebecca Lenihan's use of detailed genealogical data revealed a large number of interim migrations, and she concluded that tracking migration using census data alone would miss "the subtlety of intercensal movements made by individuals." (89) Several scholars took the time to discuss their linkage approach and evaluate linkage success. Both Baskerville and Darroch insisted on the importance of analyzing who is linked and who is not, as linkage success can affect the very conclusions drawn. For example, the apparent positive association of local persistence with age or with the number of dependents might just reflect the greater chances of being linked. Olson found Montreal youths aged 15 to 24 harder to link over time, whereas for Roberts, studying early 20th-century Chicago, the data linkage challenge was the underenumeration of African Americans.

Through the prism of these linked historical sources, the chapters in this volume address a wide variety of social phenomena. The key concepts readers will discover include: stress regime; reactive behaviour; state surveillance; cluster and chain migration; temporary versus permanent migration; resilience;

persistence; agricultural ladder(s); ladders of urban social mobility; residential stability; and net nutrition. Some of the chapters discussed the power of early life conditions. For British convicts, coming from a rural community and possessing some work skills enhanced their chances of survival during and after sentence in Tasmania; conversely, British women's nutritional deficiencies stemming from childhood contributed to higher morbidity and mortality during and after the voyage. Likewise, French ethnicity and language but also poor childhood conditions are connected to the lower stature of Québec soldiers in the CEF.

What do we learn from this volume about labour patterns? Lenihan's study of the migrations of Scottish emigrants to New Zealand showed how large-scale mechanization and consolidation of farming prompted transnational movements. We also learn that across borders and over time, class remained an important predictor of life outcomes. Kippen and McCalman demonstrate that being a skilled worker was just as important as "character" or length of sentence in determining Tasmanian convicts' chances of family formation and survival. Meanwhile, in rural 19th-century Ontario, we learn of the continued viability of farming as an occupation: Darroch showed that the largest proportion of 1861 nonfarmers moved into farming in the course of ten years and concluded that "nineteenth-century Central Ontario provided not one but a series of ladders allowing farm acquisition from different prior labour force circumstances." (118) Likewise, Antonie et al. emphasized strong occupational persistence of farmers, and all occupations in general. Moving to 1860–1930 Kansas, Sylvester and Leonard stated that "farmers who stayed in agriculture had a reasonable expectation of ownership as they reached middle age. But the opportunities for

young farmers had dramatically narrowed by the 1920s and renting was firmly fixed as part of the life cycle of farmers in Kansas." (175–176) Yet in the urban environment, upward social mobility could not be taken for granted. Olson stated that in 1881–1901 Montreal "the ladders of upward mobility observed in Montreal were diverse, and the climb, often arduous, entailed considerable risk." (203) A similar theme echoes in Roberts' analysis of residential and occupational mobility in 1920s Chicago; while one-third of families renting in 1925 owned a home by 1930, the majority of families continued to rent and equivalent proportions of men moved down the occupational ladder as moved up it.

Most of the authors take care to present a textured view of behaviour outcomes and causal relationships. Kippen and McCalman coded convict punishments in hierarchies of severity while Lenihan emphasized migration as a complex, multi-stage process. Darroch identified unexpected patterns such as white-collar workers entering farming with relatively large holdings as an ascension up the agricultural ladder "two steps at a time." (111) Roberts found that social mobility was inextricably interlinked with residential mobility, as people often moved when they changed jobs. Antonie et al. conclude that young men's exit from farming at twice the rate of older men into manufacturing, commerce or labour/construction suggests that gradual cohort shifts underlay the apparent macro-level sectoral stability. Baskerville specified that it was tenancy and the particular company a tenant leased from in combination with their ethnicity that predicted persistence in late 19th-century rural Perth County. Fryxell, Inwood and van Tassel determined that "the mixed-race soldiers were more closely integrated with immigrant and settler-based Canadian society than pure-blooded Aborigines." (268)

In this volume, economic life transitions, namely the agricultural ladder, urban social mobility, and geographic persistence take centre stage; familial influences on these outcomes are not always given equal billing, despite the clearly developed concept in Canadian historiography of the family economy. Nevertheless, family or residential factors often emerge in these studies as ultimately important. Darroch found that Ontario farmer's sons took longer to transition from labourer to farmer, probably on account of family negotiations over inheritance. Roberts notes that the taking in of boarders and lodgers as well as earnings by wives and children remained an important part of household survival in 1925 Chicago. Birth order itself was related to the height of Canadian World War I soldier: Cranfield and Inwood discovered that later-born children were shorter in adulthood than first-born children, suggesting that competition from siblings diminished the level of care and nutrition for children. Olson's analysis of residential patterns in 1881–1901 Montréal did foreground family-related causal factors, showing that for half of the household residents living together in 1881 (such as parents with children, or sibling sets) but living in different households in 1901, the distances between their 1901 households was less than 500 metres; living near kin was "a conscious strategy." (204)

The book uses the term "longitudinal" to refer to several different kinds of linked databases (convict registers; genealogical databases; linked census panels). Many of these databases are of a "bitudinal" nature, with observations of individuals at two points in time; such data differ from genealogical longitudinal data in that they do not observe individuals from cradle to grave, but do retain the strength of the rich set of socio-economic and cultural variables available in censuses. Some of the other databases used in these

chapters have been assembled from a variety of sources such that they comprise sequenced events over a broader period of time. To what extent could more of these databases be adapted to an event-history format, which incorporates the passage of time as a causal factor? One chapter did take this approach: Sylvester and Leonard's exploration of farm size growth in Kansas. Sylvester and Leonard present a clustered longitudinal analysis of farm size growth which incorporates characteristics at the township-level and individual farm-level. Importantly, these township-level characteristics are operationalized as *time-varying characteristics*: since the levels of social persistence or farm-size inequality in a given township change over time, this change is taken into account and incorporated into the analysis. Thus, the authors demonstrate that township-level social persistence was far more important than the agricultural characteristics of the farm itself.

Lives in Transition shows how social and geographic mobility and persistence can be studied from a life course perspective. To further develop the approaches described in this volume, scholars could more regularly incorporate family configurations (sibship types, number of children, widowhood, co-residence etc.) as time-varying characteristics into their causal framework, seeking to understand how family members can co-operate, compete or both, and allowing us to integrate "the social" with "the economic."

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Immanuel Ness, ed., *New Forms of Worker Organization: The Syndicalist and Autonomist Restoration of Class-Struggle Unionism* (Oakland: PM Press 2014)

THIS EDITED COLLECTION features detailed studies of recent labour movements characterized by direct action and workers' control. Thirteen country-based case studies highlight examples of workers rejecting existing bureaucratic and official unionism in favour of autonomous organization and direct action reminiscent of early 20th-century syndicalism. In his Introduction and concluding chapter, editor Immanuel Ness pushes back against a labour strategy that seeks to revitalize conventional unions, arguing that the system of collective bargaining has failed. Ness and other contributors frame recent worker-initiated unions as models that can replace a bureaucratic unionism that has been neutered by state and capital. Ness, for example, argues that, while the 1935 Wagner Act in the United States brought benefits for workers, the labour movement has since been defeated by capital's relentless onslaught, which was aided by the collaboration of many paid union officials. Concessions required by collective bargaining, such as trading away workers' right to strike, enervated the labour movement and allowed gains to be reversed, particularly with the introduction of neoliberal policies in the 1970s. To counter the neoliberal assault, the labour movement should embrace a more radical solidarity unionism based on class struggle and direct negotiations with management by the workers themselves.

The volume is divided into three sections with case studies of autonomous workers' movements grouped together into three categories: Europe and Asia, the global South, and the global North. Yet all chapters are connected by a theme

focused on independent labour organizing, producing a largely coherent thesis as workers across disparate regions face similar challenges and in many cases are responding to those challenges in the same spirit of direct action unionism.

A standout contribution is Erik Forman's personal account of an Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) effort to organize fast food workers at Jimmy John's in Minnesota. Forman's irreverent narrative ties together some of the main themes of the volume and, as Staughton Lynd notes in his Foreword, since solidarity unionism relies on workers' self-organization, worker perspectives are essential. Forman documents the struggle he and dozens of comrades from several shops or "poverty-wage sandwich plantations" (214) launched against management. Forman argues the massive growth of an exploitative fast food industry, along with the broader service industries, together with the decline of bureaucratic labour can allow direct action unionism to flourish. (The recent union drive "Fight for \$15" led by striking fast food workers across North America appears to support this argument.) He seeks to recover the praxis of early 20th-century syndicalism, before union leaders adopted collective bargaining concessions. While the IWW local at Jimmy John's has experimented with conventional methods – such as seeking official recognition through an election, which they lost by only two votes – Forman reports that direct action tactics have proven much more effective at advancing worker interests at Jimmy John's.

Forman's chapter is followed by Jack Kirkpatrick's account of the IWW cleaners' branch union in the United Kingdom. Developing one of the volume's themes, Kirkpatrick considers that neoliberalism has returned labour to a position similar to that of a century ago, in which a global order marked by transnational corporate

dominance and extreme inequality, combined with low union density, demands more radical forms of organization to counter capitalist hegemony. He argues that traditional collective bargaining is simply incapable of defending worker interests, especially the largely migrant workers who perform service jobs such as London's cleaners.

One of the volume's strengths lies in the substantial attention given to similar currents surfacing across the world, in perhaps unexpected places; recent worker movements described in China and Russia are also characterized by autonomous organization, radical direct action, and opposition to existing bureaucratic unions closely tied to the state. Au Loong Yu and Bai Ruixue begin their chapter on China with a class analysis of the 1989 Democracy Movement, highlighting the significant role played by workers in the uprising that culminated in Tiananmen Square, which threatened the Communist Party's legitimacy. After the movement was crushed, worker rebellions subsided for a period, but in recent years a series of worker-led strikes, including a strike at a Honda plant that spread to a hundred other factories reflects a growing level of class-consciousness among workers in China. Through its official organ, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), the Communist Party-State has responded to these worker rebellions with a unionization drive to try to placate the unrest, but Loong Yu and Ruixue argue that because the ACFTU prioritizes the interests of capitalists and the party-state it cannot offer real benefits to workers. The authors note that workers in China are in any case increasingly organizing independent unions on their own and thwarting the ACFTU's attempts at co-optation.

As in China, Piotr Bizyuko and Irina Olimpieva describe workers in Russia organizing alternative unions to the official ones, which scarcely even pretend

to be workers' representatives. Because existing unions do not enable workers in Russia to effectively challenge employers, dissatisfaction manifests in unsanctioned strike action often characterized by radical direct action tactics and the formation of independent unions. The authors point out how independent labour unions in Russia are organizing strikes, coordinating solidarity campaigns with each other, while also reaching out to workers in other countries. For example, an independent union at a Ford plant in 2007 organized a successful strike partly by appealing to German workers to resist Ford's attempt at importing cars from Germany to undermine the strike. This internationalism is accompanied by workers' reliance on local communities to put social and political pressure on employers and state officials, which highlights two additional, recurring themes in the volume: the chapter on Colombia by Aviva Chomsky, for instance, also ties the success of alternative unionism to international solidarity campaigns and support from local communities. Finally, Bizyuko and Olimpieva write that the most important factor contributing to the success of recent strikes in Russia is the "democratic character" (76) of the new unions, which are characterized by transparency and rank-and-file participation in decision-making.

While the examples in this volume are encouraging and the arguments compelling, a shortcoming of the collection is there is little sense of the scale of these projects, or an analysis of them as realistic and sustainable alternatives to the status quo and mainstream unionism. The chapter on workers' control in Australia acknowledges the "immense practical and political barriers" to independent unionism but simply notes "autonomy is always a logical possibility." (199)

Though this volume is on independent unionism, it contributes to discussions

within the broader category of Left organizing and activism. It complements other recent research on emerging horizontal and anti-authoritarian leftist currents by authors such as Dario Azzellini, Marina Sitrin, Chris Dixon, and David Graeber. Their work examines social as well as workers' movements that are practicing direct democracy and are often consciously drawing on syndicalist as well as anarchist, Marxist and other radical traditions. They are taking a decidedly nonsectarian approach, seeking left-wing convergence. With a particular focus on labour and building a mass-based union movement on the principles of workers' control, class struggle, and direct action, *New Forms of Worker Organization* adds to our understanding of the new libertarian strains in Left politics and their likely significance in the future.

MARK GRUETER

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Jürgen Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2016)

CAPITALISM CAN only be understood as a system which had a beginning and must have an end. Marxist discussion of the history of capitalism in recent times has been founded on Maurice Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1946). That work became the foundation of all further Marxist study of capitalist history. Famously it was the jumping-off place for the transition debate which proved to be so critical to both Marxist historiography and theory.

Lately we have seen the publication of two important works in the Marxist vein that deal with the transition question and also later capitalist history. In a novel twist the Indian scholar Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Perilous Passage: Mankind and*

the Global Ascendancy of Capital (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006) analyzes capitalist history from the perspective not of accumulation but of global human development. In this light Bagchi's careful scholarship demonstrates that in both Europe and the rest of the world that capitalism has stunted human development. Bagchi's account represents a pioneer attempt to study the history of capitalism from the perspective of global humanity rather than from the viewpoint of Europe and capital.

Another theoretically interesting effort to transcend a Eurocentric view is *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism*, (London: Pluto Press, 2015) by Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nisancioglu. Redeploying Trotsky's concept of combined and uneven development the authors show that that from capitalism's inception non-Western societies were intrinsically rather than extrinsically linked to capitalist accumulation.

Among non-Marxists the cultural turn from the 1980s onward led to a loss of interest in economic history. But since the onset of the crisis in 2008 non-Marxists have begun to interest themselves once again in the subject and indeed in the history of capitalism itself. This can be seen in the recent neoliberal *Cambridge History of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) edited by Larry Neal and Jeffrey G. Williamson, a two volume work which takes the reader back to the purported beginnings of capitalism in Babylonia attempting to prove that the repeated failures of a capitalist breakthrough up to 1500 were due to market imperfections. This massive study in anachronism only confirms the sad failure of the still influential neoliberal approach. In contrast there has been the illuminating study of the world history of capitalism through an analysis of one key commodity, namely cotton, in

Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

Jürgen Kocka's *Short History of Capitalism* represents an equally important non-Marxist attempt at a synopsis of capitalism's history. Previously published in German, this work offers a brief and lively overview which is likely to attract a wide readership. Aside from the fact that is based on considerable learning and is occasionally insightful, it represents an important effort at constructing a plausible narrative meant to defend a beleaguered capitalism while fending off the Marxist view of history. Entertaining and informative, it will prove useful and reassuring to many who are troubled by the onset of the capitalist crisis in 2008 but who are still wedded to the system.

In five chapters Kocka offers a synopsis of the long history of capitalism. He begins by defining the concept while offering the views of some of the most important theorists of capitalist development including Marx, Weber, Schumpeter, Polyani, Braudel, Wallerstein, and Arrighi. He then uses this theoretical schema to argue that capitalism long predated modern times rejecting the Marxist view that capitalism exists only when capitalist principles dominate production and organize work. The Marxist transition debate initiated by Dobb is ignored. He then devotes Chapter 2 to trying to substantiate this view by recalling the history of merchant capitalism finding variant forms of this kind of capitalism in Antiquity, China, and the Islamic and Western Middle Ages. Kocka argues that merchant exchange in these epochs was capitalist because of the existence of intense relations to the market, the use of credit, and strong profit orientation. The third chapter is devoted to the capitalist take-off after 1500 which entailed colonialism, slavery, joint-stock companies, banking and proto-industry. Whereas

the development of capitalist agriculture is seen as decisive to the transition from the perspective of Marxists, it is given little attention by Kocka who as we have seen downplays the relations of production approach. He concludes this chapter with an encomium to the civilizing effects of market culture in the Age of Enlightenment.

The most original chapter is the fourth which is given over to a broad survey of the process of industrialization from 1800 to the present. This economic transformation was marked by enormous growth entailing giant industrial companies, ceaseless innovation and a massive increase in wage labour and class conflict. According to Kocka, in the course of this process ownership capitalism was largely replaced by managerial capitalism based on enormously large industries which worked as much by using organizational and quasi-political principles as by markets. Toward the conclusion of this chapter Kocka develops interesting discussions of the implications of financialization, the relationship between wage and non-wage labour in both early and late capitalism, and on the tie between state and market. Acknowledging the dangers of unregulated capitalism and the threat of environmental catastrophe, Kocka comes down strongly on the side of state regulation. Kocka's brief concluding chapter views the history of capitalism as one of immense progress but, he concedes, with an uncertain future.

Kocka's work built on a fine translation, brevity of presentation, and impressive learning will find a wide audience in the expanding field of the history of capitalism. But its future appeal must also be understood in the context of its rooted anti-Marxism and anti-Communism. Kocka is a prominent member of that postwar generation of West Germans who rejected traditional nationalist German history. These historians

pioneered the study of economic and social history in Germany but also keep their distance as much as they could from Marxism, the official ideology of the German Democratic Republic. In contrast to Marx's highly critical working class perspective there is a strongly apologetic tone to Kocka's view of the history of capitalism and of the capitalist class. The importance of Marx is conceded by Kocka but it is a viewpoint clouded by the addition of strong doses of Weber, Shumpeter, Keynes, and American modernization theory. Despite its imperfections in Kocka's eyes, capitalism remains the best of all possible worlds to which one must cling. At strategic points in the text Kocka even throws in admonitions which point to the failure of socialism. This approach suits the outlook not only of much of the German academic elite but also that of the professorial establishment in the United States which has been taken aback by the capitalist crisis but is still strongly tied to the system.

This apologetic element is manifest in Kocka's treatment of capitalist origins. As we have seen, he insists that the pre-modern merchant economy which dates from Antiquity was capitalist. As a result he is unable to understand the depth of the rupture that occurred in the years around 1500. Contrast this with Marx's historical-mindedness which gave him a keen understanding of how profoundly transformative the birth of capitalism really was. Invoking the concept of primitive accumulation which was a dual process of dispossession entailing rural enclosure and slavery and colonialism, Marx views capitalism for what it really was – a revolutionary new mode of production. Kocka lamentably gives short shrift to enclosure and calls Marx's conception of colonialism marked – like human birth – by “blood and filth” a half-truth.

For anyone who has read the paean to capitalism in the *Communist Manifesto*,

Kocka's claim that Marx underestimated the civilizing impact of markets seems to be a case of denial. Worse Kocka's assertion that Marx ignored the importance of knowledge and organization as sources of improved productivity reflects a willful ignorance of the source of value and competition as laid out by Marx. Finally Kocka's assertion that Marx mistook the social consequences of industrialization is mind-boggling. His outright rejection of the relationship between capitalism and war, his dismissal of the importance of imperialism and his rejection of the relationship between immiseration and capitalism further blunts the critical edge of Kocka's work. We conclude that Kocka's history comes up short.

HENRY HELLER

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Sirvan Karimi, *The Tragedy of Social Democracy* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2015)

KARIMI OPENS his book with the claim that "existing literature does not provide an adequate theorization of the transformation social democracy has undergone." He continues: "It is a central aim of this book to make a modest contribution to the understanding of this historical evolution." (2) However, instead of telling a new story or giving the existing literature a new twist, he serves the all-too familiar narrative about the ups and downs of social democracy from its early revolutionary days to its marriage with Keynesianism and its Third Way turn. Like in many other books before, we meet Marx again as the one who gave diverse socialist groupings a coherent outlook around which parties of the Second International could rally after Marx's death. Of course, we then meet Bernstein who thought the revolutionary road could be abandoned and Kautsky who tried to

reconcile revolutionary principles and reformist practice. Karimi reminds us that these efforts failed. Focusing on electoral politics and seeing parliamentary representation as a countervailing power to capitalist rule, Kautsky eventually sided with Bernstein while the revolutionary tradition was left to the Bolsheviks. Contrary to social-democratic self-perceptions, Karimi, drawing on Marxist theories of the state, argues that the power of social democratic representation in parliament was actually quite limited. The reason that social democrats could achieve many of their reformist goals was not an ever-increasing number of social democratic members of parliament but the emergence of Keynesianism and its fusion with welfare states, which, prior to this emergence, had only existed in embryonic forms. Keynesianism, Karimi argues, "was a structural necessity to maintain bourgeois hegemony" (28) and welfare states are "the political manifestation of socio-economic responses by the state to overcome the inherent contradictions of capitalist social relations." (31) However, the very success of the Keynesian welfare state also paved the way for its downfall. Social reform, full employment, and escalating wage demands caused a profit squeeze that turned the welfare state, according to neoliberal challengers of Keynesian hegemony, into the "source of all social, economic, and political ills." (57) Capitalists sought to restore profits and class power through industrial restructuring and fiscal restraint. Social democrats with their focus on winning seats but lacking a substantive basis of power at the point of production found no way to fight off the capitalist offensive. Eventually they adopted the neoliberal gospel in the name of a Third Way, which, according to social democratic intellectuals, presented an alternative to the redistributive policies of the Keynesian welfare state but

also to unfettered market competition unleashed by neoliberalism. It didn't take long, though, until working class voters found out that the opportunities that Third Way social democrats promised to everybody only existed for individuals belonging to the propertied classes. Not surprisingly, then, many working class voters abandoned social democracy and thereby threw social democratic parties into a deep crisis. To get out of this crisis, Karimi suggests the socialization of investment, which would shift democratic engagement from parliamentary superstructures to the economic basis of capitalism.

Karimi's account of the transformations of social democracy is in line with historical facts and thus sounds rather convincing. Since there is no denying that the parliamentary road to social reform, maybe even socialism, led to a dead end, his conclusion that economic democracy could offer an alternative is also compelling. However, closer scrutiny raises doubts whether Karimi's account offers much of a road map from parliamentary to economic democracy. His argument rests on the conviction that, in capitalism, power is located at the point of production whereas states are merely condensed and institutionalized expressions of class conflict, parliaments little more than institutions for mass integration. While this may be so, it begs the question why these institutions allowed social democrats to wield enough power that let capitalists consider a class compromise acceptable in the postwar era. While Karimi denies social democrats having any such power when the class compromise was struck, he assumes that there must have been some power when he moves on to discuss the capitalist offensive against the welfare state. If social democracy never represented any working class power it is hard to see how the neoliberal offensive

could shift power from the working to the capitalist classes. Interpreting the emergence of the Keynesian welfare state as a "structural necessity" begs the question why it took capitalists two world wars, the Great Depression, the rise and defeat of Nazism before they recognized this necessity. After all, even before World War I reformist social democrats had argued that organized capitalism and international cooperation would offer peaceful and prosperous alternatives to imperialism and capitalist crises. At the time, this advocacy fell on deaf ears on the side of capitalists busily engaging in counterrevolutionary activity to ward off the Bolshevik threat but also continuing imperialist rivalries. Yet, the postwar era, on the face of it, looked very much like social democratic dreams come true. The claim that the Keynesian welfare state is a structural necessity further begs the question how capitalism could exist without it after capitalists turned from Keynes to Hayek. Karimi, like many other scholars dealing with these issues, shows persuasively why capitalists began to dislike the Keynesian welfare state. Yet, by no means does this explain why bourgeois hegemony could be maintained on a neoliberal basis from the 1980s onwards as it had been maintained on a Keynesian basis from the 1950s to the 1970s. Moreover, Karimi, quite correctly, points at the disappointment of working class voters with Third Way social democrats since the 2000s but he neglects working class discontent with Keynesian social democracy in the 1970s and does not ask why many working class voters followed social democrats onto the Third Way before they were disappointed.

Yet, the most serious error in Karimi's account is the way he advanced his alternative vision for social democracy. Although he concedes that the term "socialization of investment" is borrowed from Keynes (80), he presents policies to

further such a socialization as something that has never been tried. While his book focuses on corporatist currents of social democracy that tried everything they could to avoid conflict with the capitalists, it neglects left-wing social democrats that consistently argued for economic democracy. Though they never got the upper hand in social democratic parties, they did force their corporatist contenders to negotiate some kind of compromise within parties before party leaders could seek corporatist deals with capitalists and

unions. Arguably, the defeat of the social democratic left within their own parties in the late 1970s weakened social democracy as a whole, thus helped to pave the way for neoliberalism and Third Way social democracy. Understanding the reasons for the defeat of the very alternative that Karimi presents at the end of his book probably would do more to envision a possible renewal of social democracy than presenting economic democracy as something brand new.

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