

## Reviews / Comptes Rendus

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Volume 65, Spring 2010

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt65rv01>

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Publisher(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN

0700-3862 (print)

1911-4842 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

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Cite this review

(2010). Review of [Reviews / Comptes Rendus]. *Labour / Le Travail*, 65, 179–258.

## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Mark P. Thomas, *Regulating Flexibility: The Political Economy of Employment Standards*** (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2009)

THE PURPOSE OF this book is to explore the political economy of employment standards in the Canadian labour market. Employing a case-study approach, the primary focus is the evolution of employment standards in Ontario.

The book is divided into six sections. Chapter one provides the analytic framework. It relies on an integrative analysis of labour market institutions and "wider sets of social relations between states, markets and households." (8) Chapter two traces the evolution of employment standards legislation in Ontario from 1884 (establishing minimum wages and maximum hours of work for women and children) to 1968 (the broadening of employment standards, such as minimum wages, overtime pay, and vacation pay). The author maintains employment standards consistently were characterized by efforts to "minimize their impact on business interests and in their gendered approach to labour market policy." (9) Chapter three covers the early 1970s to the early 1990s and traces the shift from the Keynesian welfare state to the emergence of the neo-liberal model, with its emphasis on labour market restructuring. The author argues reforms in this period "ensured that labour standards remained a secondary set of employment rights," (10) and that legislated exceptions, exemptions, and lack of

enforcement encouraged labour market flexibility. Chapter four looks at neo-liberal reforms of employment standards in the wake of the Rae government. Thomas argues that deregulation enhanced employer flexibility (e.g., the normalization of non-standard work arrangements) and led to the increased vulnerability of non-union workers. Chapter 5 takes a broader perspective and considers the difficulty of implementing effective employment standards in a global economy by examining international institutional approaches (e.g., the ILO and the Social Chapter of the European Union) and corporate codes of conduct. The analysis concludes by arguing that there is a compelling need for labour market re-regulation to protect employees from the impacts of globalization.

Flexible employment strategies are described as being either employer-friendly (emphasizing labour-cost reduction, deregulation, and the elimination of union work rules and benefits) or employee-friendly (e.g., work arrangements providing better work-life balance). It is argued there has been a shift from Keynesian welfare state policies (affording workers some protection from market forces) to neo-liberal policies (deregulation). While the author maintains that ensuring employer flexibility respecting employment standards was a hallmark of labour policy prior to and following World War II, he argues neo-liberal policies represented an important shift in direction. Specifically, they changed the way governments intervened

in the economy as opposed to reflecting their withdrawal from the marketplace. This led to support for flexibility favouring employer interests over worker interests. Labour market restructuring has also contributed to greater inequalities for women and racial minorities in non-standard and precarious employment relationships, e.g., domestics, homeworkers, and seasonal agricultural workers. Despite the rise in non-standard and precarious employment in recent decades, "the regulatory regime governing these employment relations was unable to counteract heightened tendencies of segmentation and insecurity." (98)

This book has several strengths. To begin with, it is clearly written, well researched, and provides an in-depth analysis of employment standards legislation. Several appendices provide helpful tables tracing the evolution of employment standards legislation and coverage across Canadian jurisdictions. It is particularly adept at identifying the competing interests underpinning policy changes and deficiencies in regulating employment standards. While the focus is on Ontario, the analysis is arguably applicable elsewhere given the broad similarities in employment standards across Canadian jurisdictions. One major deficiency in employment standards legislation is the lack of universal standards. The extent of protection provided is difficult to ascertain given the complexity of the law and its regulations. Even a careful reading of the law can lead to confusion about who is covered, given the tendency to ensure flexibility through numerous exceptions and exemptions for different employment standards. It has been pointed out that one factor contributing to non-compliance by employers has been the lack of knowledge or understanding of the legislation.

Enforcement is another major problem. Essentially employment standards

legislation is a complaints-based system. Routine inspections by investigators have become increasingly rare owing to the failure to provide adequate staffing. Despite the fact the law protects employees from employer retaliation for filing complaints, the system depends almost entirely on allegations brought by former employees. That may well be the tip of the iceberg since many employees may not be aware of their legal rights and elect to exit rather than file complaints. As a consequence, the risk to employers of being caught is low and the penalties for violating employment standards are small. One glaring shortcoming is with respect to special permits that give employers flexibility with respect to maximum hours. One study found that "for every extra hour of work allowed by a special permit, there were twenty-four extra hours worked." (87)

Despite the rise in non-standard and precarious employment in recent decades, employment standards policies have not adequately addressed the rise of labour market segmentation and insecurity. The author maintains the balancing of interests in employment standards legislation is skewed in favour of employers. This was most recently demonstrated by the changes in employment standards adopted in 2000, which extended maximum hours from 48 to 60 hours per week (based on employee consent rather than government-approved special permits) and allowed more flexible arrangements for overtime averaging.

On reflection, one might ask if conditions are so bad for non-union workers, why don't they join unions? Survey evidence indicates that given the opportunity, a large percentage of non-union workers would vote in favour of unionization. Even if one could remove the impediments to forming a union, e.g., fear of employer reprisal, a large segment of the labour force would remain non-union

and require employment standards protection. The issue then becomes how best to provide it. The author advocates re-regulating employment standards by changing the balance of interests to address labour market inequality and insecurity. The starting point would be reforming existing legislation to recognize the multiplicity of employment relationships in the economy. This would include reforms promoting universality, reducing exemptions and exceptions, redefining the minimum wage as a living wage, improving benefits coverage for non-standard workers and creating enforcement practices to increase compliance.

The biggest obstacle to the proposed agenda is whether governments are prepared to change, in any significant way, their approach to employment standards reform. Regardless of whether the state embraces the neo-liberal model, some would argue the current economic climate is not likely to accommodate such reforms. Some others might dismiss the author's prescription because they view it as ideological or simply a collection of "pie in the sky" ideas that are unlikely to attract political attention, let alone government action. Such concerns might be allayed if there was empirical evidence from other countries demonstrating the efficacy of more "employee-friendly" policies. Unfortunately, such an analysis lies beyond the scope of this book. That said, the author's analysis of deficiencies in employment standards is right on target and is supported by other academic studies and government inquiries. As such, the proposals for reform are worthy of consideration. In conclusion, this is a thoughtful piece of research that should appeal to academics, students, and policy-makers.

JOSEPH B. ROSE

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**Jean Morrison, *Labour Pains: Thunder Bay's Working Class in Canada's Wheat Boom Era*** (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society 2009)

JEAN MORRISON'S *Labour Pains* is an interesting book that makes a contribution to the understudied region of northern Ontario. Set in Thunder Bay, formerly known as the twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur, Morrison's book seeks to understand how the city's working-class citizens defined themselves in relation to various corporations, industries, classes, ideologies, and labour movements in the years prior to World War I (1880-1914). According to Morrison, a diversity of interests and backgrounds hindered class formation and ultimately unity, as did a high incidence of transiency among the male, and mostly immigrant, labourers who comprised a large portion of the working class. In the end, Morrison demonstrates the debt that is owed to these labourers; their struggles and hard work built this northern community.

Supported and published by the Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, a vibrant and active group, this book began as a master's thesis in 1969 in Lakehead University's new graduate program. Inspired by the work of E.P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, Morrison wanted to learn more about the divisions among members of Thunder Bay's Finnish community; this focus later broadened to include organized and unorganized workers, municipal ownership issues, labour politics, the Social Gospel, socialism, and the city's diverse ethnic groups. With the new labour and social history slowly growing in importance in history departments across the country, Morrison searched for local sources that would help her reconstruct the history of Thunder Bay's working class. Although sources tended to be fragmentary at best, Morrison managed to draw on a variety of

records – local daily newspapers, national labour and socialist newspapers, photographs, and documents obtained from the United Church of Canada Archives and Library and Archives Canada (files from the Departments of Justice, Labour, and National Defence) – and began to interview individuals who had played a prominent role in the city’s labour movement. These oral histories became a part of the Thunder Bay Labour History Interview Project of 1972. Although *Labour Pains* makes little mention of women and Aboriginals, it provides a framework for understanding the working-class citizens of this region and points to major gaps in the historical record that are worthy of further study.

The ten short chapters of this book, which are peppered with a wealth of local photographs, chart the evolution of this city and the growth of its population, demonstrating that Fort William and Port Arthur in the pre-war years serve as a microcosm for understanding the “expanding economies, multi-ethnic population, and labour strife” that were characteristic of the period. (17) Morrison begins with a discussion of place, outlining the importance of Thunder Bay’s location as an inland headquarters and trans-shipment point for natural resources, like wheat. Driven by the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR), the twin cities attracted three different classes of people: wealthy business and professional men who played a major role in municipal politics and were aligned with big business, artisans and skilled labourers, and foreigners comprised largely of Finns as well as Italians, Greeks, and Slavs. Morrison then moves on to outline the early roots of the local labour movement and its ties to socialism, the Social Gospel, and a variety of international labour organizations, like the Knights of Labor and the Inter-

national Longshoremen’s Association. Using a top-down approach, she relies on the perspectives of leading labour leaders and various municipal officials to reconstruct a number of early strikes that occurred in Thunder Bay, highlighting incidences of class solidarity among strikers and strikebreakers and how those involved in municipal politics helped workers secure small victories on a number of occasions. The influx of immigrants, as Morrison points out, led to heightened tensions between and among classes that would last well into the inter-war period. Discontent with their wages and working conditions and lacking a union, immigrant labourers working for both the CPR and CNR routinely went on strike. To avoid interruptions to business, these companies replaced strikers with strikebreakers who also tended to be immigrants, recruited from other parts of the country to work for less money; sometimes these scabs would refuse to cross the picket lines of their fellow countrymen, and at other times, they too were desperate to make a wage, and so they went to work despite the circumstances in which they found themselves. A vicious cycle ensued: there would be attempts to unionize, riots and violence would erupt when strikebreakers were brought in, and eventually, sometimes with the help of town officials, the strike would end. The CPR and CNR were, as Morrison demonstrates, highly skilled in breaking strikes, renegeing on agreements, and blocking attempts at unionization, keeping wages low and leading to workers’ transiency and frustration. The railways regulated power relations in this northern community and it was not until 1930 that freight handlers established a permanent union.

In addition to charting the labour unrest that occurred among railway workers, *Labour Pains* offers insight into the municipal ownership of public utilities, specifically the telephone (which

continues to be municipally owned) and the electric street railway, and a number of strikes that occurred among coal handlers and those employed by the Canadian Car and Foundry Company. There is no doubt that immigrants paid much of the price for the labour unrest that took place in this region during this period. Their links to socialism and violence undergirded anti-immigrant sentiment, highlighting the ways that they had resisted Canadianization.

While Morrison's focus is on Thunder Bay's early labour movement and how it impacted the lives of its working-class citizens, a more thorough engagement with recent literature in the fields of labour, gender, and immigration history would have made for a more nuanced study. Although she acknowledges the important work done by Ruth Frager and Thomas Dunk, *Labour Pains* is quite dated, because it does not interact with the wealth of scholarship that has been published since the early 1970s. This is unfortunate given that the study speaks to national patterns that have been illuminated by other historians. As it is, readers are left to make these connections on their own and thus the study's importance is lost, appealing mainly to those interested in local history.

Additionally, Morrison's sources limit our understanding of this northern labour movement. Readers get a strong sense of the ways that its leaders – those who left records – viewed it but they are left wondering how members of the working class, and particularly its foreign component, understood it. While sources can be scant when studying immigrants, the immigrant press, and particularly ones maintained by Finns, were prolific during the early twentieth century. An examination of the Finnish progressive press, for instance, would have given readers a different lens through which to view the working class and its struggles.

Likewise, an engagement with those who were writing about immigrants at the time, like Edmund Bradwin and later J.S. Woodsworth, would have provided a more complex view of these immigrants and the ways that the host society perceived and treated them. "Ethnicity," according to Morrison, "in itself did not contribute to the rupture between classes. The violence of some foreigners and the radicalism of others, however, did." (166) As it is, *Labour Pains* provides a superficial reading of what was going on among and between Thunder Bay's immigrant and native-born populations and the various classes to which they belonged; discourse pertaining to immigrants should have been deconstructed and problematized rather than merely reiterated.

Despite these problems, *Labour Pains* provides a starting point for understanding how region affected class, gender, and ethnicity prior to World War I. It illuminates new directions that require further study, pointing to Thunder Bay's rich history and the great potential it holds for historians. Like many other northern communities, it was a migration point for a variety of people and we have only just begun to understand the complex relationship among community, class, industry, and ethnicity in this place.

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**Esyllt W. Jones, *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg***  
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press  
2007)

WHILE THE RESPONSE TO H1N1 in 2009 looked like a panic precipitated by vaccine manufacturers to some, it looked like a too limited response to a serious epidemic to Aboriginal people, who were six times as likely to be hospitalized for

the disease and more than three times as likely to die from it. Critical public health experts noted that it was Native poverty, not happenstance, that made them more vulnerable to diseases such as a virulent form of the flu.

Esyllt Jones's nuanced social and political history of Winnipeg during the influenza nightmare that struck globally in the wake of World War One also demonstrates that epidemics, like most diseases, are not equal-opportunity killers. While 6.3 per 1000 residents died of the disease in Winnipeg's working-class North End, the death rate fell to 4 per 1000 residents in the city's south end, which had a mix of social classes but housed most of the city's better-off people and enjoyed better civic services and medical facilities than the ethnic ghettos on the city's northern fringe.

Jones covers a great deal of ground in her effort to indicate how various groups within Winnipeg, a metropolitan region of about 180,000 in 1919, responded to an epidemic that killed an estimated 55,000 Canadians and about 1200 Winnipegers. Her book tackles how various ethnic groups, women's organizations, the labour movement, the civic and provincial authorities, and the medical community understood the social structures within which they were operating and the impact of such understandings on their behaviour during the influenza epidemic.

The response of the authorities, she notes, was limited by the dominant ideology and by the ways in which that ideology had shaped the city's social structure and social services before the strike. Winnipeg's wealthy, who dominated its politics, had scoffed for a decade at calls in the labour newspaper, *The Voice*, for publicly-owned hospitals and free medical care. They had established, in common with other Canadian cities, a two-tier medical system in which pay-

ing customers received excellent facilities and service, and rigidly means-tested non-payers received questionable service in poor facilities. Barebones city social services and a charitable network unable to deal with poverty and distress at the best of times could respond only weakly to the needs that the influenza epidemic produced. Working-class families lived precariously even without an epidemic, and their communities were afflicted with many health problems because of lack of public services and of incomes to purchase private services; the epidemic only made things worse. Caring for ill family members when there was no money to purchase medical services, and considerable shame in being a charity case at the hospital formed a considerable challenge. Families that lost a male "breadwinner" or a female homemaker could not survive without help from someone outside the family.

In the case of British-descended widows, some help came in the form of mothers' allowances. But these were too small to support a family. For women of other ethnic origins, along with the never-married of all backgrounds, the opportunity to collect a mother's allowance was initially denied. In general, the non-British got by both in terms of coping with the influenza and its consequences for families through mutual aid within their communities.

Jones notes that, apart from ethnic solidarities, the other factor that made it possible for some families and individuals to receive help when the state and charities were simply unable to deal with the extent of need posed by the epidemic was the volunteer efforts of middle-class women. But Jones does not glorify the roles and attitudes of these women. Her research demonstrates that they maintained their class and racial prejudices even as they worked within low-income communi-

ties in helpful ways. She laments that the influenza crisis did not cause these women to better understand the lives of their working-class sisters and to create a feminist bond. After all, the gender stereotypes of the time kept men from being involved with the relief help that the women were undertaking; surely their contact with so many working-class and ethnic women should have enlightened the women considerably more than their class-isolated menfolk were enlightened. Such wishful thinking no doubt results from Jones's strong feminist beliefs but seems rather ahistorical. While histories of women's charitable work and engagement in the welfare state do suggest that elite and middle-class women were more caring about the poor than men of their social class, they all demonstrate that the same class and racial mythologies were common to the better off of both sexes.

Such wishful thinking also informs Jones's conclusion to the book. She writes: "Influenza destroyed lives and put a crack in the social order; it also spun the web of solidarity and generated a theatre of collectivity." Such a flat statement, while too common in social histories in Canada, where a meta-narrative of upwards-and-onwards community resistance prevails, seems out of place in a book where the analyses are generally more sophisticated. If, as Jones demonstrates in various chapters, ethnic solidarities trumped class solidarities, and class solidarities trumped gender solidarities, it seems misleading to conclude that the influenza epidemic "spun the web of solidarity" as if all solidarities were equally reinforced by the disaster. Indeed, while some might suspect that the influenza epidemic played some role in creating the degree of class divide that precipitated the Winnipeg General Strike, Jones is careful to suggest that there is little clear evidence of such a link. One of Jones's key insights

is that despite the massive amount of volunteering by middle-class women and throughout ethnic communities that the epidemic engendered, there were simply never enough volunteers to meet the needs that the crisis exposed. That insight is somewhat diminished by overstating and failing to nuance a conclusion about the impact of the influenza outbreak on community solidarities.

It does seem more fair to add, as Jones does, that "We are only just beginning to understand the epidemic as a force in the crucible of change that the world witnessed during these years." But Jones's book tells us more about how existing solidarities and community behaviours were reinforced by the epidemic. It really doesn't reveal much about how the crisis caused either attitudinal change, new solidarities, or eventual welfare-state legislation. It does however demonstrate how the epidemic exposed the class and ethnic biases of Winnipeg's hospitals, social services, and social structure.

The main strength of *Influenza 1918* lies in its recreation of the individual and group responses to the disease in Winnipeg, and in a resulting composite portrait of a city living both with fear and determination to survive. Jones has uncovered, through close examination of many sorts of records, a variety of individuals' responses to the loss of loved ones and to social problems created for their families by such losses. The case files of the Children's Home, where children who had lost a parent often had to be sent since it left no parent at home to care for them in a period before more than a few affordable daycare homes existed, are particularly gut-wrenching. Overall, despite my caveats about wishful thinking and an unwarranted conclusion, this is an excellent model for an historical community health study: it includes both individual and group narratives, it dissects the



impacts of a crisis on various sectors within the community, and it links the local story with the national and international stories, without losing the savour of the local.

ALVIN FINKEL

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**John English, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Volume Two: 1968–2000*** (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf 2009)

JOHN ENGLISH, in this bestselling second volume, has produced a detailed, engaging, and well-researched biography of Pierre Elliott Trudeau both during and after his tenure as prime minister. Through the exhaustive use of interviews and archival collections, this biography chronicles key political events such as the October Crisis, the Charter and Constitution, and the 1980 referendum. It also explores, with unprecedented specificity, Trudeau's personal life. English has elegantly demonstrated that despite Trudeau's best efforts to separate private and public life, the trials and tribulations of both spheres were irrevocably interconnected. English has also showcased Trudeau's limitless dedication as a father who bestowed upon his children unconditional love, a tireless work ethic, and a critical curiosity about the world – the very tools which served him well in politics and academe. The paradoxes of Trudeau's character also emerge with impressive clarity, including his well-crafted conciliations with political allies and rivals. Despite the many positive features of this biography, English utilizes a survey-style analysis that pushes to the periphery many important issues, not the least of which is Trudeau's tumultuous relationship with organized labour.

Trudeau as paradox is a concept frequently explored in English's encompassing analysis, which shows how the clever

prime minister, over the course of his reign, straddled ideologies and actions with gymnastic balance. While sometimes known for long-winded academic responses, Trudeau had a propensity for sharp quips aimed toward opponents. While championing individual rights and freedoms, Trudeau also invoked an archaic War Measures Act that permitted warrantless arrest. Even though he occasionally mused about capitalism's failures, Trudeau often proclaimed the supremacy of market economies. He vehemently opposed the neo-nationalism of René Lévesque, yet he used the Foreign Investment Review Agency and the National Energy Program to promote the possibility of Canadians becoming economic 'masters in their own home.' Despite being one of the strongest opponents of Quebec nationalism, Trudeau was perhaps the most successful prime minister in terms of incorporating francophones into the government and civil service. Even Trudeau's personal life exuded a paradoxical quality. Despite his reputation as a globetrotting bachelor, English documents Trudeau's highly regimented days, which incorporated everything from meetings and workouts to playtime and reading with his sons. Although a tolerant individual, Trudeau also had a short temper, becoming angered by small issues as inconsequential as Margaret putting lemon juice on clams during a dinner party.

In dealing with political rivals at home and abroad, Trudeau often channeled these personal and ideological contradictions into a drive for the political centre. Although Trudeau dealt forcefully with the Front de libération du Québec in 1970, chastizing the 'bleeding hearts' who opposed him, he consistently acted as a moderate voice in the midst of Cold War hawks. While challenging Reaganomics with strategies of public ownership and economic planning, he also used

laissez-faire rationales to oppose grain subsidies in Saskatchewan. Despite dismissing 'socialist' calls for increasingly widespread social programs, Trudeau was a key force against Margaret Thatcher's indifference towards economic aid for the developing world. Quite pragmatically, Trudeau's ideological positions had a reference point fixed, not to internal boundaries, but to a moderating position relative to his political opposition. In critiquing social democrats such as Tommy Douglas, David Lewis, and Ed Broadbent, Trudeau championed the market, individual liberty, and personal enterprise. Conversely, dealing with neo-conservatives such as Thatcher, Mulroney and Reagan often entailed voicing support for a more compassionate capitalism, social programs, and regulations to mitigate exploitation. English paints Trudeau as a rational moderate, always to the centre of those on the fringes. Even within Trudeau's cabinets, ministers' ideologies are portrayed as fanning out from Trudeau, showcasing him near or at the centre. On this reading, Trudeau aptly personifies a Liberal Party predicated on a 'big tent' mentality that thrives on forming a hegemonic consensus within a liberal democratic framework.

While this biography's strength rests on its ability to cover a myriad of issues efficiently, it also glosses over some contentious issues involving Trudeau. In no area is this clearer than his relations with organized labour. While English briefly notes labour's anger and concern over wage and price controls, the issue is insufficiently unpacked. Casually declaring labour's disdain for the controls not only minimizes a controversy in which one million Canadians walked off the job in 1976, but also pushes to the side the hypocrisy of these controls. While English readily notes labour's militant opposition, he fails to mention labour's desire and promise to cooperate with Trudeau

as long as corporations were held to the same standard. Labour's intensity on this issue only truly materialized when it became clear that the rigid regulations on workers' wages did not actually apply to corporate prices. While correct to show labour's self-interest in the matter, English misses the mark on neglecting their cooperative proposals. As Saint John labour activist George Vair has shown in his recent book about labour's campaign against the controls, the experience helped prepare organized labour in Canada to mount a stronger campaign against the renewal of anti-labour policies in the 1980s.

English's brief mention of the 6 and 5 anti-inflation program also showcases his omission of labour's response and the program's highly inconsistent enforcement. The Canadian Labour Congress perceived the program as an attack, not only on all workers, but on the democratic right of collective bargaining. Trudeau, who had fought for the right of collective bargaining at Asbestos in 1949 and Murdochville in 1957, was now, in labour's opinion, summarily dismissing it less than thirty years later. The 6 and 5 program failed to make even an attempt at equality and spurred numerous labour protests and publications, a fact that is lost within English's analysis. Ignoring labour's historic significance distorts an interesting piece of history, and perhaps most importantly, dismisses a golden opportunity to chart Trudeau's evolving ideological and political ideals in relation to a movement which had played a profound role in his life and times. Most frustratingly, a detailed study of Trudeau's labour connection could have served as an excellent conjoiner to the treatment of that theme in English's first volume.

Despite these concerns, the book is excellently written and researched, serving as perhaps the most detailed analysis

of the man behind the rose. While some may refer to it as mere 'popular history,' that criticism would be unfounded. Although English himself shows a clear preference for centrist thought, his treatment remains consistently grounded within historiographic debates and developments. This book serves as an admirable example of how academic research and popular history can be synthesized in a way that both strands are complemented. While one may criticize English for his omissions, this book, along with the first volume, serves as an enjoyable and thought-provoking read.

CHRISTO AIVALIS  
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**Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press 2009)**

IN THIS LIVELY and engaging study, Julia Roberts ushers the reader into the world of Upper Canada's taverns. In so doing, she opens a new window onto social life in the colony, and, in particular, the processes by which identity and belonging were negotiated within informal public space.

*In Mixed Company* is "built on stories" told by the colony's "tavern-goers, tavern-keepers, and tavern regulators" about "what everyday public life inside taverns meant to them as members of the mixed populace of early Canada." (ix) Roberts points out that hers is not the first study of its kind – in particular, she necessarily treads some of the ground covered by Edwin Guillet's *Pioneer Inns and Taverns* – but *In Mixed Company* is distinguished by a concern with how tavern-goers used public space, who was included and who was excluded, and the "customs and laws" that "governed their behaviour." (4) Upper Canadians gave serious credence

to the society they were making. Roberts observes, "Theirs was not a simpler world. It was one in which the terms of admission to public space and membership in public life were under negotiation." (5) Their differences of opinion were embodied and discussed within the colony's taverns, where travellers encountered colonial society, neighbours and strangers debated politics and transacted business, families socialized, and conflict occasionally broke out.

Roberts begins by introducing the material world of the tavern, examining architecture, furnishings, and the role of physical space in shaping social boundaries. She then provides a view of the tavern-keeper's literally "public house" as seen through the diary of Ely Playter of York. Through the permeable boundaries of the tavern household, she shifts her focus to the "indispensable" role taverns played in "transportation, the economy, politics, and community life," (57) as well as the rituals and regulations that structured tavern sociability. In the process, she illuminates colonists' definitions of order and respectability and their relationship to alcohol. In the book's final three chapters, Roberts turns to a discussion of race and gender, and their significance in taverns as public space. Throughout, she emphasizes the interconnected nature of "public" and "private" in Upper Canada, drawing out the tensions surrounding membership and order in a diverse colonial society.

*In Mixed Company's* strengths are many. Roberts assembles a rich cross-section of sources to explore the contours of tavern space, including tavernkeepers' account books and wills, journals, newspapers, travellers' narratives, and court records, including the (underutilized) benchbooks of Upper Canada's judges. These sources lead her to conclusions which substantially reconfigure previ-

ous understandings of social life inside and outside the colony's taverns. Roberts shows that taverns were neither exclusionary nor sites of disorder; instead, she argues that taverns functioned largely as respectable and multipurpose public space, governed by codes which have much to tell us about colonial definitions of rank and acceptable behaviour. Moreover, she demonstrates that present-day historians are not imposing a preoccupation with lines of gender, race, and class on Upper Canadians, but rather share their concern with these same issues.

Indeed, one of this study's most important aspects is the attention Roberts gives to the complex operations of inclusion and exclusion in the colony. She argues that "heterogeneity did not necessarily imply inclusion," (10) but neither did it denote firm boundaries of race, class, or even gender which precluded cooperation or convivial relations. Her analysis of the explosive potential of "mixed company," especially in regard to race, highlights the "dirty little acts" (111, a phrase she borrows from Michael Ondaatje) white men employed to assert control over public space. Roberts shows that the resulting outbreaks of violence were simultaneously characteristic of Upper Canadian society and unpredictable in nature. Mixed company could be harmonious or violent, depending on the circumstances.

Perhaps not surprisingly, as a result Roberts is critical of what she sees as the limitations of applying identity categories without giving sufficient attention to the meanings people made of difference. While her point is well taken, this study itself at times tends to assign stability to slippery categories. "Upper Canada" and "early Canada," undefined, are sometimes used interchangeably; this conflation can obscure what is unique about Upper Canada by inadvertently recon-

necting to literature which assumes the colony's primary importance as a forbear to present-day "central" Canada. On this note, I would have been interested to see her address the more subtle politics of "whiteness" in Upper Canadian society. Travellers, for example, often explicitly commented on the utility of the colony to the British Empire in the 1820s and 1830s, and their assessments of sociability and hospitality, as well as the manners and mores of the people they met in taverns, formed a significant part of their assessments of the colony's value and potential. Similarly, extending the study to 1860 allows Roberts to address the changing role of alcohol in the 1840s and 1850s alongside the growth of the state and the rise of the temperance movement. But the continued references to "Upper Canada" again mask some of the political and cultural changes associated with the shift from colony to linchpin in a proposed British North American federation.

Such slippage is also noticeable in her discussions of mid-century gender ideals. Roberts's discussion of the partial applicability of "separate spheres" is bolstered by her acknowledgement of the conservatism of prescriptive literature, but demands for "ladies-only" space during the 1850s, for example, could have been explored more fully with reference to the rising acceptance of such ideals. Likewise, the chapter on Harry Jones and his "cronies," based on Jones's diaries, includes a sensitive analysis of class and rank, but employs a comparatively limited understanding of the conflicts within respectable masculinity during the 1840s. Jones and his friends were caught up in a redefinition of gentlemanly ideals as male homosociality bumped up against an increased pressure toward companionate marriage and domesticity. Jones's refusal to marry until later life because he could

not 'afford' a wife (125) is taken rather too easily at face value, and is further undermined by the accompanying quotation from P.G. Wodehouse.

Some of these issues may result from Roberts's efforts to bridge the colony's historiography. The thematic approach taken by *In Mixed Company* makes for expansive subject matter, and Roberts is keenly aware of the discrepancies between her findings and previous interpretations. She also tacitly maintains a certain distance from the so-called "new" imperial history. Roberts's attention to explaining these differences, and her decision to place Upper Canada within the international scholarship on taverns, is thus understandable, but occasionally frustrating. Her work provides evidence of the value of a broader context, both in more accurately reflecting Upper Canadians' worldviews and in illuminating similarities and differences which will prove suggestive for scholars of other jurisdictions.

*In Mixed Company* is an important contribution to the historiography of Upper Canada, and of British North America before Confederation. It will also appeal to those interested in the history of alcohol, taverns, and sociability. Roberts approaches this study with a combination of warmth, humour, and serious scholarly inquiry which entirely befits the topic. By using diverse sources to explore an important fixture in Upper Canadian social life, Roberts paints a compelling portrait of the conviviality and conflict which marked articulations of identity and power in one colonial society.

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**Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Liberal Identities in Central Canada*** (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 2008)

DARREN FERRY'S STUDY of voluntary associations is a fine example of the research on the dissemination of liberal values in the nineteenth century that has flowed from the trajectory sparked by Ian McKay in his influential 2000 *CHA* article, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." Ferry contends that Victorian voluntary associations in central Canada should not simply be considered a tool of social control, or judged popular just for the mutual benefits they conferred. Drawing also on the Thompsonian project of paying attention to lived experience as well as material circumstances, and the cultural studies' interpretation of discourse and meaning, he demonstrates convincingly that they were, more significantly, a site where the ideology of the liberal social order was constructed, conveyed, and confirmed, thus providing a measure of stability in the changing political and social environment of post-Rebellions Canada.

Ferry acknowledges the American or British roots of many of the voluntary organizations he studies. He notes the stronger working-class component in the Canadian offshoots, and the larger role they played in state formation, particularly because they supplied services the governing colonial powers were unable to provide. He suggests these groups attempted to create social harmony through the discourse of liberalism, "an ideology emphasizing individual liberty, freedom, equality, and socio-cultural inclusion," (6) but he shows that, ironically, "voluntary organizations were often a battleground of competing politico-religious, ethnic, gendered, and even

class identities.” (7–8) He contends their active challenging and questioning of the governing social, political, and cultural administrations helped break down the old Tory order and had a significant influence on public opinion and the growth of participatory democracy. However, after 1870, the effects of industrialization and urbanization made class relationships increasingly rigid and complex, and growing immigration, anti-French sentiment, and debate over women’s “proper” sphere made negotiating liberal collective identities ever more difficult. By the turn of the twentieth century there was growing acceptance that only the compulsion of an efficient and inclusive nation-state could remedy divisions of class, ethnicity, and ideology through “professional” social planning, government institutions, and state welfare.

When choosing which groups to study, Ferry excluded voluntary organizations that had “problematic non-liberal attitudes” (11) that led them to restrict membership to certain classes or to subscribe to particular political or religious views. This included the Knights of Labor, church or religious organizations, political clubs, and benevolent associations. Not surprisingly, then, the groups he does study – Mechanics’ Institutes, temperance societies, mutual benefit organizations, agricultural societies, the Dominion Grange and Patrons of Industry, and scientific and literary associations – all espoused the key features of the liberal social order. This selection is justified because it facilitates an examination of the construction/contestation of the ideological components of the liberal social order and the significance of the internal wrangling that occurred within the organizations. For instance, debate about the collective liberal concept of “community” was particularly important since it could be used to “forge a strong mutualist bond among their members *and* as a strategem

to eliminate opposition to liberal ideas.” (15) Further, “in utilizing the concept of ‘community,’ voluntary associations attempted to fashion collective liberal identities and bonds of mutualism within a social order that focused on individualist doctrines inherent in the growth of liberal state and market structures.” (15–16)

The voluntary associations studied by Ferry all represented themselves as espousing four common principles: inclusivity towards occupation and class interest, political and religious neutrality, encouragement of the philosophy of honest industry and the political economy of hard work, and the encouragement of camaraderie and social concord. These principles act as a loose framework in the author’s chapter-by-chapter examination of the activities of each chosen type of voluntary group. In each chapter he also briefly surveys the relevant international and Canadian historiography and traces the discursive changes occurring before and after the heyday of the liberal social order in the 1870s. Although he claims he will illustrate “how ordinary individuals interacted with the cultural and social practices of liberalism within the voluntary association movement,” (9) his primary sources are minute books, letters, periodicals, personal papers, pamphlets, and published sources. Hence, the author’s focus is most often on the middle-class members and directors, and we rarely get much sense of the rank-and-file. Ferry does enliven his discussion with quotations from primary sources, but the inclusion of some photographs of members or their meeting places would have been a welcome addition.

Inclusivity was a difficult issue for the organizations. In the earlier years they professed to accept members from all walks and stations of life, and all religions in order to forge a sense of occupational interdependence which would encourage

hard work and benefit both worker and employer, and society in general. Clearly, however, it was the values and interests of the middle-class elite which dominated the organizations. Membership rules and procedures ensured that only those who behaved “properly” could join, thus excluding the poor, unemployed, Native or ethnic members, and anyone professing a non-Christian religion. Tensions over membership became more complicated over time and were compounded towards the end of the century when “the ideological definition of a liberal ‘community’ changed radically as the intersecting identities of nation, province, and municipality – as well as those of class, gender, and ethnicity – competed for attention.” (285)

The associations also struggled with including women, and Ferry’s findings nicely complement and confirm work done elsewhere. The participation of women was desired in theory but marginalized in practice because women were rarely given equal membership. Male members were generally unwilling to challenge established gender roles, believing that women’s proper sphere was in the domestic realm. Sometimes rooms were set apart for women’s use, as in the Toronto Mechanics’ Institute; sometimes evening classes or lecture topics were scheduled especially for them, but since these were typically restricted to “womanly pursuits,” they proved of little interest. Despite their marginalized status as members, women’s participation was crucial in running the entertainment and leisure activities essential to attract members and raise funds. Invariably it was the women’s auxiliary which provided the food and labour for picnics, excursions, baseball matches, and other social events.

The author must be complimented on the breadth of research accomplished for this book, particularly in Upper Canada/

Ontario where he accessed the records of organizations in a plethora of towns in Southern Ontario, enabling a comparison of the debates in urban and rural groups. He finds that voluntary associations were successful in constructing a measure of consensus to a liberal social order in both urban and rural communities. For Lower Canada/Quebec, Ferry relies most heavily on evidence from urban groups in Montreal and Quebec City, while the *cercles agricoles* exemplify the rural debates. He is able to compare the French and English experience as well as put them together in the same frame to see them as constituting a central Canadian experience.

Ferry’s study is of considerable value for those interested in exploring the ways in which ideologies and meanings are constructed, negotiated, and disseminated in the cultural sphere. It is an illustration of how political, social, and intellectual theories are realized by historical actors through discursive practices. It also explains convincingly, and from a new point of view, how a measure of cultural consensus to the liberal social order was engineered in voluntary organizations before 1870, how changing circumstances meant this could not be sustained, and how consent for the transition to the professional, corporate, nation-state was achieved in the early twentieth century.

GILLIAN POULTER  
Acadia University

**John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History***  
(Vancouver: UBC Press 2009)

“BRITISH COLUMBIA’S history is fundamentally a demographic history.” (xi) So begins John Belshaw’s *Becoming British Columbia: a Population History*. Over the past twenty years a bountiful har-

vest of new books has greatly enriched our understanding of British Columbia's past, expanding our knowledge of a place whose history has been, in Belshaw's words, "consistently unusual." (188) But apart from excellent but limited studies by Jean Barman, Robert Boyd, Robert Galois, Cole Harris, Julie Macdonald, and Peter Ward, the demographic changes that provided the engines of provincial development have not been examined in a comprehensive manner. Creating such a study is the challenge that John Belshaw has posed in *Becoming British Columbia*.

He approaches this "systematic" analysis of British Columbia's population not through "a highly technical exercise in statistics" (16) but rather through a careful analysis of available sources, including the obvious state-generated data as well as unexplored primary sources such as church records and undertakers' registers. Especially important is Belshaw's case study of the household structure and demographic makeup of two communities, Nanaimo and Kamloops, from 1881 to 1901. The latter work has generated important new insights on nuptiality, and especially the fact of remarriage under "frontier" conditions; on fertility, including the high fertility rate in the coal mining community of Nanaimo compared to the ranching and transportation centre of Kamloops; and on mortality in a male-dominated resource-based province, which he argues convincingly was "distinct (to British Columbia) in several respects." (164) His insightful discovery of a "shockingly high" infant mortality rate in Nanaimo, a relatively prosperous mining community, stands out with particular clarity. Indeed, the three chapters on "Sex Ratios and Nuptiality," "Fertility," and "Mortality," which offer new empirical insights about BC's population history, constitute the heart of the book. For instance, a convincing case is made for fuller appreciation of the effect that the

Great War had on the province's population development through the inter-war years. In the chapter on fertility Belshaw draws on one of the big ideas in the field of population history known as the "fertility transition" – the beginning of a general decline in fertility rates in modernizing, industrializing societies starting around the middle of the nineteenth century – and asks whether this "transition" applies to an emerging settler society such as British Columbia.

What he finds is an upward trend in fertility after Confederation, a pattern that stands apart from the late nineteenth-century downward trend predicted by the "fertility transition" model. This insight challenges us to think in demographic terms about the relationship of frontier societies to the larger industrializing world out of which they had come. It also tells us that population growth in BC's early years as a province, when the fertility rate moved upward, sets this period apart from the generally understood pattern of comparatively lower fertility rates throughout BC history. Less clear from Belshaw's analysis is when BC's unusual pattern of higher-than-predicted fertility ended: at the turn of the century, during the Great War, or in the early 1920s. (112, 115, 119)

The chapter on "First Nations Depopulation," while not offering new evidence, presents an engaging assessment of the already extensive literature on the impact of disease upon the region's Aboriginal population, an exercise, Belshaw asserts, "that the field has long needed." (72) The chapter presents a forcefully argued discussion of competing estimates of the northwest coast's contact-era population and of the difficulties that researchers encounter in arriving at conclusions. It is a chapter that could readily be disaggregated as a reading for classroom use. Belshaw particularly emphasizes the limited evidentiary basis for some of the



conclusions that are presented in literature about the impact of disease upon Native populations. Arguing against the tendency of recent studies to posit ever larger pre-contact populations, he states in a characteristic manner: "what I am emphatically arguing here is *not* that pre-contact populations were necessarily small, but that the evidence for large pre-contact populations is, as yet, simply not there." This is an important point.

A book as ambitious as this one is bound to be incomplete, despite the author's best intentions. For instance, Belshaw mostly overlooks religion. Yet, we know from other literature that both Roman Catholicism and Methodism had less hold on the non-Native population of British Columbia than was the case elsewhere in Canada, which may explain why religious control of schooling was not as divisive an issue in BC as in Manitoba and New Brunswick, and why (in the case of Methodism) the moral reform impulse was weaker on the west coast than in Ontario and the Prairie provinces. Lynne Marks has also directed our attention to the greater strength of secularism in BC than elsewhere in Canada. In addition, Belshaw suggests that conventional wisdom about the Britishness of British Columbia is overstated, and correctly directs our attention (as have others such as Jean Barman) to the important role of inter-provincial migration in the construction of BC's population. Yet, one might argue that at least into the 1930s, this Canadian population was predominantly British by origin (as opposed to by birth) and thus still very British in its cultural and political orientation. Furthermore, an obvious point about BC's non-Aboriginal population is that up until the present time over half of the population was born elsewhere. Belshaw downplays the migratory nature of the BC population by emphasizing the fact that a considerable percentage of the movement

into the province was from elsewhere in Canada, and was thus made up of people who were not really "immigrants." But the fact of a mobile and not deeply rooted settler population is itself a very distinctive feature of the province's history, and merits more considered analysis. For instance, Edwin Black has pointed to the post-war migration of Canadians into British Columbia, especially from the Prairies, as an explanation for the rise of Social Credit in the 1950s. *Becoming British Columbia* does not mention, even to speculate about, BC's gay and lesbian population. Finally, worth considering is the important insight of Thomas Hutton and Craig Davis that since the 1980s British Columbia's economy has evolved into two parts: one economy, centred in Greater Vancouver, that is Pacific-oriented and essentially autonomous from the province's resource hinterland, and another economy that remains resource-dependent and persists in non-metropolitan parts of BC. Indeed, one might argue that post-1960s immigration has culturally reinforced this economic division, with immigration not so much contributing to an "Asianizing of British Columbia's demography" (146) as regionalizing it along lines roughly comparable to the two economies model.

Several specific assertions also merit comment. The statement that "Victoria was the capital of the now unified colony of British Columbia" (41) after 1866 is inaccurate; for two years, from 1866–68, New Westminster was the capital. Did railway construction really draw "more and more single ... men" to British Columbia in the 1870s, or did that occur once railway construction started in 1880? (127) Did the provincial economy really falter after 1886, during a period when the newly created city of Vancouver boomed, or did the decline start in 1891? Did the Depression bite hard throughout the 1930s, as suggested on pages 53 and

189, or did the British Columbia economy noticeably improve in the last half of the decade, a change registered in the substantial in-migration from the Prairies after 1935 (not outmigration as stated on page 71) and revealed in the rising number of annual births after 1936? Finally, the concluding chapter, an assertion of the book's underlying Marxist approach to demography, appears to this reader, at least, to be more a statement of ideological faith than a reasoned summary of the book's considerable accomplishments.

An ineffective concluding chapter notwithstanding, the book presents a welcome overview of British Columbia's demography. It expands our knowledge of the province's population development in areas such as fertility, nuptiality, sex ratios, and mortality, and challenges us to think hard about some of the standard assumptions concerning British Columbia's past. The evidence presented also forces us to consider the important conclusion that British Columbia throughout its history has been "at the extremes of Western world demographic trends." (187) *Becoming British Columbia* deserves a wide readership.

ROBERT A. J. McDONALD  
University of British Columbia

**Marjorie Griffin Cohen and Jane Pulkingham, eds. *Public Policy for Women: The State, Income Security and Labour Market Issues*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2009)

THIS SPLENDID collection grows out of a Community-University Research Alliances (CURA) project on economic security which brought academics and activists together to consider the complex intersections of gender, public policy, and the labour market. The heart of the book is its focus on the relationship between neo-liberal restructuring of both state

institutions and political discourse, on the one hand, and the gender social order in Canada, on the other. The collection is especially attentive to the dynamic relationship between policy and social movement action.

Sixteen chapters move seamlessly between explanatory critique and proposals for alternative progressive remedies. The collection is organized in three parts – on restructuring public policy in the Canadian state, on reimagining income security for the most vulnerable, and the largest section, on rethinking labour market and employment support policy. Across all three sections, contributors are highly sensitive to questions of citizenship and social reproduction, long overdue in most public policy work on income security and labour markets. Many contributors address care work, in both the formal and informal market, as well as in the private sphere. All chapters work from the notion of substantive equality, recognizing systemic discrimination and intersectional analysis, although gender is the foregrounded concern of the book as a whole.

Academic contributors span political science, social work, and sociology (including three of the rare female social science Canada Research Chairs), alongside eminent popular sector activists, graduate students, and independent scholars. Because the book has roots in a multi-year network, the chapters display a strong thematic integration across a mixture of disciplines and approaches.

*Public Policy for Women* problematizes both the enabling as well as the controlling nature of the Canadian welfare state and its provincial variants. It begins with critique of BC neo-liberalism under Gordon Campbell and extends its reach across Canada, including a strong representation of Quebec. The anthology opens with a carefully contextualized critical Canadian history. The editors

offer the wry definition of public policy as “whatever governments choose to do or not do.” This broad approach allows both deliberate actions as well as the refusal to address systemic barriers – what Cohen and Pulkingham call, after Sheila McIntyre, “studied ignorance” – to be part of the material for analysis.

In section one, Jane Jenson reviews the Quebec childcare program to argue that Parti Québécois efforts to build an Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) system premised on social justice, gender equality, child development, and increasing employment rates was an instance of “progressive post-neoliberalism,” something often overlooked in macro-level analyses that set aside local initiatives. Wendy McKeen reviews the National Children’s Agenda to caution against romanticizing the rapidly-retreating Keynesian welfare state, which failed to either adequately address social needs or concerns of equality and social justice. Economic provisioning (Sheila Neysmith, Marge Reitsma-Street, Stephanie Baker Collins, and Elaine Porter) and gender mainstreaming (Olena Hankivsky) are addressed in the final two chapters, which propose that “political imagining” is essential for putting forward a policy agenda with a focus on the enhancement of social equality.

Section two opens with a chapter by long-time activist Lee Lakeman, who weighs into the sex debates to propose that prostitution can be abolished through the provision of economic, physical, and political security for women. Over three chapters, Lea Caragata, Shauna Butterwick, and the team of Penny Gurstein and Silvia Vilches take up the complex issues of lone mothers and poverty. Legal scholar Margot Young revisits the question of a guaranteed annual income, concluding sadly that the prospects of an adequate GAI are very low.

Seven chapters close out the book’s final section, which considers progressive alternatives for rethinking labour market and employment support policy – embracing a range of issues from sex work, to immigration, to pensions and more. Martha MacDonald tackles Employment Insurance, showing how poorly women and other careworkers fare under its rules and regulations. Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay persuasively demonstrates that Quebec’s policies for work and family balance are a model for Canada, enabling Québécoise mothers to enter the labour market at rates that are the highest in Canada. Canadian Labour Congress economist Andrew Jackson argues wage supplements are a problematic remedy for the working poor, including women. The contested issues of pensions and mandatory retirement are central to the chapter by Margaret Menton Manery and Arlene Tigar McLaren. Emily van der Muelen suggests that criminalizing prostitution works mainly to marginalize prostitutes’ work, exposing them to greater risks than a legal regime makes possible, and therefore disputes the abolitionist strategy. Organizing economic security and workers’ rights for immigrant women are the focus of the chapter by Jill Hanley and Eric Shragge, who propose both policy solutions and organizing strategies for the sector of precarious immigrants. Leah Vosko’s closing chapter sweeps most themes together to wrap up the collection.

The anthology is a badly needed contribution to public policy debates in Canada, which too rarely address the gendered causes and consequences of policy. The collection is a strong and integrated example of the richness and urgency of a feminist public policy agenda.

SUSAN PRENTICE  
University of Manitoba

**Jennifer Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2008)

JENNIFER NELSON'S work is the latest of an ever-growing series that have reconstructed, deconstructed, sentimentalized, and memorialized the city of Halifax's decision to 'relocate' Africville, an all-black community in the city's Bedford Basin, in the 1960s. Nelson argues, or perhaps more accurately theorizes, that the story of Africville, its essence, is *a geography of racism*; it exemplifies the mutually constitutive nature of 'space' and 'race' in a troubling episode in Canadian history and how deeply this has shaped the politics of memory, redress, and reconciliation.

Nelson's book explores Africville's geography of racism over five chapters. The first places the story of Africville in the context of a rather cursory "selected history" of Halifax and its Black Refugee-descended populations who settled Halifax. The second chapter, "Placing Africville," introduces the reader to a spatial analysis of Africville. Here Nelson fleshes out Africville's connection to a history of colonization and its attendant rubric of biopower (32) and how, specifically, it was produced "in the space of racial marginality." (43) The third and fourth chapters are a meditation on the interlocking discourses of Africville's destruction and Blackness. Specifically, the author analyzes how knowledge produced about Black subjects and Black communities – in academe, in the media, in government reports, and amongst Halifax's officials – led to the decision to destroy Africville based on "near impermeable fictions" about Blacks entrenched in dominant discourses. (55, 77) The final chapters flesh out how the decision to raze Africville flowed inevitably, but not uncontested, from the knowledges produced through knowledges of race and

space in the history of this place and, lastly, how the story of Africville has been reconciled through the memories of its survivors and descendants through visual, oral, written, and material culture.

Well written and presented, Nelson's book is a significant analytical and theoretical achievement. Nonetheless – at least archeologically and empirically – it does not unearth substantively more research than its major antecedents: *The Africville Relocation Report* and the several editions of *Africville: the Life and Death of a Black Community*, authored by Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill in the 1980s and early 1990s. Scholars who are inclined to value research solely through the lens of the number of archival boxes upon which a monograph teeters are bound to be somewhat disappointed with this offering. Indeed, whereas an empiricist might have gone to greater lengths to uncover 'new' or 'undiscovered' unpublished primary data, Nelson has relied heavily upon secondary sources to map the basic narrative of Africville and how, in turn, this story is further illuminated by relatively recent developments in critical theory.

The drawback of this approach is that it simply relies too heavily on Clairmont and Magill's work. Nelson's engagement with Clairmont and Magill can be best (and most charitably) described as ambivalent, for it is upon their work, in its various incarnations, she is reliant upon in her book's middle chapters. At the same time their work plays the role of straw man, a foil of sorts, for her own "particular theoretical and analytic concerns." (80) Nelson is right to critique some of the now dated assumptions in much of the previous work, particularly its frustrating blind spots to the role that anti-black racism and white supremacy played in this story. Nonetheless, perhaps digging through a few more archival boxes, not merely for the banal exercise

of uncovering new facts but for producing new knowledge about this story, might have allowed Nelson to make a more enduring contribution to a well known and oft-told tale and provide an even more compelling answer to a question she poses but only partially answers throughout the book: "Why write something new about Africville?" (21)

BARRINGTON WALKER  
Queen's University

**Brian Bow and Patrick Lennox, eds., *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada? Challenges and Choices for the Future*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2008)

THIS VOLUME consciously revisits a book of the same title edited by Stephen Clarkson and published in 1968, when organized nationalism in English Canada posed a meaningful challenge to political parties as well as to public debate across the ideological spectrum. Following the 1965 release of George Grant's influential *Lament for a Nation*, which mourned "the end of Canada as a sovereign state" because of the country's submissive "branch-plant mentality," nationalists pressed a series of Liberal federal governments for a muscular defence of economic independence. Walter Gordon's return to the Pearson cabinet in 1967 permitted him to champion the creation of the Task Force on Foreign Ownership and the Structure of Canadian Industry, chaired by Mel Watkins; that group's 1968 report examined the costs and benefits of inward investment, and echoed an earlier Gordon royal commission recommendation that the country adopt new corporate disclosure laws and encourage wider shareholding by Canadians. In addition, the Watkins report expressed clear concerns about the application in Canada of US trade law and advocated

legislation to prevent the future exercise of extra-territoriality.

It is crucial to recognize in retrospect the considerable public policy as well as intellectual ferment surrounding Grant's book, the Watkins report, and the subsequent emergence in 1969 of the Waffle group in the New Democratic party and, the following year, the more centrist Committee for an Independent Canada. Both the Waffle and CIC mounted vigorous critiques of not just existing foreign investment policies, but also American influence over Canadian culture, education, and trade unions (particularly in the case of the Waffle). One 1971 CIC petition on the subject of foreign investment drew approximately 170,000 signatures, which was a considerable achievement before the advent of widespread fax and e-mail communications. Moreover, individuals who engaged with these organizations played prominent roles in Canadian public life for decades afterwards; in addition to Mel Watkins, they included James Laxer, Peter C. Newman, Mel Hurtig, Eddie Goodman, and Flora MacDonald.

The point of this glance backwards is to remind ourselves of the context in which Clarkson's volume appeared. Many English-Canadian politicians, academics, students, and members of the attentive public participated in lively debates about the substantive meanings of sovereignty, autonomy, and independence. In the shadows of not just the Vietnam War but also campus unrest and urban riots in the US, Canadians were understandably drawn toward thinking about how this country could or would develop along a different trajectory. To Clarkson's credit, his volume acknowledged the lack of consensus surrounding foreign policy responses to these circumstances; contributors to his book such as Peyton Lyon and A.E. Safarian clearly sang from a far more continentalist, realist, and quiet diplomacy hymnal than did the nation-

alists who comprised much of the rest of the choir in his 1968 table of contents.

As a reader of the 2008 volume, I was struck by the extent to which Bow and Lennox's collection echoes the preoccupations of its predecessor. Adam Chapnick leads off with a spirited critique of claims that the pursuit of foreign policy independence was or will ever prove to be a constructive strategy. His first sentence to the effect that "Independence is hardly a Canadian word" (25) sets the stage for a larger historical argument that "the political culture of the modern Canadian state was founded on a proud and forthright dismissal" (25) of that same concept. Whether or not one agrees with Chapnick's interpretation of developments since the era of the Loyalists, it has to be said that he presents his case in compelling prose.

Both his chapter and the larger book would have benefited from closer attention to the world beyond the three main political entities that dominated the *weltanschauung* of those who fled the American colonies for British North America, out of allegiance to what they viewed as the imperial mother country. Chapnick asserts, for example, that English-Canadian nationalists of the 1960s "assumed, largely ahistorically, that economic integration was antithetical to foreign policy creativity." (25) I suspect from the tenor of his article that he views their successors as similarly misguided. For contemporary analysts such as Chapnick, one of the most convincing ways to support the proposition that economic integration and foreign policy creativity can coexist would be to show how European Union members have, both collectively and as individual states, pursued innovative policies of the type advocated by progressive, pro-independence or pro-multilateral advocates in Canada. For example, Sweden in recent years has taken significant action on the issue of international traf-

ficking in women, as has the larger EU of which it has been a part since 1995. Alas, with few exceptions such as Stephanie Golob's attention to Mexico in the context of the 2005 Security and Prosperity Partnership, this group of authors pays minimal attention to players operating beyond the traditional Canada-US-UK triangle.

In terms of the specifics of continental relations, Patrick Lennox proposes that the illusion of foreign policy independence has rested on Canada's ability to locate and exploit specialized roles not suited to our neighbour to the south. Brian Bow considers the dynamics of US retaliation against Canada, Christopher Sands evaluates the possibilities of an independent military security policy, Christopher Kukucha probes provincial roles on the trade file, and Rob Huebert examines relations vis-à-vis the Arctic. In a sweeping broadside against what he describes as "the persistent insecurities of Canada's nationalist academic circles and a failure of imagination that often hinders their capacity to develop strategies that would enhance Canada's relative autonomy," (155) Geoffrey Hale reviews continental relations on a range of macro-economic, border security, energy and investment issues.

Given the ideological heat that continues to characterize much of this field, it might have been helpful for at least one chapter in the collection to investigate systematically the dynamics of right/left politics as they shape Canada-US relations. Were Liberal prime ministerial relations with Republican presidents, for instance, particularly tense during periods of left ascendance in the Canadian governing party and right ascendance in the party that controlled the White House? To what extent do Canadian progressives of an otherwise pro-independence orientation currently rely upon the Obama administration to impose more

environmentally friendly policies on a recalcitrant Harper government?

The last two substantive chapters in the volume, by Patricia Goff and Heather Smith, explore cultural and environmental dimensions of independence that were far less visible in 1968. Both acknowledge the rise of civil society and especially trans-national social movement actors who were effectively written out of classic foreign policy discussions. Smith observes that the Clarkson study included one female contributor; forty years later, she is one of three in a collection with ten chapter authors. While that shift marks quantitative progress, it does not compensate for the absence of substantive consideration of how women's rights emphases have figured in Canadian international development as well as peacekeeping initiatives, and in our interventions in such organizations as the UN, during the past 40 years. This lacuna is part of a larger human security gap in the book, all the more notable in light of references by many authors to an increasingly complex, multi-polar world since the late 1980s.

Future collections in this field would do well to study what Canada has attempted and accomplished during recent decades in such places as East Timor, Mali, or Haiti. Scholars who break with the conventional Canada-US-UK preoccupations of the field may be in the curious position of offering a more empirically defensible account of contemporary foreign policy independence than has been produced to date and, not incidentally, could produce work that resonates more closely with public understandings (both domestically and internationally) of what it means to act as Canadians in a diverse, global world of this time.

SYLVIA BASHEVKIN  
University of Toronto

**Candida Rifkind, *Comrades and Critics: Women, Literature and the Left in 1930s Canada*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2009)

CANDIDA RIFKIND'S *Comrades and Critics* is a timely and important book, which should find its way into every university library in this country, as well as in centres for Canadian Studies around the world. Especially in these times when we are reaping the harvest of Thatcherism and Reaganomics, Rifkind's book – written as it certainly was before the latest crash – provides an excellent view of how that earlier crash of 1929 and its aftermath shaped the politics and aesthetics of women who did at least as much to shape our English-language literature as did the later and still-reigning queens of CanLit such as Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro.

Though the focus of the book is women writers, most specifically, Anne Marriott, Dorothy Livesay, and Irene Baird, its title, or rather the sub-title, is a little misleading. "Women, Literature and the Left in 1930s Canada" suggests a book exclusively about women writers, or women readers, or women something or other; in short, a book with some sort of feminist axe to grind, in the worst sense of politically correct, North American, academic feminism. I find this title misleading, because, much to the author's credit, her book is – in my view at least – far broader in scope and deeper in import than its title suggests. This is my first quibble, and a hair-splitter's quibble it is; to my second quibble I shall return presently.

Rifkind's introduction, "The Socialist Modernist Encounter," presents a thorough and well-organized review of the progressive political and aesthetic currents that came together during the Great Depression in this country. She provides a very brief but useful introduction to

the historical and literary context, and demonstrates, without specious name-dropping or frivolous references, that she has done her homework. Rifkind knows the critical and scholarly literature, and any student of the period could do worse than start with her introduction.

Happily, though Rifkind's book is about English-language literature, she does not limit herself to the English in this country: "... throughout the leftist periodicals of the decade, there are references to the socialist cultures of the Finnish, German, Icelandic, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Yiddish, and Ukrainian language communities (to name only a few) ... and the pages of the 1930s leftist press often contain announcements of plays being performed in neither French nor English." (20)

Nor does she draw an arbitrary circle around the English native speakers, and discuss everyone but them. Rifkind understands well that the economic, political, and aesthetic struggles of the period all transcended linguistic frontiers. Quite the contrary, the directions they took were informed not just by the rather theoretical and abstract "internationalism" espoused by so many, but also and perhaps far more concretely by the simple fact that so many, regardless of language or origin, were suffering through the same hardships, and facing the same indifference from their governments. Finally, Rifkind makes another, fortunate, choice: she uses as her theoretical framework Pierre Bourdieu's model of cultural production.

In her first chapter, "Revolution, Gender, and Third Period Modernism" (those titles again!) Rifkind presents Dorothy Livesay, our poet of the Dirty Thirties if ever there was one, and Empress of Canadian poetry, if ever we shall have one. As she does when setting the stage in her introduction, and as she should,

following Bourdieu, in this chapter Rifkind places Livesay and her work in its contexts. I use the plural knowingly, as reading this chapter we find Livesay as we should find her, working among other writers, such as Raymond Knister, in a society in crisis where all save the wealthiest and most complacent or just plain obtuse are looking for a path out of the misery. And we find her in the context of the cultural production of her time, amongst the pamphlets, the newspapers, and the books, the theatre and the radio and the meetings. Later, we see her in a new context, one into which, for example, Northrop Frye has stepped, looking back at her time as a progressive poet and as a spokeswoman for the Canadian Left.

The author's relationship to Livesay is not one of shameless adulation, but one of measured appreciation. She does not, for example, cede to the common post-1989-and-the-fall-of-the-Wall temptation to gloss over an author's perhaps but – not necessarily – naïve support of the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Rifkind examines Livesay's 1934 poem, "Canada to the Soviet Union" as a poem of its time, as a historical artifact, but also as a poem worth reading today, one that might even, despite all we know now, still speak to us. (43-44)

Rifkind's examination of theatre and fiction in later chapters is as competent as her treatment of Livesay, but I am particularly favourable to her second chapter, as I am grateful to her for her careful attention to Anne Marriott and her poem, "The Wind Our Enemy," in my opinion, one of the finest poems written in this country in the 1930s – or indeed, ever. As Rifkind rightly notes: "The Wind Our Enemy is a formally experimental poem, and thus its style and structure are more innovative than much of the socialist modernist periodical verse of the Spanish Civil War ... she transforms the dominant Canadian literary tradition's representa-



tion of natural elements as shaping forces in the culture to include historical, political, and international content.” (116–117)

Her assessment of Marriott’s poem in its context and, especially, of its importance as a turning point for Canadian poetry is precise. This poem, so often overlooked or glossed over, or read in the shadow of Livesay, is no less beautiful – and I use the word knowingly – than Livesay’s best work, and no less significant. In this poem Marriott manifests the singular political, social, economic, and, indeed, environmental moment that was her world. Rifkind’s treatment of the poem and its context are sensitive and intelligent, such that not even the most dull among us could miss its significance, or not want to rush out immediately to a library to read the poem itself.

Not least of the reasons this treatment of “The Wind Our Enemy” works so well is that, working in the framework she has adopted and adapted from Bourdieu, Rifkind notes the formal and functional importance of Marriott’s reference to international events: “Insurgents march in Spain / Japs bomb Chinese / Airliner lost, ” (113) and her chapter makes an equivalent leap from the Dustbowl to the Spanish Civil War. She places Marriott’s poem alongside contemporaneous poems from poets, such as E. J. Pratt, who saw and attempted to poetically describe the link between the crisis of capitalism in Canada and the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe, and, equally important, alongside Norman Bethune’s “Red Moon,” one of the few poems written in English by a Canadian who actually served in Spain.

Rifkind’s concluding chapter presents a worthwhile overview of some works by a few of the more significant progressive Canadian writers publishing since the 1930s. It is, however, very much an overview. Its chief merits may be that it could serve as a starting point for further

study, as well as a reminder that progressive writers and progressive women writers of the calibre of Dorothy Livesay, Anne Marriott, and Irene Baird were not an anomaly made possible only by the particular conditions of that decade. *Comrades and Critics* is a well-researched study, in which the author discusses our most significant women writers of the 1930s through the lens of a sound theoretical framework. Rifkind knows her literature and she knows her critical “literature.” Her book should be essential reading for anyone in the field. Unfortunately, however, this book is also very much a book for those in the field; it is a very competent scholarly work, but it remains a scholarly work. This is my second quibble: Rifkind’s subject is broad enough and certainly important enough to merit a wider audience, and it is a pity that with *Comrades and Critics* Rifkind did not emulate the writers she examines and write for a wider audience. In these unconsidered times, we all have much to learn from their stories and their art. I can only hope that Candida Rifkind’s next book will be written for scholars, yes, but also for the “masses”.

NICOLA VULPE  
Ottawa

**Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1919***  
(Edmonton: AU Press and University of Alberta Press 2008)

IN THIS BRILLIANTLY titled book Sarah Carter again demonstrates her pre-eminence in the field of Western Canadian history, especially in the area of Native-newcomer relations. Already a prize-winning monograph, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building to 1915*, serves as a stark reminder of the excessive limits to which

Western Canadian colonial authorities would go to disrupt traditional marriage patterns and impose monogamy on Aboriginal Westerners and newcomers to the region. No one seemed to fall outside of the moral panic over monogamy.

Carter lays out the terrain in eight effective chapters. She first looks at the creation of the monogamous ideal, and how this was sustained by using techniques such as deliberately besmirching reputations, or, even worse, taking away children deemed "illegitimate." Western Canada, as Carter makes clear, was to be built on monogamous, Christian marriages. With "the arrival of white women and of Christian, British common law," by the end of the nineteenth century "monogamous marriage heralded the end of an undomesticated, masculine era when white men experienced freedom, derring-do and fun, but also social turmoil, chaos, even violence. This model of marriage was to be the architecture of private lives, shaping men and women into submissive, obedient wives, and commanding, providing husbands." (59) As Carter ably demonstrates, missionaries, teachers, Indian agents and other government officials met several challenges in succeeding with their vision.

Dissenters appeared to be everywhere and difficult to force into the new marital model. Some of the newcomers to Western Canada were particularly stubborn. Most troublesome were the Mormons for their practice of polygamy, the Dukhobors for following their own divorce traditions, and the Ukrainians who were often criticized for enforcing child marriage. Each of these groups was exposed to the surveillance of the North West Mounted Police and, according to Carter, the Criminal Code was frequently brought to bear on those who were unwilling to conform.

But none seemed to be more carefully watched and criticized than the Aborigi-

nal people on the Canadian Prairies. As in other colonial contexts, their familial traditions and ceremonies were generally not understood by newcomers to Western Canada. In her chapter on Plains Aboriginal marriage, Carter provides rich detail on how marriage was understood by the Aboriginals themselves. She argues that "Marriage was deeply embedded in the complex kinship systems that characterized Aboriginal societies, and which established patterns of co-operation and respect, as well as standards of conduct. There were fundamental differences between the characteristics of the kinship systems of Euro-North-Americans and those of Aboriginal North Americans." (104-05)

These fundamental differences would make for significant sites of contestation and conflict especially during the 1880s when the government set out to refute the Connolly case of 1867 which ruled that *mariage à la façon du pays* was legitimate. By the 1880s a new environment had emerged. According to Carter, international moral panics over the white slave trade and child brides coalesced with shifting attitudes toward Aboriginal women who were historically seen as "slaves" but in the 1880s were beginning to be seen as too "assertive" and in need of proper womanhood and role modeling. These ideas were expressed at the same time as the legal profession was sorting out how to limit Aboriginal customary marriages. Carter provides a considerable discussion on this and demonstrates how despite much pressure Aboriginal marriage laws were to be respected only as long as they conformed to the monogamous model: "divorce, remarriage, plural wives, and serial spouses were not to be tolerated." (190)

As the legal grip tightened, so too did efforts on behalf of missionaries, school teachers, and Department of Indian Affairs staff intensify. The key culprit

during the 1890s was polygamy and while not everyone agreed on how to eradicate it or how to care for the 'extra wives,' most colonial officials saw it as vexatious. Carter makes it clear however, that despite all of these efforts, up until the turn of the twentieth century polygamy persisted and Aboriginals in the west continued to marry in traditional ways.

Perhaps one of the most tragic outcomes of this system of surveillance and utter allegiance to the monogamous model took place in the residential schools. It became common during the first two decades of the twentieth century for teachers to act as 'match makers,' and encourage their students to marry each other in mass weddings. Carter effectively quotes from a former student, a Cree woman, Eleanor Brass, who recalled that pupils "were matched up and mated and told who they would marry. These couples didn't go together or know each other. They weren't even in love with each other." (241) This is a poignant reminder of how in this desperate quest for monogamy the colonial officials failed the Aboriginal people of Western Canada. Young children learned that love and marriage were not necessarily related.

Carter has provided a careful study which draws upon and reinforces other secondary works on international colonial histories and certainly for the Canadian field she offers a unique perspective on how marriage became such a contested site. However, it should be noted that Carter employs post-colonial or post-modern theoretical perspectives less than others engaged in similar studies. She could have easily made reference for example to Michel Foucault whose work one is often reminded of when reading Carter. Some, admittedly, may prefer this absence.

Carter's book is essential, not just for those interested in gender, race, and

colonization but for those who wish to have any hope of understanding Western Canadian or Canadian history. It can easily be used for undergraduate or graduate students in any number of courses. The book is available both in a print edition and an on-line edition, the latter via the AU Press website. This is a beautifully produced book with a wide array of the most useful and telling photographs.

MYRA RUTHERDALE  
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**Thibault Martin and Steven M. Hoffman, eds., *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Quebec* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2008)**

*POWER STRUGGLES* is an anthology of perspectives on Cree and Inuit peoples confronting hydroelectric development in northern Quebec and Manitoba. The twelve chapters are organized in three parts: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on Hydro Developments, the State, and the First Peoples; The Manitoba Experience: A Legacy of Disrespect; and Toward a Change of Paradigm in Quebec. However there is considerable overlap and repetition amongst the papers.

Hydroelectric potential and development of the north has been a cornerstone of the provincial economies of Manitoba and Quebec, both for domestic consumption and for export. In both provinces, hydro development has led to reengineered landscapes, with flooding, diversion of water flows from one river to another, and regulated water levels and flows to meet the requirements of electrical demand. These physical impacts occur on the traditional lands of Cree and Inuit communities, requiring some community relocations, affecting fishing and hunting opportunities, and creat-

ing unsafe water and ice conditions. This book explores the social and cultural ramifications of these changes and the responses and initiatives of the primary actors – the federal and provincial governments, the crown hydroelectric utilities Hydro Québec and Manitoba Hydro, and Aboriginal communities and organizations in the affected regions.

A number of common themes emerge. Poverty, cultural disruption, ill health and addiction, and societal breakdown are attributed primarily to the impacts of hydroelectric development both in the testimony presented by three affected Manitoba Aboriginal residents and by many of the authors. [Comment: This assumption should be tested by comparisons with Aboriginal communities not affected by hydro development.] Hydro development for export in both provinces is driven by the globalization imperative of modern economies. In the initial phases, northern development proceeded with little consultation with affected communities on how or whether the development should take place, thereby undermining Aboriginal claims and appropriating traditional territories. The power struggles ensue when Aboriginal communities resist and assert their rights to self-determination. These struggles are seen in the grander context of “the long walk” of Aboriginal peoples towards constitutional, legal, and practical recognition, towards definition and implementation of rights and self-government, and towards more equitable economic development and social welfare.

A primary focus of the book is the evolution of new agreements between First Nations and the hydro corporations and/or provincial and federal governments, culminating in the Paix des Braves between the Grand Council of the Crees and the Province of Quebec, and the Project Development Agreement (PDA) for the Wuskwatim generating sta-

tion between the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation and Manitoba Hydro. A general thesis is that the Paix des Braves represents a breakthrough in government relations with First Nations, which can serve as a model to others. Against this model, the Wuskwatim agreement fares badly. As Steven Hoffman puts it, “the PDA represents not the end of colonialism but its zenith.” (128)

The contrast between Quebec and Manitoba is accentuated by selecting as chapter contributors leading negotiators, advisors, and commissioners from Quebec who led the positive transformations that they report. When it comes to Manitoba’s first-hand participants, we hear only the poignant tales of the victims of changed water regimes at South Indian Lake and Cross Lake, the water bodies most adversely affected by Hydro’s works. A major shortcoming of the book is its failure to hear from other participants’ voices in Manitoba. How different might it have been, for example, had it included Nisichawayasihk Chief Jerry Primrose’s rebuttal of Peter Kulchyski’s views and carried the debate from there, including an assessment of the extensive evidence and testimony on social, cultural, and environmental effects presented at the Clean Environment Commission hearings on Wuskwatim. Kulchyski, like Steven Hoffman, criticizes hydro development, and Wuskwatim in particular, for destroying the land base necessary to support a traditional hunting culture, which is “the most sustainable form of social life invented by human beings.” (131) Writes Chief Primrose, in a letter responding to an earlier op-ed by Kulchyski,

Your readers can rest assured that we are well able to manage our own affairs, without the paternalistic advice of a native studies professor who would prefer we live in teepees and keep our young and fast-grow-

ing population dependent on a traditional economy, which became unsustainable a long time ago. We are entitled to use our resources in modern ways for the benefit of our people, something the professor refuses to acknowledge in his narrow-minded vision of our future.

(*Winnipeg Free Press*, May 23, 2006 found at <http://www.ncncree.com/ncn/WFPviewfromthewest>)

Besides the general recommendations to negotiate comprehensive agreements respecting Aboriginal rights, self-determination, and well-being, two authors have more specific recommendations to drive progress in Manitoba. Lydia Dubrovlny notes that the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission, in approving a contract between Xcel Energy and Manitoba Hydro, ordered Xcel to “monitor and report” on implementation of the 1977 Northern Flood Agreement (NFA). The NFA could provide a framework for a comprehensive set of indicators to monitor environmental and social effects and compliance with commitments by Manitoba Hydro, she suggests, and proceeds to elaborate what those indicators might be.

Brian Craik, Director of Federal Relations for the Grand Council of the Cree, notes several significant challenges in applying the lessons of the Paix des Braves to Manitoba. In proportion to its overall population, Manitoba has fifteen times as many Aboriginals as Quebec but Manitoba Hydro has only one-twentieth the net revenue of Hydro Québec. Moreover the beneficiary population for Paix des Braves is only 0.2 per cent of the Quebec population, whereas the proportional equivalent in Manitoba is twenty-five times bigger. Thus Manitoba’s Aboriginal economic development challenge is far larger and its resources for meeting it far smaller than Quebec’s. Craik’s recommendation is that Manitoba change sides on the extinguishment of treaties

in Manitoba and “[go] to court *with* First Nations, as co-plaintiffs and *against the federal Crown*, to enforce the terms of [the] treaties.” (293) Only the federal government has the capacity, as well as the obligation, to fulfill the treaties.

PETER MILLER

University of Winnipeg

**Christopher Dummitt and Michael Dawson, eds., *Contesting Clío’s Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*** (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas 2009)

THERE IS A PROVERB that goes something like this: the shoemaker’s son always goes barefoot. The shoemaker is so busy meeting everyone else’s needs that he neglects the needs of his own son. This, it seems to me, describes the Canadian historical profession, especially in English Canada. It has been so busy writing everyone else’s history that it has neglected its own. Indeed, Carl Berger’s remarkable book is now over 30 years old and out of print. And although there have been some notable exceptions (I am thinking of Kenneth Dewar’s articles on Donald Creighton and Frank Underhill, Doug Francis’s work on Frank Underhill and Arthur Lower, and Chad Reimer’s book on the writing of British Columbia’s history), English-Canadian historians have shown little interest in either their own past or in what it is they actually do.

Because of this, and inspired by the example of Ian McKay’s liberal order framework, a group of young scholars gathered at the Institute for the Study of the Americas at the University of London in 2007. Their purpose was to rethink the writing of Canadian history in the light of its recent past and to propose new directions for its future. The end result is a wonderful collection of essays that range across the different sub-fields of Cana-

dian history. Reading it reminds me how intellectually sophisticated Canadian historians are, how complicated Canadian history is, and how rich Canadian historical writing has the potential to be.

If there is a connecting thread to these essays it is the insistence that Canadian historians write Canadian history in transnational contexts or comparative contexts. In her essay on the place of Quebec historical writing on Canada, Magda Fahrni documents several reasons why English-Canadian historians do not pay scholarly attention to Quebec and she urges us to think “historically about Quebec” because it will lead us, almost automatically, to practice “comparative history and *histoire croisée*,” (3) or entangled history. In other words, one does not have to look elsewhere for the opportunity to write comparative or transnational history. Those opportunities exist within the Canadian past itself. Although her essay is largely directed at English-Canadian historians, it should be read by French-Canadian historians as well. To quote from Michel Ducharme’s essay, “Quebec historians pay no attention to English-Canadian history, usually for ideological reasons (admitting that French and English Canada shared a common history would be politically unacceptable).” (174)

For his part, Steven High invites us to think outside of our disciplinary box. He argues that oral history – once denigrated by professional historians as something done by amateurs and popularizers – and the ethical commitment to sharing authority between the historian and the community have the potential to enrich what it is we do as historians and to enrich the lives of community members. In the case of his own (wonderful, I might add) research on the lives of Montrealers displaced by war, genocide, and human rights violations – a project rich with transnational possibilities – High believes

that if his research is successful, these life stories will be transformed into “cultural and historical materials for Montreal’s immigrant communities,” (45) that he will not be “taking” something from them but he will be “giving” something back. Of course, there are obvious limits to oral history: twentieth-century historians are better placed to take advantage of its potential than their nineteenth- and eighteenth-century counterparts.

My casual use of “twentieth-century historian” is problematized by Catherine Gidney and Michael Dawson. They argue that our tendency to periodize the twentieth century in terms of decades (the roaring twenties and the dirty thirties, for example), in terms of post-1945 Canada and post-1918 Canada, and even in terms of the twentieth century itself, obscures more than it clarifies. It blinds us to the persistence of ideas, the continuity of patterns, and the inheritance of culture across longer spans of time. “What is required is a reorientation of our gaze away from the internal infrastructure of the historians’ twentieth century and its short-term approach to periodisation. In its place we need to embrace a long-term approach that encourages historians to look beyond demarcations of convenience and focus instead on the ‘bigger picture.’” (70) My favourite phrase – and one they cite – belongs to Phillip Buckner: Canada’s British connection was not killed at Vimy Ridge but proved far more persistent and complicated. It was, he said, “a long goodbye.” The key word here is long. We must be willing to think in terms of length if we are going to understand our particular subjects and their many complexities. Actually, our inability to think in terms of length is a symptom – a casualty, even – of the twentieth century and the acceleration of time. When Gidney and Dawson note that we, as historians, “have spent very little time thinking about *time*,” (51) I would add

that it is because we can't think about time. We are not, as children of the twentieth century, capable of it. Harold Innis made precisely this observation in a 1950 essay entitled "A Plea for Time" when he commented on "the disappearance of an interest in time."

For his part, Andrew Smith rightly draws our attention to the British Empire and its importance in Canadian history, and he suggests a number of transnational and comparative avenues that historians might follow in their work on the British connection. But he sets up his otherwise thoughtful paper around a misleading dichotomy: as a result of so much new and exciting research on the British connection and the long goodbye, historians are in a "better position to assess whether the impact of the British Empire on Canada was largely positive or largely negative." (81) Smith acknowledges the disproportionate price paid by Aboriginal peoples who were on the receiving end of the British Empire, but he insists that the British impact on Canada as a whole "was probably much more beneficial than the recent historiography would suggest." (97) History, though, is not about scorekeeping and balance sheets. It is about, in this case, unpacking the myriad influences of the British Empire on English, French, and Aboriginal Canada. Smith did not need to invite two and a half cheers for the British Empire to make this point and he could have spared himself from the charge of jingoism had he simply done what he set out to do: propose new and interesting ways of studying the British connection. "One does not have to believe that the empire was a 'good thing,'" Buckner wrote, "to believe in its importance to generations of Canadians."

For my money, the best paper in the collection belongs to Christopher Dummitt. It is refreshingly honest and even courageous in its pointed criticisms of

social history and of social historians. Despite our insistence on inclusion and tolerance, we have been exclusionary, intolerant, and not a little self-righteous: the Young Turks are now the Old Turks but we still act as if we are the Young Turks. As Dummitt observes, too many of us are still fighting against Jack Granatstein and Michael Bliss. It is as if we need a Them for an Us to exist. And we close our minds to the scholarship of Gerhard Ens and Thomas Flanagan when "the kind of debate that they have brought to native history is exactly what the profession needs more of: radically divergent opinions that force an intense scrutiny of sources and arguments." (107) The social history revolution brought many benefits – one would have to be a fool to argue otherwise – but it carried costs too. Certain fields have been ignored (military and political history, for example) and the art of storytelling has been neglected in favour of a writing style that turns readers away. History, he writes, "is not only a tool of social criticism and abstract thought, it is also a craft and an art." (121) Donald Creighton said pretty much the same thing in the 1940s.

Adele Perry challenges the basic assumption of Dummitt's essay. She argues that the goal of social history was not simply to include women or Aboriginals or the working class into history; the goal of social history "was to rethink the past through the categories of race, ethnicity, class, gender, region, sexuality and colonisation." (124) It seems to me, though, that it was about both including otherwise excluded groups and it was about rethinking the past and the historical project itself. Rethinking the historical project today, Perry believes, means rethinking the past "through a postcolonial, transnational and critical reading of the nation." (124) The dream of nation lies deep in both English and French Canada and it is not always easy for historians

to resist that dream. In their own ways, Lionel Groulx and Donald Creighton saw themselves as national sages, as the makers and guardians of French Canada's and English Canada's respective national myths. But our task is not their task; rather, our task is to "think long and hard about what the nation means for peoples and communities." (139) Perry does not ask us to "reject the nation as a category of analysis" but she does ask us "to strip it of [its] ontological primacy" in order to "better see its real power at work." (139)

Like Perry, Katie Pickles addresses the limitations of the nation as a category of analysis. Taking her cue from A. A. Phillips's influential 1950 essay on Australia's cultural cringe – that internalized feeling of inferiority in Australian writers and artists vis-à-vis their British counterparts – Pickles argues that a similar cultural cringe in New Zealand and English Canada led to an assertive, parochial nationalism and, ultimately, to what she cleverly identifies as cringing historiographies: "by adhering to national boundaries the cringe underlies and limits the parameters of historiography." (151) In the case of Canada, the insistence that Canada had a national history of its own led an entire generation of historians to ignore the transnational potential of their research. Against this backdrop, and against the backdrop of her own experiences as a British-born, New Zealand-raised, Canadian-trained, New Zealand-based historian, Pickles invites us to explore common themes and events between New Zealand and Canada "such as diaspora and immigration, royal tours, gold rushes and sport." (160) I have one quibble, though. Pickles believes that Canadians – like New Zealanders and Australians – are "possessive about 'their own' history and suspicious of outsiders who write it." (152) Perhaps it is my vantage point as a Canadian studying Canada, but I have never detected

this attitude in our profession. Indeed, the most interesting people in graduate school were the international students writing on some aspect of Canada – for example, the German student writing about the Quebec labour movement. I never had the sense that Canadian students questioned his intentions or harboured suspicions about his motivations.

In the volume's final essay, Michel Ducharme addresses the much neglected field of Canadian intellectual history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Frank Underhill once explained the weakness of the left in Canada by the fact that "we never had an eighteenth century of our own." But Ducharme reminds us that, in point of fact, we did. By placing Canada and Quebec within its Atlantic context(s), he uncovers a far richer and more complicated intellectual tradition, that of British ideas of intellectual freedom. While those were not as radical as American and French ideas, they were not counter-revolutionary. Ducharme's focus on Upper and Lower Canada, however, blinds him to Prince Edward Island. Here Rusty Bittermann has located a fascinating example of popular rural protest in the form of the Escheat movement and he deliberately places that movement in its larger contexts. "The Escheat movement of the 1830s unfolded," Bittermann argues, "within a broader set of popular challenges to the status quo arising in British North America, the British Empire, and the Atlantic world." As Fahrni concludes in her essay, opportunities for comparative history exist within British North America and Canada itself.

If this volume is an indication of an emerging interest in our past and in our profession, then maybe, just maybe, the shoemaker's son will get a pair of shoes after all.

DONALD WRIGHT  
University of New Brunswick



**Daniel Sidorick, *Condensed Capitalism: Campbell Soup and the Pursuit of Cheap Production in the Twentieth Century*** (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2009)

IN THIS WELL-RESEARCHED book, Daniel Sidorick traces the history of labour relations at Campbell Soup, a firm that became an icon of consumer capitalism, controlling an astonishingly high proportion of the canned soup market and even becoming the object of Andy Warhol's famous pop art. Sidorick, however, is less interested in the company's market position or iconic status than in its production system and its workers. Indeed, while labels are for cans not books, it is safe to say that *Condensed Capitalism* is straight-up labour history, with all its merits and limitations. If the result is a somewhat narrow book from the perspective of recent working-class, social, and cultural history, it is also a clear and accessible anti-primer about capitalist workplace strategy and union resistance.

Above all, *Condensed Capitalism* is a case study (focused on the Campbell plant in Camden, New Jersey) of the fundamental capitalist drive to find cheap and controllable labour and the equally fundamental union attempts to resist such efforts. This core dynamic runs across the topical and thematic coverage of the book. Sidorick begins with a brief look at Campbell's origins in the industrial changes of the late nineteenth century before moving through the ebb and flow of militancy, wartime no-strike pledges, Cold War Red baiting, attempts to build solidarity across geography, the crisis of the 1970s, and the demolition of the plant in 1991. In following this narrative road, Sidorick highlights a number of themes: management policy (relentless control of the labour process and rabid anti-unionism), union politics and rivalry (where radicals are mostly celebrated and "business unionists" largely dismissed),

and worker resistance (in both the formal and informal sense). Most of these topics and themes will be familiar to labour historians, but Sidorick does provide some interesting wrinkles. Unlike some other big firms, for example, Campbell leaned almost exclusively on the stick rather than the carrot. The company briefly contemplated (but never implemented) a version of corporate welfare and eventually hired a public relations firm to soften its image, but Campbell showed little interest in community philanthropy or workplace paternalism. Sidorick also finds early twentieth-century elements of what would later be called "lean production" (e.g. low inventories, continuous improvement, job rotation), making these features seem more endemic to American capitalism than many industrial relations scholars would suggest. There was also some degree of distinctiveness to patterns of union resistance, particularly the willingness of many Campbell workers to build solidarity across lines of race, gender, and geography, and the persistence of social unionism at the plant.

Sidorick's approach does result in some absences. His somewhat relentless focus on the workplace, for example, leads him away from any systematic analysis of the state and the community. While governments at various levels and laws of various forms appear often, their presence is largely narrative (taking part in events or providing context) rather than analytical (to serve as evidence in a broader thinking about the state and capitalism). Nor does the wider community enter in any systematic way until the last chapter, despite intriguing hints about the earlier ambivalence to Campbell amongst Camden residents (who seemed torn between pride in industrial might and hostility to the types of workers settling in local neighbourhoods).

Moreover, Sidorick's framework—the particular way he approaches the work-

place—leads him away from making connections to some of the animating questions of recent labour, social, and cultural history. Sidorick spends considerable space on the way race and gender intersected with shopfloor politics, but the categories themselves are self-evident (race meaning African Americans and gender meaning women). Similarly, while there is interesting material on the Italian and Caribbean workers the company recruited, Sidorick makes few efforts to connect these issues to recent discussions of labour, migration, and whiteness. Women play a large part in the story as workers and union militants, but Sidorick says almost nothing about masculinity. This general approach will please some readers and annoy others. Still, if the book seems narrow at times, it is clear, readable, and accessible. This characteristic will make *Condensed Capitalism* useful in the classroom, especially if instructors want to help students push past the surface meanings of corporate brands to the deeper relations of production.

At the same time, students and scholars will find only one ingredient in a larger recipe for understanding consumer capitalism. Owing again to the workplace focus, we learn relatively little about eating. There are no advertisements, consumers, grocery stores, school lunches, or grilled cheese sandwiches here. Sidorick pays some attention to the company's relations with farmers and agricultural unions, but he doesn't trace out—as do many other studies of food capitalism—the commodity chains or the consumer practices that linked farm to firm to family while obscuring those very connections and dependencies. Still, Sidorick is alert to the way the particular qualities of soup imposed limits on production. Organic raw materials did not always lend themselves to seamless assembly lines, so the company forged a complex mix of machines, manual

labour, pseudo-scientific management, the drive system, and batch production. Organic raw materials also produced a seasonal production schedule, since tomatoes had to be processed quickly after the harvest. This seasonality had ambiguous effects. On the one hand, the company hired a huge pool of temporary workers, and Sidorick makes it clear that unions never overcame the cleavage between permanent and seasonal labour. On the other hand, the company's utter dependence on the intense pace during those few weeks offered workers a potentially potent weapon in bargaining.

Organic raw materials shaped the company's strategy in another important way, and herein lies the main contribution of the book. *Condensed Capitalism* could have been called *Capital Stays*, since Sidorick consciously offers a friendly counterpoint to Jeff Cowie's *Capital Moves* (Cornell University Press, 1999). In that book, Cowie traced RCA's ongoing search for cheaper production through geographic mobility, starting just up the street from Campbell but soon shifting to the Midwest, the South, and later Mexico. By contrast, much of Campbell's history was a tale of capital immobility, owing to many factors, chief among them sources of supply: "while workers in Bloomington or Juárez could assemble receivers as well as anyone in Camden, the tomatoes ripening in South Jersey fields had to be processed into soup within hours of their harvesting." (3) Sidorick effectively demonstrates that these differences were tactical, since Campbell shared the fundamental mission of its TV-making Camden neighbour: cheap production. Yet the point about capital immobility is an important one, even if changes in agriculture, transportation, and markets eventually allowed the company to close its Camden plant.

In the end, then, Sidorick's workplace focus may seem a bit relentless, but there

are some payoffs nonetheless. The result is an accessible analysis of capitalist and worker conflict at one firm and a focused case study of some of the fundamental dynamics of capitalist labour relations.

STEVE PENFOLD

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**David Witwer, *Shadow of the Racketeer: Scandal in Organized Labor*** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2009)

SHADOW OF THE *Racketeer: Scandal in Organized Labor* is David Witwer's insightful contribution to explaining the American labour movement's long-term decline. Although the literature on this subject is extensive, Witwer argues that it has largely overlooked the role of union corruption, its treatment in the media, and the way in which these have negatively affected public opinion. Thus, even when the public has generally supported the goals of the labour movement, as it did in the 1940s and 1950s, it nonetheless distrusted its leaders and organizations.

Unions are still often portrayed as rackets by the media. But, as Witwer's work reminds us, we must recognize that this is in no small part because sometimes unions are indeed corrupt rackets. While anti-union forces are eager to smear all unions as corrupt, labour's allies would be making a mistake to simply dismiss such claims out of hand.

Witwer's book is an excellent contribution precisely because he treats this difficult issue with the complexity it deserves and eschews simplistic evasions and denials. As the title of the book indicates, Witwer argues that we live in the "shadow of the racketeer." However, the racketeer is not simply an imaginary figure concocted by anti-union forces. Rather, Witwer shows that union corruption was a very real phenomenon, particularly during the New Deal era. What mattered,

though, was not the simple fact of union corruption, but rather the way in which this corruption came to be represented. Labour racketeering, as Witwer demonstrates, involved a complex constellation of forces. When labour racketeering became a preoccupation of the national media, however, the broader context that gave rise to corruption was written out of the conversation, leaving behind a shallow understanding of labour racketeering that served the political interests of anti-New Deal forces.

Witwer makes his point by telling the story of a series of scandals involving George Scalise of the Building Service Employees International Union (BSEIU) and George Browne and Willie Bioff of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE). All three leaders had achieved prominent positions within their unions, with Scalise and Browne becoming presidents of their respective internationals. But all three also had long-term connections to organized crime that were exposed by conservative columnist Westbrook Pegler as part of his crusade against union corruption in the late '30s and early '40s. Indeed, in Scalise's and Bioff's cases, their involvement in crime pre-dated their union activities. Pegler's relentless attack on Scalise, Browne, and Bioff not only led to their convictions on racketeering charges, but also shaped the broader discourse on labour racketeering to the disadvantage of organized labour. Witwer argues that these cases and the way in which Pegler represented them laid the foundations for a sustained rollback of labour's New Deal gains.

After a preliminary biographical sketch of Pegler, Witwer sets to work filling in the broader context of labour racketeering. Specifically, he takes on the myth that the relationship between the mob and organized labour can be explained in terms of temptation on the part of union officials. The stories of IATSE and BSEIU

suggest instead that this relationship is better understood as a hostile takeover. It wasn't so much that union officials were corrupted by temptation, but rather that the unions were taken over by a mob who instrumentalized and corrupted them as profitable enterprises.

But how was this possible? Witwer offers several explanations. He focuses first on the changing nature of organized crime after prohibition. As bootlegging was eliminated as a source of income, criminal organizations like Chicago's "Outfit" moved into labour racketeering, taking advantage of new networks of cooperation between criminal organizations across the country, and relying on a reign of violence that, in a context of police inaction and political corruption, enabled them to force their way onto union payrolls. George Scalise and Willie Bioff, for example, had only limited experience in organized labour before they muscled into the leadership of their respective unions.

While some unions were taken over by brute intimidation alone, Witwer shows that the "Outfit" and other criminal groups generally preferred to prey on unions in which elements of corruption were already present. Unions that were likely to develop a corrupt leadership were those in which the members were isolated from each other, leaders controlled the dispensation of jobs, and the union could exercise effective leverage over employers independent of member mobilization. So, for example, the infamous Thomas Maloy profited enormously from his position as the leader of IATSE's Chicago projectionists' local by demanding kickbacks for favourable job placements and by extorting theatre owners, thereby attracting the interest of Chicago's "Outfit" which wanted a share in this lucrative enterprise. The dispersal of projectionists among the different theatres prevented them from coming

together to challenge their union's leadership. Moreover, the nature of the movie business left theatre owners vulnerable to small acts of sabotage committed by hired thugs, making extortion easier. George Browne, who before becoming IATSE's president was the leader of IATSE's stagehands local in Chicago, also benefited from similar conditions. And it was after Browne, together with Bioff, managed to extort the Balaban & Katz theatre chain that the "Outfit" imposed itself as a forced partner. Witwer thus argues that there were underlying structural factors that generated corruption. Already guilty of breaking the law, and with few people they could depend on in government, unions like IATSE were vulnerable to a mob takeover. And while the unions may have been corrupt before, with groups like the "Outfit" now directly controlling them, labour racketeering reached another level entirely.

Witwer also shows how the rank-and-file were victimized by mob takeovers. Union funds were raided, shady assessments were imposed, and the mobbed-up union leaders profited by colluding with the bosses and demobilizing the membership. This gets at the second myth that Witwer challenges: employers were the primary victims of labour racketeering. Although Pegler was careful to frame his exposés of union corruption as a defence of the worker, Witwer demonstrates how the broader media discourse nonetheless focused on images of brow-beaten executives "quivering in their boots." (102) In fact, Witwer argues that the distinction between extortion and bribery is unclear, with employers often being willing partners of people like Browne, Bioff, and Scalise. Indeed, he argues that the Hollywood studios turned to organized crime during the turbulent Depression years to stabilize labour relations. Cutting deals with labour racketeers effectively allowed these employers to circumvent

prohibitions against the formation of company unions. The context of union corruption, then, was more complex than portrayed. Although there was often an earlier presence of local corruption, without an aggressive, violent, and politically connected organized crime network and without willing partners among employers, labour racketeering would never have penetrated as deeply into the highest levels of some unions.

With this figure of the “racketeer” fleshed out, Witwer turns to its “shadow” by focusing on the discourse of racketeering that Pegler helped to popularize. While Witwer never questions Pegler’s concern for workers caught up in corrupt unions, he also points out that Pegler was part of a broader anti-New Deal coalition that sought to weaken the Roosevelt administration by attacking New Deal labour legislation. By ignoring the context of labour racketeering, Pegler and others managed to transmute people’s outrage over corruption into a suspicion of the labour movement in general. He did this by effectively redefining the term “racketeering” (already an ill-defined term) to include union actions that were perfectly legal. Moreover, the AFL’s denials and evasions regarding the Bioff and Scalise scandals only fueled Pegler’s case. His contribution to the anti-New Deal effort was to formulate hostility toward unions in populist terms which claimed to champion the common man against the machinations of corrupt union bureaucrats. Doing so provided a much-needed wedge to divide working-class support for the New Deal, laying the groundwork for later attacks on New Deal labour legislation.

Despite its many strengths, one wishes that Witwer had located his analysis within the broader context of the Depression era labour movement. He devotes some space to the CIO’s response to racketeering, but the book would have ben-

efited from a more systematic discussion of the CIO’s relationship to the AFL and to the “shadow of the racketeer.” Witwer also glosses over the place of the Communists in all of the above, which is especially curious given their prominence in anti-union discourse. Indeed, Pegler and others consistently railed against the combined threat of racketeers and Communists, often conflating the two.

We can nonetheless learn a lot from Witwer’s account of labour racketeering and its representation. Although the events of his book occurred over 60 years ago, we are still living with their consequences. Witwer documents a few efforts at union reform in the aftermath of the Bioff and Scalise scandals, but he laments their failure and the AFL leadership’s lack of interest in rooting out corruption. Pegler stepped into this vacuum, and as a result the discourse on union corruption has taken on an anti-union flavor. To fight back, we must tackle this serious issue head-on with hard-headed analyses which help us to understand all the forces at play. Only on that basis can we counter anti-labour representations of labour racketeering with those honest representations which alone can truly advance the cause of labour. Witwer’s book takes us a long way in that direction.

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**Mary H. Blewett, *The Yankee Yorkshiremen: Migration Lived and Imagined*** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2009)

DO BRITISH MIGRANTS to North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century qualify as New Immigrants and later as Ethnic Americans? Mary Blewett’s translocal study of Yorkshire capital, culture, work, and workers suggests that they do. Even though we have

replaced studies of immigration and assimilation with more focus on migrations and translocality, Blewett argues that we have wrongly assumed "a vague, ahistorical, static mainstream culture with an 'Anglo-Saxon' core" in the United States. (11) The Yorkshiremen Blewett follows worked, lived, and naturalized right beside other groups now recognized as ethnic. By following Yorkshiremen from the textile mills of Lancashire, England to the Yorkshire-designed company towns of Greystone, Rhode Island, Blewett nominates Yorkshiremen to the category of ethnic history. Though many came into the educated and investing middle class within a generation, to Blewett ethnicity is not a position in a racial or class hierarchy. Yankee Yorkshiremen were ethnic because they maintained a "stubborn and pervasive resistance to assimilation, an abiding transatlantic political perspective and a fierce loyalty to Yorkshire cultural identity." (95)

Blewett is at her best in demonstrating that Greystone, Rhode Island was the product of the capital and human migrations of the textile industry, resulting both from the protective McKinley tariffs of the late 1890s and the prosperity of New England mills. By interweaving a transnational history of the textile industry with community studies of several mill towns in Yorkshire and coastal Rhode Island, and using the biography and fiction of Hedley Smith as the lens through which to see this change, Blewett's story of British migration is an excellent demonstration that transnational/translocal migration history can be done on a small scale. She provides compelling evidence that this migration felt forced and cultural ties to Yorkshire, or fictional Bradford, did not die easily. She shows that British migrants, though absent from ethnic heritage celebrations and so much American ethnic history, carried an ethnic and cultural identity

in transplanted twentieth century New England.

Hedley Smith came to the United States at fourteen as an aspiring intellectual, but lost the opportunity of free public secondary education when he immediately went to work for his family. Blewett argues that for this budding author, "Emigration represented... an incalculable loss of educational opportunity" that he resented for the rest of his life. (49) As his family settled down in a Yorkshire-transplant mill village with other immigrant families, Smith began to write about a fictional "Briardale," a transplanted English mill town that he admitted was much like his own. His fictional character, Grandfather Denby, resents the "bloody Yanks" for their high import tariffs that ultimately disrupted the cultural distinctiveness of British villages. He reflects on life back in Britain, where "folk were so clannish that every village had its own language, or its own way of talking." But they would meet on the streets of Briardale and say, "I reckon thou comes from Horton way." (84)

Blewett is less convincing, however, in her suggestion that the British migrants she examines were ever part of the same working class as other New Immigrants. She makes this case by arguing that British migrants across New England generally shared mill towns and work as operatives with Italian, Irish, Scottish, Polish, and French-Canadian immigrants. Yorkshire migrants had their own ethnic newspaper in the late nineteenth century with an editor interested in winning the ten-hour day; carried a history of Chartism; and built their own Primitive Methodist church, distinct from the Episcopal Church that likely served the mill's professional class.

However, Blewett downplays the fact that the Yorkshire immigrants were part of the 84 per cent of Greystone residents of English descent in the late 1800s.

Other migrant groups each composed a small percentage of the local population, and by the early 1910s, Southern Europeans poured into the country while most English migrants had already naturalized to American citizenship and had begun to intermarry with Yankees. Blewett uses records of an IWW strike in North Providence to argue that Yorkshiremen “forged transcultural ties with other ethnic groups, notably southern Italian workers” in 1912, but does not say how many participated. Nor does she explore the effects of citizenship and cultural respectability accorded to English-born Americans by that time. Instead, Blewett argues, “[H]aving themselves been racialized as ignorant ‘jickeys,’ English worsted workers could disregard for the moment their own British racial heritage.” (77) She even argues that they qualify as “abstainers from ‘whiteness.’” (78) However, Italians, as Blewett admits, are notably absent in Hedley Smith’s fiction. Blewett uses this as evidence that Yorkshire migrants “remained indifferent to American racial values and racialized ethnic distinctions,” but this absence can just as easily make the case that Yorkshiremen did not want to associate with or imagine themselves in the same ethnic category as Italians or other New Immigrants.

Indeed, if Blewett would have spent more time exploring the historical relationship between American-born Yankees and Yorkshiremen, she probably would have found that British migrants to New England had an unusually easy ride to the middle class. Instead, she focuses her second half of the book on the relationship between Yorkshiremen within Smith’s fiction and the argument that they constituted a distinct identity into the early twentieth century. However, though Smith’s fiction keeps alive the memory of poor Yorkshire communities, Smith’s personal life shifts significantly. He marries a Yankee and their son

receives the best education possible, ultimately becoming a linguistics professor at Brown University. His fiction considers the advantages of overseas investment in turning a large profit during wartime. Furthermore, he not only votes Republican but gains elected office during the New Deal in his opposition to the “great unwashed” Democratic Irish and Italian Catholics, (107) and thereafter continues to oppose Democrats. It would have been fascinating to see Blewett explore how and why Smith decided to join the business class, to identify with Yankees over and against other New Immigrants, and to become an anti-New Deal Republican, but Blewett will not concede that he identifies with middle-class Yankees at all. She takes Smith at his word when he identifies himself into his old age by his poor Yorkshire roots.

Blewett’s failure to critically examine the stated identity of her subjects is as much the fault of the field of immigration and ethnic history as it is her own. Ethnic historians of New Immigrants are encouraged to prioritize the self-identification of their subjects over those identities attributed to them by others. And, if our goal in ethnic history is still the understanding of how and to what extent migrants acculturated to North American identities, this prioritization remains quite worthwhile. Blewett makes an important contribution in demonstrating that British migrants carry a separate culture and set of work expectations than the “core culture” of native-born Americans. However, if Blewett is suggesting that British participation in the category of New Immigrants meant that they had a similar Americanization experience to that of Italians, Poles, Slavs, and Jews, then the book is quite provocative and deserves very critical examination. Blewett does not tell us exactly where she stands on this question, but perhaps that is not her responsibility. In a field

now sprawling with excellent translocal migration histories, we will need to discuss why the term New Immigrant still means something definitive and why it still holds so much weight.

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**David F. Arnold, *The Fishermen's Frontier: People and Salmon in Southeast Alaska*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press 2008)

THIS IS A FINE labour and environmental history of the Southeast Alaskan salmon fisheries from before First Nations' contact with Europeans to the present. Arnold argues that the labour that took the fish from the water defined long-term human interactions with salmon. He points out that, while the other elements of nature have agency in history, only humans self-consciously construct culturally and socially the meanings of their interactions with the rest of the natural world. Conflicting social relationships, largely along class and ethnic lines, defined such constructions in the Southeast Alaskan case.

Beginning with the pre-contact Tlingit and Haida peoples, salmon fishers have always had the potential to harm the salmon populations they exploited. According to Arnold, Aboriginal peoples were not "ecological Indians" who lived in a ritualized harmony with nature. (15) Rather, they possessed efficient labour organizations and technologies that had the capacity to strain salmon populations. The Tlingit and Haida used clan-based property rights to control access to the fish, ensuring the viability of their long-term interdependence with the animals. Early Russian traders hoped to exert more control over the salmon fisheries, but remained dependent on Aboriginal

fishing and trade. Already proficient in trade, the Haida and Tlingit integrated rapidly into European exchange. The transfer of Alaska to the United States in 1867 brought the American military to the region, which ensured the subordination of the Haida and Tlingit to a more imperialistic organization of the salmon fisheries.

American commercial interests and settlers colonized the Alaskan fisheries under a state-sponsored laissez-faire doctrine that salmon and other natural resources were so abundant that they should be open to all industrial effort. The result was unregulated expansion of the fisheries through settlers' competition with Aboriginal peoples and by the proliferation of new fishing gears and practices. Stifled by government, Aboriginal peoples largely abandoned protests against such changes in favour of adaptation to them. By the late nineteenth century, over-exploitation of salmon was apparent, and the federal government embraced Progressive conservation. This conservation focused initially on failed efforts to calculate maximum sustainable yields, then turned to artificial propagation and habitat "enhancement" in the belief that the natural world might be rationalized for more efficient industrial production. Such conservation efforts did little except to provoke resistance from Aboriginal fishers and small-scale settler fishers who felt marginalized in favour of larger enterprises. By the early twentieth century, the formation of an Alaskan legislature and the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) co-opted much of this resistance into a local struggle against non-resident industrial fishing interests. While independent fishers initially supported the ANB and experimented with unions to preserve their place in the fisheries, federal regulations permitted the continued over-capitalization of fishing and the related problems of open-access



depletion of fish. Fishers were unable to overcome the many divisions based on ethnicity and type of fishing gears to resist these problems throughout the late twentieth century.

Differing concepts of property rights are key elements in the conflicts between the groups involved in the salmon fisheries. Arnold proposes that we can understand these differences in settlers' and officials' views of the "frontier," although he does not suggest the Turner thesis. Arnold defines the frontier as a socially constructed sense of place consisting of five attributes. Frontiers are places that allow people a sense of abundant resources. Such apparent abundance permits many newcomers to feel independent and free. Such feelings are reinforced by a perception of "bold landscape." (9) Frontiers are also places where different cultures meet, and are places in which people feel that they may construct new destinies or see new historical horizons.

Arnold points out that settlers' construction of the frontier overlooked the Tlingit's and Haida's use of clan-based property rights to control the problem of open-access depletion of fish populations. Most settlers embraced the concept of frontier because the natural bounty it implied promised independence and freedom from the more rigid social and economic relations of capitalism elsewhere. Although settlers did not come primarily as part of a colonial process of dispossession of Aboriginal peoples, they required a concept of more open and unregulated property rights to permit the realization of their own non-capitalist aspirations. The ascendance of such rights had an ironic long-term impact: small-scale fishers lost out to larger industrial interests in the struggles for quota allocations in the late fishery, and at least some Aboriginal fishing interests continued the process of adaptation by becoming as ruthlessly

capitalist as the earlier non-resident ones from the south.

Settlers' concept of maritime resources as being open to all was necessary to their concept of the frontier. Their views coincided with a federal doctrine that was inherently open-access rather than common-property in nature. When federal officials spoke of the seas as common to all, they really meant that the seas were open to all. Such openness is very different from the common-property regimes developed by communities to regulate access to resources by custom, tradition, and law. The clan-based property rights of the Tlingit and Haida were one such form of controlled access to common property. As Arnold points out, independent fishers had developed a "moral ecology," which potentially implied that no specific interest had a right of unrestricted open access to fish if it meant that others would lose their rights through the diminution of the resource. Arnold argues that the social conflicts of the Alaskan fisheries ensured that long-standing Aboriginal common-property regimes or potentially new ones based on such a moral ecology would be displaced by capitalist development.

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**John F. Lyons, *Teachers and Reform: Chicago Public Education, 1929–1970***  
(Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

JOHN F. LYONS has written a masterful scholarly study of Chicago teacher unionism. *Teachers and Reform* adds to the growing scholarship on teacher unionism. It is a balanced, lucid, and insightful analysis of the Chicago Teachers Union from its founding days at the beginning of the twentieth century to 1970 and the

rise of Black Power and community control in education.

Lyons's thesis – and it is an accurate one – is that the CTU was propelled by two forces: the desire for bread-and-butter gains through organizing, and the need to help reform the educational system and also the larger society. The CTU sought to balance these seemingly opposite aims. As a subtext, the union was confronted with the rising demands of race and the civil rights movement. In the end, the CTU was able to mesh both goals but not without a struggle and much angst.

As a reviewer I must depart from the usual distance in assessing this book. In the 1960's I was a staff member of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO in New York City, and later was a player in the Black Power demand for community control of New York City schools. In short, my experience and scholarship parallel that of Lyons's study which strongly resonates with me.

The Chicago Teachers Union was formed in 1916 and was the most influential teachers' local until the 1960's and the rise of New York's UFT. In 1960 the UFT made the crucial breakthrough of obtaining collective bargaining, and the other American Federation of Teachers locals followed suit.

At first the CTU was dominated by women unionists, hardly surprising considering that two thirds of Chicago public school teachers were women. They received less pay than men, were not permitted to marry, and were overlooked for leadership positions in the school system. In addition, Chicago schools were in a deplorable condition. Enter the CTU and Margaret Haley and Catherine Goggin, its leaders. They opted to stress societal goals: women's suffrage, revision of a tax system that had favoured corporations, municipal reform, and independence for Ireland.

The CTU confronted a diverse Chicago population: over 60 per cent of the city's school teachers came from immigrant families in 1900 with 27 per cent from Irish immigrant families. Nonetheless, the early history of the CTU reflected deep divisions over gender, ethnicity, and race. Still, the CTU was a successful union in terms of recruiting members. Lyons attributes that success partly to Chicago's history of having "one of the largest and at times the most militant and progressive labor movements in the nation." (23)

During the Great Depression of the 1930's the CTU was torn between seeking better wages and working conditions and reforming a corrupt Chicago political system and the public schools. The president of the CTU, John Fewkes, favored the former, and the secretary of the CTU, Kermit Erby, sought the latter. Yet by the end of the decade Lyons notes that "for the first time in any major city in the United States, public school teachers were able to build a lasting united teachers' union that included a majority of the workforce." (80)

During the forties and early fifties the CTU leadership walked a tight line between opposing the Red Scare in the public schools and condemning communism. Lyons writes that the CTU "opposed extreme anticommunism but also were driven by fundamental moral and ideological disagreements with communism." (126) Indeed, the national union, the American Federation of Teachers, had expelled communist-influenced teacher locals in the 1930s. Many teachers in the Chicago system suffered because of the Red Scare. Lyons concludes that the CTU was "no bulwark against McCarthyism, but in the most trying of circumstances came out of the red scare with some credibility." (132)

The late fifties and sixties saw the CTU confronted with two main forces:

the deteriorating economic position of teachers and the rise of civil rights. Black teachers were shunned in the system and “white teachers increasingly complained about the growing civil rights movement.” (146) Consequently the CTU “played no part in its community’s civil rights struggles.” (151)

The CTU was more successful in obtaining collective bargaining. Following the breakthrough in collective bargaining in New York in 1960 the CTU was able to secure the support of Mayor Richard Daley. The mayor’s support was key as he was able to influence the Board of Education to change “its stance on collective bargaining.” (167)

The last part of the book is devoted to race and the union. As the civil rights movement metamorphosed into the Black Power movement in the 1960’s, the CTU was confronted with a new set of demands. Black Power translated into African Americans having a say in the decisions affecting their lives. It was fleshed out in education via the community control movement in New York – and Chicago – in which Black parents sought representation on elected school boards, and representation of African Americans in administration and most prominently in the curriculum.

Lyons addresses these issues facing the CTU with a chapter entitled “Teacher Power and Black Power reform the system.” (171) Fearing “a divided union at best and a breakaway union at worst” as Black teachers supported community control, the CTU leadership “changed its orientation.” (203) The result was that by the mid-1970s “more black principals and administrators work in the schools (and students study courses in African American history and literature.” (205)

Lyons concludes his study by observing that :

The story of the CTU highlights the enormous opposition schoolteachers faced in their attempt to improve the pay, status, and working conditions of teachers and the quality of the public school system....

... (Nevertheless) even though the Chicago public school teachers confronted many obstacles, they helped change the city’s education system.(211)

*Teachers and Reform* is a solid piece of research about the dynamics of teacher unionism and its impact on education in the United States.

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**Edward Slavishak, *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh*** (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2008)

INDUSTRIAL PITTSBURGH, according to Edward Slavishak in *Bodies of Work*, was a city with an identity crisis. City boosters had used the images of skilled workers – those men who used their brains and brawn to puddle iron, blow glass, and mine coal – to represent the essence of a frontier town that had grown into a manufacturing centre they fondly named the Iron City. Technology, mechanization, and new waves of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe threatened to make such images quaint scenes of a bygone era. With machines replacing workers and immigrants of debated civic and racial quality filling unskilled jobs, which images and faces would represent Pittsburgh in the decades straddling the twentieth century? In this civic biography, Slavishak suggests that journalists, artists, city boosters, and social reformers used workers’ bodies to represent the promises and perils inherent in Pittsburgh’s transition from the Iron City to the Steel City. He reveals how representations of work and the bodies that per-

formed it became contested terrain for charting the city's identity.

After an opening chapter that discusses the technological changes in Pittsburgh's core industries – steel, glass, and coal – Slavishak focuses the remainder of his study on specific groups that attempted to use representations of workers' bodies to define the city. In a chapter on the epic battle of Homestead in 1892, he suggests that professional observers such as reporters, novelists, and social critics presented a conflicted portrayal of Homestead's workers. Accounts of the battle defined two sets of workers: one set that could control its physical power, and another set that succumbed to their emotions and embraced the carnal ferocity of the mob. Slavishak asserts that the dueling depictions revealed underlying tensions of the broader economic and social changes occurring in Pittsburgh between skilled, union workers, and the newer immigrant groups toiling in the mill. He concludes that interpretations of workers as dark masses who descended into savagery in the confrontation with the Pinkertons tarnished Pittsburgh's image. In the following chapter Slavishak focuses on city boosters' attempts to use spectacles of work and scripted civic displays to alleviate anxieties and present the positive, even awe-inspiring, aspects of human labour in the Steel City. He examines civic celebrations, public art, and Pittsburgh's sesquicentennial parade to suggest that boosters created idealized depictions of workers' bodies that were oftentimes completely removed from mine, mill, and machine. Much of the art depicted bare-chested or scantily-clad workers with rippling muscles, and drew connections between hard work and advanced civilizations. Boosters, Slavishak concludes, hoped to replace the perceived horrors of Homestead with noble images of dignified labour.

While boosters relied on parades and art to hide the mechanization and dangers of industrial workplaces, social reformers used workers' bodies to portray the threats of industrial capitalism. Slavishak devotes two chapters to analyzing the reform studies conducted as part of the monumental Pittsburgh Survey. He suggests that Survey authors such as Crystal Eastman, John Fitch, and Elizabeth Beardsley Butler and other social critics challenged boosters' celebratory images of work by revealing the vulnerable working body. Reformers made working bodies the object of study to suggest that employers discounted the human costs of production. They depicted a Steel City that produced scrap heaps of broken bodies as easily as it did steel, glass, and coal. Slavishak concludes that the social reformers used narratives of tragedy and representations of broken and vulnerable workers in Pittsburgh to warn of the explicit dangers that the city's industries posed to the broader social body.

Slavishak concludes his book with a chapter that explores industrial safety and medical programs, workmen's compensation legislation, and the growth of the artificial limbs industry. Each of these validated reformers' ideas of a vulnerable body, but safety engineers and manufacturers of artificial limbs focused on triumph over adversity. They trumpeted the ability of modern science and technology to reconstruct the body that had been ravaged by work. While social reformers worried that the logic of industrial capitalism would simply use and discard workers like raw materials, medical, governmental, and commercial figures promised that an able, working body would endure.

One of the key strengths of *Bodies of Work* is Slavishak's ability to deconstruct and interpret the various ways journalists, city boosters, and social reformers por-

trayed the working body. He shows how mechanization and immigration challenged ideas about the nature of work and caused people to reflect on the nature of the industrial city itself. Whereas Homestead revealed divisions and frightening spectacles of violence, boosters sought to reassure the public regarding the benefits of industrial development by depicting male skilled workers' bodies unaffected by class conflict or the dangers of mechanized workplaces. As social reformers warned of the social implications of mangled bodies and disrupted families, safety and medical experts promised to mediate work's harshest attributes. Slavishak shows that while each of these images vied for supremacy in the public mind, none achieved it. Taken together, each representation of workers' bodies added to the cultural understanding of Pittsburgh, and Slavishak helps us see the complexity of defining and understanding a city undergoing extensive social and economic changes. In this regard, *Bodies of Work* constitutes a key contribution to the fields of urban history and cultural studies.

Labour historians, however, might find Slavishak's marginalization of workers themselves a bit puzzling. Workers' attitudes, beliefs, and attempts to understand the physical effects of industrial labour and their place in the social system appear only fleetingly. The lack of sources provides one plausible explanation for their absence. Slavishak suggests, correctly, that it is nearly impossible to reconstruct workers' responses to public art or how they felt when they perused the catalogues of artificial limbs. But, does this mean that Pittsburgh's workers did not leave clues about how they felt about the physicality of industrial labour or how they interpreted their own bodies as part of the broader social and economic systems in which they lived and laboured? Pittsburgh's workers, like those

in other industrial settings, agitated for improved working conditions, wrote poetry, contributed to the labour press, testified before Congress, and in other ways tried to speak for themselves and define their own realities. By omitting sustained discussion of workers' ideas, Slavishak implies that they lacked agency to influence the meanings of the labouring body. Does Slavishak believe that workers were so disempowered by the division of labour, mechanization, and immigration as to be powerless to shape the debate about what their own bodies meant to Pittsburgh? A clear answer to this question is difficult to discern, but the organization of the book provides suggestions. By privileging professional observers, boosters, middle-class social reformers, medical professionals, and commercial figures, and excluding workers, Slavishak implies that the people who performed the work could not command the cultural capital necessary to create cultural bodies of work.

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**Bruce E. Kaufman, *Managing the Human Factor: The Early Years of Human Resource Management in American Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008)**

THE FOCUS OF THIS book is the origin and development of human resource management (HRM) in the United States. It should be read in the context of current changes in labour management practices that some would argue are taking us back to a nineteenth-century approach to managing labour based on fear, the discipline of the market, and the suppression of labour voice and unions.

It tells the story of changing labour management practices between the 1870s and 1933. The last decades of the

nineteenth century saw the emergence of large industrial establishments employing thousands of workers and requiring new approaches to management. Early on, one sees the emergence of line and staff organizations, and specialized departments dealing with finance, accounting, and sales. Yet, as Kaufman argues, the management of labour had barely changed by the end of the century. This was still done mainly by owners, department heads, and managers without the benefit of written policies, planning, or training. In the author's words, it was often "harsh, arbitrary and counterproductive." Kaufman asks how firms managed their workforce using such an informal, crude, and primitive system, and why some firms moved to a new, more specialized, and more professional HRM system while others persisted with the older methods.

Kaufman treads ground already covered by others including Daniel Nelson and Sanford Jacoby. Yet, there is much to appreciate in this volume. It is extremely well researched and provides an in-depth account of how employers developed strategies to manage their workers as the size of production units grew. It includes a comprehensive review of the literature and an extended discussion of several innovative examples of HRM. It offers useful reinterpretations of how HRM developed and why it was ultimately unable to achieve the goals of higher profits, more productivity, and union-free workplaces.

Prior to the emergence of modern HRM, many of the tasks associated with managing labour were contracted out to the invisible hand of the market, including setting wage rates, supplying labour, and disciplining labour through the threat of job loss. Whatever strategic labour policies existed were designed by top executives and implemented by operations and supervisory personnel at the point of production. By the 1920s, a few

companies had moved to a fundamentally different system. The management of labour was centralized in a department charged with formulating labour strategy, recruiting workers, and developing systems to increase productivity. These departments were staffed by professionals trained in the techniques of managing labour. The "invisible hand" of the external labour market was supplanted by an internal labour market and the "visible hand" of HRM managers.

Kaufman traces the birth of HRM to the emergence of the "labour problem" in the 1870s, and in particular the Great Railway Strike of 1877. The book examines the ideas and the events that shaped thinking about how to manage labour, including industrial welfare work, scientific management, and industrial democracy movements. Kaufman defines two periods in HRM management practices. The first, lasting until World War I, is described as a "commodity" approach to HRM. It recognized that labour was unlike other inputs and needed to be motivated to maximize the conversion of time into effort. The "commodity approach" assumed this could be done by paying higher wages, supplemented by the "drive" system using foremen and gang bosses to "crack the whip." Kaufman contends that after World War I a new approach to managing labour emerged, spurred by criticisms that the "commodity" model was inefficient and led to inequities, and as a response to tight wartime labour markets that had reduced the effectiveness of "drive" methods. The new approach is described as the "human resource" or "goodwill" HRM model, whose objective was to increase efficiency by "winning" employees' cooperation.

Not far below the surface of much thinking on these changes was the role of unions. Few employers saw unions as anything other than something to be avoided at all costs. The "commodity"

approach to HRM was associated with a "suppression" strategy for keeping unions out of workplaces that included hiring company police and company spies, victimizing union sympathizers, instituting yellow-dog contracts, and holding out against long strikes. With the advent of the "goodwill" approach, HRM managers turned to "substitution" strategies, still with the goal of keeping unions out. This involved stabilizing employment, creating internal job ladders, implementing a "humanistic" model of work motivation, and professionalizing the labour management function. What emerged were the "standard employment relationship," the "family wage," and the male breadwinner model. Kaufman interprets this as less of a revolution and more of an ongoing transformation from a model of HRM based on custom and experience, and a negligible regard for human life, to one rooted in "science and humanism."

Kaufman argues convincingly that the Great Depression caused the majority of employers to abandon even limited moves towards HRM and to revert to the informal, decentralized, commodity-driven approach to managing labour. Labour learned that the promises of security and humane treatment from employers adopting "goodwill" HRM strategies were hollow in the face of economic collapse and the absence of an independent voice for labour. He argues, following Nelson, that this set the stage for mass unionism and government employment regulations, the approach to managing labour that HRM had sought to avoid.

One issue that continues to plague histories of this period and the subject of managing labour is that in reality very little changed between 1870 and 1930 in most companies. While estimates vary, most agree that less than one in four workers worked in establishments that even partially adopted a "goodwill" HRM approach. Hence the larger question is:

should we really be focusing on a small minority of companies that were clear outliers? Were the actions of this small group of companies at all central to either the events of the period, or the emergence of trade unions in the 1930s?

The companies that adopted "goodwill" HRM did so either because the financial benefits exceeded the financial costs or because it satisfied some ethical and social goals held by company executives, or other powerful stakeholders. Kaufman casts doubt on how widespread or important the first motive was, noting that if it really added to the bottom line one would have expected to see "goodwill" HRM practices more widely dispersed. This makes the second motive more critical in appreciating why these HRM systems were adopted. Distilled to its bare essentials, HRM was a fashionable management trend led by a small group of managers with a social conscience. This raises an interesting question regarding current trends in managing labour. Numerous commentators argue that the labour management systems developed in the 1950s and 1960s associated with the "standard employment relationship" are being replaced by new models that rely on sub-contracting work and short-term employment relationships. The new fashion is to re-commodify labour and to manage it using systems that, at best, look more like the "commodity" HRM approach of the pre-WWI era or, at worst, like the crude and arbitrary models relying on the "invisible" hand of external labour markets and union suppression rather than union substitution. Kaufman's study of an earlier period leads one to ask if current labour management trends are as rooted in "fashion" as was the case with HRM in the 1920s.

WAYNE LEWCHUK  
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**Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the 1960s*** (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2009)

IN THE SPRING OF 1968 Columbia University began construction on a university gymnasium in Morningside Park, which was both the primary recreational space for many Harlem residents and the unofficial border between the predominantly black neighbourhood and its overwhelmingly white university neighbour. The athletics facility, nicknamed "Gym Crow" by Harlemites, became a rallying point for three groups: white student radicals, many of whom were affiliated with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); the Student Afro-American Society (SAS), a group of black Columbia students influenced by the emerging Black Power movement; and black residents of Harlem. All three groups began organizing protests, and on April 23 members of the SAS and SDS began occupying university buildings. Over the years, the turmoil, known as the Columbia Crisis, has come to occupy a central place in both the historiography of the 1960s and the imagination of student activists worldwide. *Harlem vs. Columbia University* re-examines this iconic event with an eye towards the ways in which members of SAS attempted to come to terms with their place as African Americans, students, and radicals at the close of a tumultuous decade.

Bradley's reappraisal of the occupations centres on ideological and tactical conflicts between SDS and the SAS in the spring of 1968. The differing goals, experiences, and ideological commitments of the groups are crucial in understanding the protests: SDS's belief in participatory democracy left white radicals paralyzed in debates that ran from nightfall to sunrise and their goal of radicalizing liberal and conservative classmates

allowed reactionary counter-protesters to come and go freely within the SDS-occupied buildings. The SAS, influenced by the Black Panther Party, took a more militant stance, locking down the building it held, barricading the doors and establishing a clear chain of command. The SAS membership exercised militant discipline both to sustain the occupation and to control public perception of the protest. Rather than spending time debating the abstract goals of the occupation, the SAS mobilized members of the Harlem community who supplied the occupiers with food and held rallies in support of the black students. The author shows convincingly that SAS protesters were far better than their white counterparts at both exploiting public sympathy and reacting decisively to attempts by the Columbia administration, NYPD, and conservative students to undermine their protest. Despite his clear sympathy for the tactics of the SAS, Bradley is careful to suggest that no single group forced the University's hand. Instead he attributes the success of the occupations to a loose and short-lived coalition between the SAS, SDS, and community activists: "the black protesters needed the white student protests of SDS just as the white radicals needed black militants to advance their goals." (15)

While Bradley provides a new interpretation of the occupations, what sets *Harlem vs. Columbia University* apart from earlier accounts of the crisis is the author's detailed discussion of the months and years leading up to and following April 1968. In the first chapter of the book, aptly titled "Why I Hate You," he lays out a myriad of community grievances against Columbia involving racist admissions policies, earlier battles over the use of Morningside Park, and Columbia's role as a notorious slum landlord and urban landholder in Harlem and Morningside Heights. This discus-



sion of the early and ongoing history of conflict places the events of 1968 in an important material and political context which helps demonstrate not only why community members connected the construction of the Morningside Park Gym to wider forms of institutional racism and class-based exploitation, but also why Harlemites were able to organize as effectively as they did. Bradley deftly shows how years of conflict between the university and the community had created a network of Black community activists who were well prepared to join with student radicals to take on the University. As the author points out, by the time the occupations began, members of the community had already staged at least four protests against the planned athletics facility.

Most other accounts of the Columbia Crisis have ended either with the students being brutally removed from the university buildings by the NYPD on April 30, 1968 or with the resulting student and faculty strike which culminated with the resignation of Columbia's president in August. Bradley, however, provides an illuminating chapter on the failed attempt by black students to turn the momentum of 1968 into a sustained movement at Columbia. During the 1968–69 academic year the SAS turned their attention towards the creation of an African American Studies (AAS) program to be controlled solely by black students, faculty, and community members. However, by the fall of 1968, the tenuous coalition that characterized the occupations of the preceding spring gave way to ideological differences as even supporters of the proposed AAS program clashed over its organizational structure. The major cause of the fracturing of the anti-gym alliance was the SAS demand that white students, staff, and faculty members be excluded from the governance of the proposed program. In contrast,

white faculty who were fighting for control of their workplace and radical white students advocating student syndicalism believed that all students, faculty, and staff should have control over all facets of the university.

Bradley's discussion of the struggle for control of the new academic program among the previously united activists is the weakest point of his book as the subtlety that marks the earlier chapters disappears. He characterizes all those who opposed exclusively Black control of the AAS program as doing so because they accepted white control of universities as normal and preferred. (119) It is an unfortunate oversimplification but one that should not overshadow the author's excellent analysis of the importance of cross-class and cross-racial solidarity during the occupation itself.

In one of the final chapters of the book, Bradley attempts to connect the Columbia Crisis to mobilizations by Black activists at other Ivy League schools during the 1960s. While connecting Columbia to larger patterns of student protest and opposition in the late '60s is a worthwhile goal, the chapter is too short and vague and the reader is left wondering why he chose relatively minor and unsuccessful events at the University of Pennsylvania and Yale while failing to make even passing mention of the incredibly successful 1969 San Francisco State College Third World Strike or the other major urban student mobilization that occurred in the spring of 1968: the Paris uprising.

Bradley's analysis of opposition to SAS proposals and his comparisons with other campus events may well be flawed, but his attention to the details of the relationship among SAS, SDS, and residents of Harlem during the occupation, and his descriptions of African-American activism at Columbia and in Harlem before and after the Columbia Crisis make *Harlem vs. Columbia University* a valuable

and long overdue addition to the historiography of 1960s student protest.

CHRISTOPHER L. PARSONS  
Trent University

**Rebecca Hill, *Men, Mobs, and Law: Anti-Lynching and Labor Defense in U.S. Radical History* (Durham: Duke University Press 2008)**

THROUGH THE WORK of various scholars, working across numerous disciplines, the body has recently entered the academy as a distinct arena of analysis. For historians working on issues of gender, race, and labour, the 'bodily turn' has yielded fresh insights into the ways in which these social identities have become 'naturalized' in physical terms. In *Men, Mobs, and Law*, Rebecca Hill connects two seemingly unrelated forms of leftist protest campaigns: one focusing on the need to prosecute the lynch mob, and the other on the need to defend labour organizers from prosecution. The two campaigns had common practices of alliance building, appeals to public opinion in the media, and the development of a heroic identity for their movements. But anti-lynching and labour defence activists were ultimately united through their respective memorializations of the martyred body. The bruised and battered bodies of the victims of lynching or labour repression were living proof of the "murderous and monstrous power" of the American state. It is the body which shows that a crime has been committed. According to Hill, "terror always leaves a body behind" and it is the cultural autopsy of this body to which she devotes the bulk of her analysis. (16–17)

Ostensibly Hill's characterization of the radical martyr not as a victim but as a heroic agent of revolutionary self-sacrifice, acting both *of* and *for* the movement, confirms critical suspicion

that leftist campaigns to save individuals such as John Brown and Huey Newton were nothing more than personality cults, half way to totalitarianism. They might be seen as sinister manifestations of "fascism in embryo." However Hill counters such accusations by arguing that despite their apocalyptic rhetoric, these movements were intended to prevent the martyrdom of their comrades. Defence campaigns did not make plaster saints of the 'victimized' individuals in question. Instead they were portrayed as men – for it was always men – who loved living and whose humanity was both self-evident and irreplaceable. Moreover it was through these collective acts of resistance that the masses became the hero. This was a symbiosis of resistance evinced by the IWW in its many defence campaigns: "We are in here for you, you are out there for us." While capitalist individualism only served to isolate individuals from themselves and society, the forms of revolutionary socialism motivating anti-lynching and labour defence activists sought to reconcile self and society. At their most radical, these campaigns did not seek to simply protest the circumstances in question, but to question the very legitimacy of American justice.

While many scholars building on the work of Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault have focused on the inner logic of prisons, crime fiction, and prison reform movements, Hill sets herself apart in her attempts to examine "the discourses involved in the resistance to these structures." (3) For Hill this resistance was essentially a linguistic exercise facilitated by literary forms which parodied the popular tropes of the crime story and the heroic soldier story. *Men, Mobs and Law* is a sociocultural analysis based around five case studies detailed over six chapters. Chapter one examines abolitionists' canonization of John Brown

using the tropes of nineteenth century romanticism and Western fiction. The second chapter details the efforts of the Haymarket defence to create a new mass hero by mocking and inverting prevailing definitions of manly heroism. In chapter three Hill steps back to analyze how what David Roediger has deemed “racial republicanism” (7) divided anti-lynching campaigns from the IWW-led labour defence movement in the years leading up to World War One. Chapter four examines the collapse of the often tenuous liberal-radical coalition during the defence of the anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the 1920’s. The fifth chapter charts the history of the Communist Party’s International Labor Defense (ILD), positing its shift from inter-war radicalism to wartime bureaucratism via its efforts on behalf of the Scottsboro boys – nine black teenagers accused of raping a white woman in Alabama in the early 1930’s. The sixth and final chapter illustrates how the Black Panther Party tried to revive the “outlaw hero” in black popular culture and employ anti-police rhetoric, characterizing the forces of law and order as pigs, in order to draw support from white radicals for a revolution of the black “lumpen proletariat.” (3)

Hill breaks new ground in her efforts to link labour defence and anti-lynching campaigns as part of a broader radical critique of American justice which lays bare the foundational hierarchies of the American state. Based on this alone her book can be deemed a success. Hill’s talents as a historian, conceptually, theoretically, and simply in terms of doing the heavy lifting of archival work, are indisputable. Her grasp of the relevant secondary literature is both exhaustive and impressive. She is at her best in the second and third chapters when delineating the ways in which activists contested concepts of statute and natural law. Whereas labour defence activists often appealed to the dictates of

natural law, rooted in a white herrenvolk republicanism, in order to delegitimize state-sanctioned violence against the working class, this same form of racial vigilantism was used to justify lynching in the south. Anti-lynching activists found themselves in the untenable position of ostensibly subverting the claim of “the people” to power that was enshrined in the revolutionary American tradition when they appealed to statute law for protection from the mass mob. Finally, in her analysis of the lumpen black hero of Black Panther rhetoric, Hill continues the work of scholars such as David Roediger, Robin Kelley, and Theodore Koditschek in attempting to inject race into the reductionist framework of Marxist economic determinism. This is a necessary and effective corrective to the excesses of post-modernist critiques which tend to reduce race to nothing more than an immaterial ‘performative’ identity.

However at times Hill’s attempts to set the quotidian politics of resistance of such ‘lumpen heroes’ as George Jackson and the Scottsboro boys in the context of a revolutionary movement is less then convincing. By arguing for the multifaceted, inclusive, and “imperfect nature” of radical agency, (322) Hill runs the risk of eviscerating it of all meaning. In short, if agency is everything, then it is nothing. Moreover, the very imperative to create inclusive models of radical agency – to invest each and every action of the ‘accused’ with revolutionary meaning – somewhat belies her earlier contention that most activists were not willing “to sacrifice the individual on the altar of the ideal.” (20) What are we to make of the complex figure of George Jackson, a convicted felon and the author of *Soledad Brother*, whose trenchant critiques of the American prison system as a metaphor for American capitalism influenced the young Michel Foucault’s theories on the reform of the soul for the maintenance of

social power, but who also revelled in the valorization of individual heroism which often hindered the practice of mass defence organizing? (296–297) This tension between the individual and the ideal is a recurring one throughout these various defence campaigns and one which Hill could have devoted a bit more time to critically delineating. Nevertheless despite these minor critiques, *Men, Mobs and the Law* offers a thoroughly original, insightful, and penetrating look into the ways in which bodies have functioned as sites of both resistance and oppression in American capitalism.

PAUL LAWRIE

University of Toronto

**Robin Archer, *Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States?*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2007)

THE PUBLISHER OF this book served its author very well. This is a handsomely packaged book that will quickly induce many potential buyers to pick it up and peruse its pages. Regrettably, the content is not quite equal to the packaging. This is not a volume to be judged by its cover.

Robin Archer tackles a perennially relevant topic in *Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States?* As he correctly observes, commentators back to Werner Sombart have pondered this important issue. (23) The United States, unique among developed industrial western democracies, has never been home to a left electoral political movement with much longevity. Archer uses a comparative approach to conduct his analysis, specifically a comparison between the development of labour parties in the United States and Australia.

Archer focuses his attention on the late nineteenth century. This was a period of labour unrest in both the United States and Australia. The latter country's labour

movement demonstrated an active interest in creating a labour party, while unions in the United States were less determined to do so. Why? According to Archer, American workers have been generally thought to have felt insufficiently aggrieved to create such a political movement. He primarily examines the American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions of this period, as well as Sam Gompers, and concludes that Australian unions were more willing to include both unskilled and skilled workers.

Hostility towards labour movements in the United States and Australia by both the state and capital are noted, and Archer feels that state suppression was a problem in both countries, though he does not feel that unions in either country faced much suppression prior to the 1870s. (113) Archer then proceeds to incorporate discussions of judicial hostility, concluding that the court suppression thesis – which focuses on the late 1890s – is incorrect. Rather, there is a need for closer analysis of court cases and political objectives to determine the role of the judiciary in this period. This discussion of judicial action then leads to an examination of the role of liberalism in both countries.

Archer's analysis, to this point in the volume, is consequently fairly straightforward. His last chapter, on the role of religion, is the most interesting part of his overall analysis. The importance of church hostility toward unions in both the United States and Australia is noted, as well as how religion influenced political party affiliation. More analyses of workers' political movements would surely benefit from considering how religion in its many forms has shaped working-class attitudes toward organized labour.

The usefulness of his discussion on the role of religion aside, there are some serious challenges with Archer's analytical framework. Indeed, this is a book that

will perplex many academics in North America who study labour and working-class history, regardless of the period on which they focus. The problems are evident in the first few pages. Archer, who teaches at the London School of Economics (certainly a pre-eminent learning institution), quickly affirms that comparisons between Australia and the United States are much more appropriate than comparisons between the latter country and Canada. This is because, in his view, a viable labour party did not appear in Canada until 1932 – a “belated development.” (11) Canadian unions were not independent from their American inter-nationals, and Canadian unionists were heavily influenced by “the decisions of their American counterparts.” (11) There is no discussion of why two countries could share employers, unions, geography, and many social institutions, and yet part ways on the creation of a viable third party. Thus, the reasons why writers such as Anil Verma and Seymour Martin Lipset chose to compare and contrast labour movements in Canada and the United States are effectively dismissed in fairly short order.

While there are clear difficulties with Archer’s comparative framework, there are some challenges in how he approaches labour politics in the United States. Most significantly, does an analysis that focuses on a fairly short but important era in American history conclusively explain why there is no labour party in the United States? Some historians of nineteenth-century American history may believe so, but there is much more ground to be covered. Archer indeed suggests that state repression, religion, and reaction to certain strands of socialism combined to dilute interest among American workers and unions in forming a labour party. Regardless, although mentioning Eugene V. Debs, Archer does not fully examine the role of Socialist parties in the United

States. He also never mentions the Industrial Workers of the World.

Determining why there has been no lasting labour party in the United States also requires considering why the American working class has voted for Democrats and Republicans. Archer mentions both of those parties, but they both evolved from the post-bellum period into the early decades of the twentieth century. This is another problem with his periodization, as taking his analysis into the twentieth century would have added much to Archer’s narrative. Reviewing work by authors like Taylor Dark and William Form may have also added to this book.

In terms of what this book could have included, Archer’s regional analysis of the United States is particularly selective. Since both the United States and Australia are divided into states, he consequently chose to make some state-by-state comparisons. In his view, focusing on Illinois was an appropriate choice. To people who study the American labour movement, there may have been more apt choices such as more emphasis on New York. In many ways, there has not always been a national labour movement or accompanying political program in the United States. Instead, there are regional movements of varying strength that have tried to rally around national policy objectives.

There is value in Archer’s research irrespective of the way in which he framed his analysis. *Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States?* says a lot about how late nineteenth-century labour movements in the United States and Australia approached electoral politics. This book should have thus been presented as a comparison of why labour parties appeared in one country, based on what was occurring in the late 1800s, but not in another. Reconstituting it as such an analysis would have led to an over-

all thesis that was better matched to the research contained therein. Lastly, returning to the attractiveness of this book's cover, the painting on it depicts locomotives from the New York Central System in the early to mid-twentieth century. Perhaps, in future work, Archer will follow those trains into other parts of the United States in later periods and reconsider what he has stated in this book. He may even want to take a train into Canada.

JASON RUSSELL  
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**Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood: Haiti, Aristide, and the Politics of Containment* (London: Verso 2007)**

THIS BOOK SHINES a revealing light on one of the most shameful episodes of Canadian foreign policy in recent memory. But author Peter Hallward, a UK-based professor of philosophy, moves well beyond merely a detailed history, and provides readers with a very distinctive anti-imperialist analysis of the central event he explores – the 29 February 2004 coup d'état in Haiti. This coup, still barely acknowledged as such within mainstream accounts, abruptly ended the presidency and the entire government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. No significant academic treatment of this crucial episode has yet been published in Canada, despite the central role played by the Canadian government, military, and a wide range of Canadian non-government organizations (NGOs).

But the value of *Damming the Flood* lies precisely in its political content and sharply drawn conclusions. It is self-avowedly a reaction, and a counter, to the more or less hegemonic interpretation of recent Haitian politics found within both mainstream and “progressive” commentary. In brief, this interpretation

holds that Aristide, a “populist priest from the slums,” had succumbed—after a promising early political career at the head of a mass social movement—to the usual temptations of power, that is, corruption, opportunism, and even ruthless and bloody repression of his opponents. As such, his overthrow at the end of a muddled sequence of events in February 2004 provoked what Hallward describes as “widespread indifference, if not approval.” (xxiv)

Hallward argues bluntly that this standard interpretation of a “corrupted” Aristide turned “dictator” is not justified by any fair reading of the available facts. Over the course of the book's eleven chapters, he marshals an impressive range of evidence and views in support of his case.

The book opens with a sweeping summary of Haiti's painful modern history. While that history has been reviewed in much greater detail in works such as C.L.R. James's groundbreaking *The Black Jacobins*, Hallward's account infuses the story with useful references to Haiti's late twentieth century traumas, and the eventual emergence of both Aristide and the “Lavalas” (flood) movement. The original Haitian revolution, he points out, having “dealt the myth of white supremacy a mortal and thus unforgivable blow,” was historically unmatched as a threat “to the dominant global order.” (11 ) Through its anti-slavery revolution, Haiti had exposed European “civilization,” and the democratic pretensions of (slave trading) America and France, as fraudulent.

Of course, such exposure could not and would not go unpunished. Hallward recounts the many ways that both the French and US governments, representing those ruling classes which suffered the greatest losses to this Haitian insurrection, meted out a series of cruelties, ranging from a suffocating debt load (to France), to direct military occupation (by

the US, 1915–1934), to direct political and military backing for the Duvalier family dictatorship (both countries, 1957–1986). Hallward’s presentation here reinforces the sobering conclusions of other observers that the relevant international players have repeatedly demonstrated a determination to deny Haiti any semblance of meaningful sovereignty—and extract a profit from it wherever possible.

It is against this historical backdrop that Hallward then examines the emergence of a mass-based opposition movement in the 1980s that would mobilize against and eventually overthrow “Baby Doc” Duvalier in 1986. What eventually came to be known as the “Lavalas” movement emerged as a serious political force when its candidate for president, the liberation theologian and priest Jean Bertrand Aristide, won a landslide election victory in late 1990, taking 67 per cent of the vote over the 14 per cent won by the US-backed candidate.

Hallward underlines the point that, once in office, Aristide demonstrated an independence of thought and action that simply “terrified a large portion of the ruling class.” (34 ) Most threatening, he was the first Haitian politician to open up the country’s extremely polarized racial and class structure for discussion. But it was not only Haiti’s domestically based ruling élite that was disturbed. Hallward cites a US official who lamented that Aristide represented “everything that the CIA, DOD, and FBI think they have been trying to protect this country against for 50 years.” (37) Only nine months after his first inauguration, Aristide was overthrown by a military coup of particular violence, and driven into exile for three years. He was only restored to office after US-backed paramilitaries had liquidated thousands of Lavalas leaders and supporters.

Hallward traces in detail the evolution of Haitian politics of the 1990s, which saw

not only a peaceful, democratic transfer of power (Haiti’s first) from the restored Aristide to his Prime Minister, René Préval, but also Aristide’s own re-election as president in November 2000. Most valuably, Hallward examines the various machineries used by US government agencies, occasionally in cooperation with French and Canadian counterparts, to intervene in and shape Haitian affairs. For example, when Aristide waffled on supposed commitments he had made to privatize Haiti’s remaining state enterprises, these machineries were used to aggressively demonize Aristide and the entire Lavalas movement. In one sense, it worked. By the time of Aristide’s overwhelming re-election to the presidency in November 2000, Aristide himself and Lavalas – now constituted more formally as the Fanmi Lavalas (FL) political party – had been abandoned by almost all of Haiti’s traditional “political class.”

However, Hallward argues persuasively that this “political class” in fact represented only a small percentage of the population, while the huge majority of the poor population remained staunchly loyal. A significant body of evidence is presented, including Gallup polls conducted in 2000 and 2002, which confirms that FL as a party and Aristide himself retained a massive popularity right up to the time of the coup. Indeed, Hallward’s primary thesis is that the two anti-Aristide *coups d’état* (1991 and 2004) both reflect just how much Lavalas, as a sustained and unbeatable electoral force, represented a threat to Haiti’s established order.

The final chapters of the book review the tragic yet predictable consequences of the coup: military occupation (sanctioned by the UN Security Council), the imposition of two years of “interim” (unelected) government, and the mass killings and jailings of Lavalas leaders and activists as well as many others

“guilty” of being poor. Most valuably, Hallward highlights the hypocrisy of the many human rights groups and NGOs that had helped to bring the coup about, yet fell entirely silent when it unleashed yet another round of horrifying human rights violations.

Trade unionists and rank-and-file workers will find particular interest here in the role ascribed to certain trade union organizations—both Haitian and international—in the anti-Aristide and anti-Lavalas propaganda campaigns. While it may not be surprising to find that the AFL-CIO’s international office—the “Solidarity Center”—played a leading role in organizing Haitian trade unionists into an anti-government force, it is much more disturbing to discover that the CLC and the FTQ went along with it. The fact that these groups—like many of their affiliated unions—are themselves closely linked to many of the government-funded NGOs that were most complicit in setting up Haiti’s latest regime change ought to have generated far more debate than has so far been seen.

Hopefully, the publication of this exhaustively researched study will itself stimulate such overdue debate, particularly within the labour movements of Canada and Québec. Indeed, while the mechanics of this 2004 coup reflect much that is specific to Haiti and its special history, they also bear many striking resemblances to recent events in Venezuela, Afghanistan, Iraq, and most recently (in the summer of 2009), Honduras. In that sense, in publishing this book Peter Hallward emerges as one among a new generation of writers, including William Robinson, Sonali Kolhatkar, Sherene Razack, and Jean Bricmont, that is actively exposing the racism and hypocrisy of “humanitarian imperialism” and the corruption of the neo-liberalized development industry. As a representa-

tive of this important literature, *Damming the Flood* deserves wide circulation.

KEVIN SKERRETT

Canadian Union of Public Employees

**The Foundling Museum, *Handel the Philanthropist*** (London: Foundling Museum 2009)

THE EIGHTEENTH century Enlightenment reverberated throughout the arts as it did throughout the sciences, as demonstrated by the recent Handel exhibition at the Foundling Museum in London, England. Most successful composers of the eighteenth century, including Handel, secured their living and reputation with secular music played in a broad range of settings to a full spectrum of social classes. Depending upon the musician’s predilections and circumstances, they might only depend on church patronage when church-inclined laws shut down the more popular settings of the day. George Friderick Handel (1685–1759), “The Old Pagan” as he was sometimes called, was best known for his operas, oratorios, cantatas and grand concerts rather than for the small collection of church music he composed. Indeed, during his work in Italy (1706–1710) Handel experienced the musical censorship of Pope Clement XI who, like his predecessor, considered opera a profane musical form and banned it.

Handel became known as an exquisite melodist, instrumentalist, and lyricist in all chambers, from the palace rooms of the aristocracy, the larger rooms of the upper classes, the smaller rooms of the emerging middle classes, to the grand new concert halls and theatres of the popular masses. Following a long period of intense work, Handel experienced considerable success from 1739 and established himself in some prosperity. This



relative prosperity freed his hand to raise money for two of his favourite charities.

The year 2009 commemorated the 250th anniversary of Handel's lifetime of musical achievement. To celebrate the occasion, the Foundling Museum (est. 1739) organized an exhibition dedicated to the composer consisting of 61 paintings, drawings, autograph scores, manuscripts, letters, newspaper articles, wills and codicils assembled from a variety of collections. The exhibition enhances the Foundling Museum's permanent social history displays as well as the rooms dedicated to Handel and William Hogarth, two patrons of the Foundling Hospital.

At the end of his life Handel wrote a codicil to his will leaving the rights to his oratorio "Messiah" to the Foundling Hospital and £1,000 to the Society of Decay'd Musicians (now known as the Royal Society of Musicians). The early eighteenth century witnessed a proliferation of friendly societies to assist the poor and working classes in England. The Decay'd Musicians Fund (est. 1839), one of Handel's two charities, began life in the Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket where a group of musicians, possibly including Handel, saw the orphaned children of a deceased musician known to them playing on the streets of London. The life of a musician could be precarious in the era before retirement pensions, unemployment and disability benefits, and an injured hand, arm, or leg as well as any of the infirmities of old age could render the musician and his family destitute. The Musicians at the Orange Coffee House therefore met together to found a subscription insurance fund to provide for musicians and their families in times of need. For this reason their organization was named the "Decay'd Musicians' Fund."

Handel attended the founding meeting of the Decay'd Musicians in the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand in 1739.

In 1737 he had suffered a debilitating stroke that left him partially paralyzed. This was later to be followed by another stroke in 1752 that left him partially blind. Handel's early experience with infirmity may have spurred his altruistic interest in the musician's friendly society although it did not cause him any personal financial difficulty. A membership in the society was both a subscription and an insurance policy for members and Handel was one of 228 musicians who signed the Declaration of Trust on 28 August 1739. Meetings were held on Sundays and small payments were dispersed immediately for the funeral expenses of deceased members and for the support of widows and children.

Handel's involvement with his charities went well beyond membership. His first benefit performance for the Society of Decay'd Musicians was held on 20 March 1739 at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. Handel selected to perform "Alexander's Feast," set to the lyrics of an ode by John Dryden. Quite appropriately, and not without a note of satire, Alexander of Aphrodisias of the 3rd century CE, on which the dramatic oratorio was based, was a peripatetic Aristotelean philosopher in Greece known to be free of the religious mysticism of Platonism. The concert was repeated successfully for years. In the 1740s and 1750s criticism of secular music was raised again by churchmen in London and one of Handel's tenors, John Beard, became a petitioner for permission to perform music during Passion Week as concerts had been banned during this week. Handel's great gift as an impresario was his knowledge that grand inspiring music would draw a large crowd, bring out the best in audiences, and therefore also raise a large sum of money for charity more successfully than any sermon from a churchman. Handel honed his benefit skills in this regard over the last two decades of

his life and left a legacy for music lovers and charity enduring centuries.

Handel's second charity was the Foundling Hospital, also established in 1739. He associated himself with the Hospital from 1749 until his death and became a governor of the Hospital in 1750, the year of his first benefit concert for the Hospital. Thomas Coram (1668–1751), a retired shipwright, founded the Hospital and opened its doors to the first orphans in 1741. The Hospital for "the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children" was intended to replace the church-run workhouses where orphans were placed and often died from disease. Coram's great hope was that the Foundling Hospital would provide the children with lots of fresh air and exercise on the 35 acres of land he purchased in Lamb's Conduit fields, and that they would survive disease through consultations with the many doctors who featured as governors on the Hospital board. In the nineteenth century the Hospital petitioned and received a government grant to assist its operations. Desperately poor mothers held the Hospital in high esteem for the care of their children and priority was given to the children of women who had been betrayed by false promises of marriage. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, no child was to face the stigma of illegitimacy in the Hospital, and the Hospital was envisioned to be a place where children would receive the best start in life.

In 1750 Handel staged a grand benefit concert for the Hospital led by his "Royal Fireworks Musick," formerly performed in the open air for George II, followed by "The Anthem on the Peace" to celebrate the 1748 Aix-la-Chapelle Treaty, and selections from the oratorio of "Solomon" relating to the dedication of the temple. These were then followed by Handel's specially written Hospital anthem entitled "Blessed are they that considereth

the poor," and concluded with the Hallelujah chorus from "Messiah" of 1742. Approximately 1,200 tickets were sold in Arthur's Chocolate House on St. James Street, at Batson's Coffee House near the Royal Exchange, and at the Hospital itself, raising approximately £728 for the Hospital. Handel continued his fundraising efforts for the Hospital despite the development of blindness between 1751 and 1754 resulting from his second stroke.

The creation and support of Handel's two charities may be seen as a grand Enlightenment act in an era of industrialization, war, movement to the cities, and great hardship for the poor and working class. Much of the visual imagery accompanying the charitable organizing was presented in the neo-classical style becoming associated with the revolutionary movement building in France. Richard Wilson's "Foundling Hospital" painted in 1746 is set in a circular frame of laurel wreaths to celebrate the heroic accomplishment of the Hospital. The portraits of Handel by Georg Andreas Wolfgang (the Younger), Richard Wilson, and other painters in the exhibition, portray Handel surrounded by his books, quills, and musical instruments in the same manner as scientists of the day were shown with their books, instruments, and apparatus. The 1775 colour engraving of the Foundling Hospital chapel from the Gerald Coke Collection is likely a precursor to the grand romantic revolutionary themes in France including Jacques Louis David's "Oath of the Tennis Court," (depicting the oath of the Third Estate) commissioned in 1790 by subscriptions from the Jacobin Society. The size and structure of David's room, the angles, the windows, the flow of light into the room, and even the placement of people in David's drawing strongly echo the earlier work of the Foundling Hospital by the anonymous engraver. These

art works were all part of a grand heroic tradition developing during the international enlightenment movement.

The Handel exhibition at the Foundling Museum brings together a fine collection of objects and sound recordings accompanied by descriptive panels. The careful observer notes that Handel changed the lyrics of the Foundling Hospital Anthem from “The *Righteous* shall be held in everlasting remembrances” to “The *Charitable* shall be held in everlasting remembrances.” The document bearing the “Declaration of the Society of Decay’d Musicians” has been carefully unrolled and supported on a wooden bolster and is probably a unique viewing of the document.

The Handel exhibition includes a fine portrait of tenor John Beard, and Gustav Waltz, bass singer; an original copy of the first substantial Handel biography by John Mainwaring (1760); and newspaper articles including the announcement from the Feather’s Tavern that the Handel festival of 1786 had raised £3,300.

An excellent, concise colour catalogue at the very modest price of £5 accompanies the Handel exhibition. The first essay in the Handel catalogue is written by Katharine Hogg, the exhibition’s curator, and discusses Handel’s connection to the two charities. The second essay is a longer one by Professor Donald Burrows entitled “Handel and the Foundling Hospital,” which has details of Handel’s benefit concerts and scores that originally appeared in *Music and Letters* in 1977.

The Foundling Museum houses an excellent permanent display of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection open to the public all year round. For scholars interested in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philanthropy and the Enlightenment, the Foundling Museum is well worth a visit as it contains a permanent collection of art, music, and social history items from 1739 to the early twentieth century. Con-

temporary art exhibitions in keeping with the spirit of the institution are added on a rotating basis throughout the year. The Museum also offers lunchtime concerts, evening recitals, and educational lectures. The Museum permanently displays the art of William Hogarth and his contemporaries and celebrates Hogarth’s role as a Hospital philanthropist and founder of London’s first public art gallery housed at the Hospital in the 1840s.

In the last decade and a half, London has seen a renaissance in the small museum sector. When Labour was elected in 1997, it kept its promise to make the national museums free to the public. The result has been a resurgence of interest in museums generally. Smaller social history museums such as the Foundling Museum opened in 2004 with very modest entry fees and others such as the Charles Darwin Museum advanced major renovations during the period. The Handel house at 25 Brook Street, London, Handel’s residence from 1723 until 1759, was renovated in the period and opened as the Handel House Trust Museum in 2001. This museum also hosts a full schedule of events for the public including exhibitions of oil paintings, sculpture, prints, letters, autograph leaves, and early editions of operas and oratorios related to Handel. The Foundling Museum’s café has become a popular meeting place for local residents and their children throughout the day, an occurrence that would have cheered its founders. London now hosts at least 300 museums large and small, and the Foundling Museum, as one of the newer ones, certainly ranks as a valuable addition for the social historian of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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**Val Colic-Peisker, *Migration, Class, and Transnational Identities: Croats in Australia and America*** (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

IN THIS WELL-WRITTEN book, Val Colic-Peisker offers, using concepts and theories from sociology and anthropology, a significant insight into a variety of important social processes, including the issue of migrant integration; the relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic values; "ethnic" versus "cosmopolitan" transnationalism, and the class issue in migration. In turn, the findings of this study contribute substantially to broader topics of sociological interest, such as sociology of migration, ethnicity, multiculturalism, global mobility, and labour markets.

The book is based upon original ethnographic data, collected among Croatian migrants in Western Australia, combining sociological and anthropological methods of data collection and analysis. Through a comparative analysis of two Croatian migrant cohorts, the book gives a comprehensive description of Croatian migration to Australia, and "illustrates how the process of incorporation evolves differently for people differently endowed by human and cultural capital even when they share an 'ethnic' origin." (10) While the working-class cohort tends to see their ethnic identity as central, the more recent middle-class migrants recognize their profession as the focal point of their identity. As a result, the transnationalism of the working class, rooted in localism/nationalism, is conceptualized as "ethnic transnationalism." By contrast, the transnationalism of the professionals is theorized as "cosmopolitan transnationalism," for it transcends the ethnic/national principle, often resulting in cultural hybridity, and global mobility.

Colic-Peisker's conceptual contribution and guiding principle in this study is the recognition of the importance and there-

fore the need for reevaluation of the place of class analysis in the migration process. She observes: "Over the past decades... the ethnicity perspective has dominated migration studies and class has been neglected as an analytical axis." (16)

The author's class analysis uses "Weber's idea of market-determined life chances;" the differentiation between "working class" and "middle class" is made "on the basis of the performance of manual versus high-skilled white-collar work." (18) Upon migrating to Australia, the two Croatian cohorts "found themselves in very different labor market situations and occupied different status positions." (18) Yet, according to the author's findings, the working-class Croats do not recognize their social status as a class situation, whereas the professional cohort is well aware of its class (and ethnic) position.

The study consists of seven carefully arranged chapters, each divided into subsections; in addition, the author provides comprehensive introductory and concluding chapters that frame and integrate the findings of the study. A rich bibliography, notes, and index add to the quality of the book.

The first chapter, "The Homeland," presents an overview of the political and cultural history of Croatia as a part of socialist Yugoslavia, which she uses to explain the vast differences in the status of the two cohorts in the Australian society. Whereas Croats who left in the 1960s mostly originate from the rural areas, and were therefore more exposed to traditional and patriarchal rather than to modern and socialist values, the more recent migrants of the 1980s and later, an urbanized and well-educated generation, were living in a more open society. Within the framework of the origins of these groups, the author skillfully explains how traditional, modern, and socialist values coexisted in Croatia.

Starting with the concept of human capital in the economic sociology of migration, "The Global Context" focuses on different aspects of international migration with emphasis on the recent economic and political changes in different parts of the world, and their influence on migratory movements. The major part refers, though, to the history of Croatia as a traditional emigration country, from the nineteenth century to the present day, mostly of low-skilled labour till the 1970s, and then a "brain-drain" of the educated in the 1980s and 1990s. The author discusses the "costs and benefits" of Croatian emigration, "nowadays ... one of the relatively largest "diasporas" in the world." (12) She follows with a brief history of Croatian immigration to Australia, from the postwar years to the 1960s, culminating in 1969–1970, and then revived again in 1988–89.

In the chapter entitled "The Hostland," Colic-Peisker examines the development of Australian immigration policies, which have in the last decades changed from the ideology of assimilation to multiculturalism/postmulticulturalism, and their implications for Australian society in general and ethnic minorities in particular. She refers to the notion of egalitarianism as a part of Australian culture and values, and discusses the evolution of the position of "white ethnics," a process which has been similar but not identical in Australia and the United States. She also discusses "ethnic ranking" from the class perspective.

"Farewell My Village by the Sea: Working-Class Croatians in Australian Suburbia" presents an account of the author's interviews with working-class migrants, including their personal narratives, the language problem, life in the suburbs of Perth, and the position of women. They also tell her about the ethnic community's activities relating to the homeland,

which were of particular importance during the war for Croatian independence in the 1990s.

"Ubi lucrum, ibi patria: Incorporation and Transnationalism of the Professional Cohort" looks into the migration motives of the Croatian professionals, and their social environments and lifestyles; it links the relationship of their "Croatianess" to the process of integration into Australian society, perceived as an integration into the global Western culture that, through developing transnational identities, connects them to the world at large.

"The Croatian Diaspora: Transnationalism, Class and Identity" introduces the concept of diaspora that (re)gained importance in the sociology of migration in the 1990s, linking it to the relatively new concept of transnationalism in migration studies through the idea of "diasporic transnationalism." In the Croatian context, it means "a collective nostalgia as well as political engagement in support of the homeland of Croatian emigrants," (158) especially during the 1990s. Contrasting the highly politicized Croatian "diasporic nationalism" in Australia with the "middle of the road" politics of the Croatian diaspora in the United States, in terms of their relative stances on communist Yugoslavia, Croatia's independence war, and events following, the author suggests that one of the most salient differences of the American Croatian situation is "the apparent lack of a strong relationship of American Croatian associations with the Croatian Catholic Church, the traditional guardian of Croatian ethnic identity, while this connection was intense in Australia and contributed to the nationalist atmosphere." (161) Colic-Peisker further traces the transformation of migrants' ethnic identity, from the local to the national, and positions "diasporic" against "cosmopolitan" transnationalism.

The last chapter, "From Communism to Capitalism: Altered Values and Shifting Identities," discusses "ethnic" values from a class perspective, based on the author's interview data, to form values profiles of the two Croatian cohorts. The findings show significant differences among the two groups, and thus confirm "that class determines people's values, identities, and experience of transnational migration as much as, if not more than, ethnicity." (180) Consequently, the two Croatian cohorts in Australia "did not form a single ethnic community in any sociologically meaningful sense," (172) because the differences in social class have proved to be more important than ethnic solidarities.

My only real objection is that the book's subtitle, *Croatians in Australia and America*, is somewhat misleading. The Croatian community in America plays a minor role in this study. The only references to Croatians in America are on pages 61 and 62, plus the four-page section within "The Hostland" entitled "White Ethnics" in Australia and America," and finally materials on pages 161 and 162.

In conclusion, *Migration, Class, and Transnational Identities: Croatians in Australia and America* is an outstanding study. Richly detailed, and theoretically refined, this fine scholarly work by far surpasses the scope of a 'case study.' Written with (com)passion and commitment, and profound understanding of many complex and interrelated migration processes and issues, into which the author has "weaved rich and colorful ethnographic threads," this comprehensive volume will be of considerable interest to students of migration, history, social anthropology, and cultural studies.

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**Mobo Gao, *The Battle for China's Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution***  
(London: Pluto Press 2008)

THIS BOOK IS AN investigation into the growing disparity between "official" and "popular" accounts of Mao-period China. In December 2006, Deng Pufang, the son of Deng Xiaoping, summarized the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) to journalists as a disaster "for the whole of the Chinese state and the Chinese people." (3) Deng's description provoked such debate among Chinese that within weeks there appeared hundreds of thousands of comments in chat rooms and blogs, most taking issue with Deng's remark. From this passionate response, it would seem that many Chinese hold a view of the Cultural Revolution that is surprisingly positive. The furor over Deng's remark is just one of many provocative accounts in *The Battle for China's Past*, a sprawling, exciting study strikingly at odds with orthodox narratives of Maoist China.

Mobo Gao is professor of Chinese Studies at the University of Adelaide. His previous work, *Gao Village: A Portrait of Rural Life in Modern China*, chronicled the past 60 years of a community in Jiangxi Province. Much like that book, which employed the framework of a case study to give voice to rural China, Gao's recent work analyzes the Chinese e-media in hopes of discerning the possible voice of the Chinese majority. In addition to consulting the e-media and the author's own fieldwork, Gao examines memoirs, autobiographies, and biographies published in Chinese and English. The disjuncture between "official" published accounts and the "unofficial" narratives gleaned through the e-media and fieldwork shapes Gao's thesis, which is that one's understanding of the Mao period stems from one's values and beliefs in the present. (12)

Chapter 1 suggests that the Cultural Revolution may not have been a “ten-year calamity” for China and questions the right of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and elite to speak on behalf of all Chinese. Chapter 2 then presents a correlation between official condemnation of the Cultural Revolution and the elite’s desire for cultural and political identification with the West. Tying these two chapters together is Gao’s proposal, inspired by the philosopher Paul Ricoeur, “that memory is not a thing that is recalled, but an act of identity.” (31) Gao illustrates this principle by examining the policy of sending Chinese college students to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, arguing that current condemnation of the movement is based on hindsight. Even though those who were sent down witnessed the fact that only a small minority of Chinese could even dream of entering college, their chief complaint today is that it caused them to miss “the best formal education that they deserved.” (36) However, from the perspective of farmers, those sent down did not “suffer” but enjoyed the “good life” since they were not required to work as hard as local residents and received state and family subsidies. (36)

Gao continues his investigation into the present construction of the past in Chapters 3 to 6 by looking at Chinese-language memoirs of the Mao era, Chang and Halliday’s *Mao: The Unknown Story*, as well as Li Zhisui’s *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, and then contrasting these negative accounts with the positive achievements of Mao’s rule in the areas of education, health care, and economic development. Besides adding his voice to the well-known criticisms of Chang and Halliday, Gao also casts doubt on the reliability of Li, saying it is inconceivable Li could have attended the high-level meetings he describes, such as those held by the Cultural Revolution Small Group in

1967 and 1968. (104) Gao also stresses the “politics of the market,” pointing out how descriptions of Mao’s sexual escapades were added to the English-language version of Li’s book at the request of Random House, and are absent from the Chinese version. (101) Sadly, the reliability of contemporary Chinese-language works is no better. Zhu Zhongli, author of two Chinese accounts on Jiang Qing, has admitted to demonizing her subject for publication. (148–149) Because of the hegemonic discourse of neo-liberalism, inaccuracies such as these do not matter to the dominant media, Gao provocatively asserts, “as long as the politics is right.” (80)

The internet, however, provides a means by which the dominance of the historical narrative by the political and economic elite can be broken. Chapters 7 and 8 of Gao’s work examine Chinese language e-media debates about the Mao era and post-Mao reforms. The final two chapters then focus on the downsides of China’s current capitalist development, such as how, in 2003, the nation’s urban population, which comprised only 15 per cent of the total population, was allocated two thirds of the state’s health care resources, a ratio at odds with the Maoist policy of “barefoot doctors” and attempts to bridge what Mao saw as the “contradiction” between city and countryside. (160) Thanks to economic reforms, Chinese today complain of the “three big new mountains” on their backs: health care, education, and housing, services that were all provided for during Mao’s reign. (152) The problematic nature of “development no matter what” is now apparent and Chinese increasingly turn to the internet to voice their dissent. Due to state censorship of the official media, Gao believes “the e-media as an alternative play a more important role in China than they do in the West,” and the internet provides a public space to challenge elite hegemony. in

(118–119) The openness of cyber-space parallels the declared “four big freedoms” of the Mao era – speaking out freely, airing views freely, holding great debates, and writing big character posters – rights taken away by a 1982 amendment to the Constitution. (196)

Interestingly, most Chinese netizens are not challenging their regime with notions of Western liberalism, but are instead employing concepts learned during their Maoist past. China’s earlier socialist indoctrination “actually trained and prepared many people... to think and reflect critically about social issues.” (157) Class struggle, a concept abandoned by the state and intellectual elite, still resonates among many Chinese. In short, “values of socialism still matter in China.” (192) Furthermore, the e-media’s popularity, enjoying a readership larger than refereed journals and academic books, ensures that, accurate or not, e-criticism will influence public perception and behaviour. (136) Perhaps this explains why, when it was reported in 2005 that Premier Wen Jiabao read the e-media regularly, economics professor Zhang Weiyang “appealed to the Chinese leadership not to be pressurized by the populist voices of the e-media.” (158)

While *The Battle for China’s Past* is an engaging read, at times it seems Gao has tackled more topics than necessary. Comprising ten chapters in just 200 pages, a bit more depth in place of breadth would likely have strengthened the author’s argument about the subjective nature of memory and the growing Maoist-inspired counter-discourse in contemporary China. Instead of a chapter criticizing Chang and Halliday, Gao could have explained why, despite the continued lack of internet access for most Chinese, the e-media should be seen as a counter-hegemonic voice of the Chinese majority. Gao could also examine struggles *within* the CCP, such as opposi-

tion to Jiang Zemin’s “Three Represents,” the 2002 policy that allowed capitalists to enter the Party. Still, *The Battle for China’s Past* is to be commended for voicing opinions now rarely read in Chinese scholarship.

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**Richard Croucher and Elizabeth Cotton,** *Global Unions, Global Business: Global Union Federations and International Business* (London: Middlesex University Press, 2009)

IN RECENT YEARS, British students of trade unionism have, by and large, neglected its international dimension. With the siphoning off from the 1990s onwards of proponents of Human Resource Management (HRM), with their disregard for issues of unionism, there was, in relative terms an enhanced concentration on trade unions on the part of scholars of industrial relations/employment relations. However, their vision has sometimes been circumscribed.

Most of the attention has been on issues of union renewal and revitalization and the ways in which organized labour can reclaim its former vigour by means of new forms of organizing workers or new forms of collaboration with employers or a mixture of both. Insularity—and not a little over-identification which blunts the necessary critical edge—has been relieved by comparisons between organizing strategy in Britain, North America, and Australia. In contrast with the fine historical work of Tony Carew, Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick, Marcel van der Linden, and their colleagues, there has been very little research on the current organization and operation of international trade unionism. This text by Richard Croucher and Elizabeth Cotton is, in that context, extremely welcome.



The credo which informs this tightly argued but accessibly written volume is that trade unions, which continue to be the most significant membership organizations globally, remain the best available vehicles for protecting workers against the consequences of neo-liberal globalization. In unfavourable circumstances they remain the most likely means of introducing a measure of workers' voice into multi-national corporations. The focus of the book is on the operation of global union federations (GUFs). Grouping together unions by industrial sector, from chemicals and transport to education and engineering, GUFs have national affiliations in 120 countries around the world. The argument of the book is that they should be strengthened, their functions extended, and their current approach reassessed. National unions which are willing to devote greater support to GUFs will garner pay-off on their national terrain. At a time of relative union weakness, the GUFs themselves are likely to be more effective if they go back to basics. Grandiose blueprints of global collective bargaining are only likely to prove viable from a stronger base. That requires more emphasis on the ideological and practical construction of solidarity, and here union education is an essential weapon.

*Global Unions, Global Business* is based on its authors' experience as academics working with GUFs, on interviews with activists, and on research in the archives, an unusual and compelling combination of methods. Its subject and its thesis are richly contextualized. The book begins with a sober rehearsal of the impact of the neo-liberal conquest of the nation-state and the reconstruction of global markets on workers and unions. Multi-national companies employ only around one per cent of the world labour force but they are the setters of standards for global capital, industrially and

politically. Here unions have what is overall a precarious foothold and their size and organizational configurations make them the most favourable locus for progress in what has to be acknowledged as an unprepossessing situation for organized workers. Resistance to unions still imposes costs on capital; globalization constrains independent collectivism, but it does not foreclose on the prospects of trade unionism.

With their scope, experience, and expertise, GUFs, the authors argue, are the most plausible means for establishing a union bridgehead in multi-nationals. They are to be preferred to the bilateral links between unions, by-passing the GUFs, which are favoured by some in the union movement. That there are some grounds for optimism is illustrated by Croucher and Cotton's ensuing concise history of international trade unionism. This suggests the value of multilateral organization and action. Despite a troubled past marked by denominational rivalries, factionalism, and imperialism, both capitalist and Stalinist, the significant contemporary advantage GUFs possess is underlined: "The international movement is now closer to being worthy of the global description than ever before and previous political and religious obstacles to unity or action that restricted attempts to date with multinationals have been removed." (36)

The core of *Global Unions, Global Business* consists of five chapters devoted to elaborating and analyzing the ways the GUFs are organized and how they work. Their structures, staffing, governance, resources, and activities are deftly documented. Perennial dilemmas, crucially the reluctance of national unions to transfer resources and prerogatives to international bodies, are addressed. A compact essay on international collective bargaining reveals its existence as rhetoric rather than reality in all too

many cases, past and present. It urges with conviction that international trade unionism must learn from past tribulations to walk before it can run. International Framework Agreements bargained by GUFs and multi-nationals are declarations of principle. They do not embody joint regulation of substantive employment issues. They do not ensure union recognition. Indeed, they may on occasion help companies evade recognition or postpone collective bargaining. Progress in these directions requires GUFs to engage in mobilization and power-building to make union membership and international links meaningful if they are to assemble the components of a challenge that can facilitate joint regulation: "It seems more important to operate both technically and politically within multi-nationals than to attempt to create agreements they [unions and members] cannot use." (68)

In this perspective the GUFs need to take two steps back in order to take one step forward. The authors suggest a priority is to reinforce those links which already exist. These are often centred on networks which are anchored in particular campaigns and specific sectors. There is potential here which should be stimulated. In an interpretive summation of five such networks the authors examine the key factors which prompt their formation and effective operation. Eschewing "rank and filism," Croucher and Cotton emphasize that coordination begins at the base. But it is best nurtured and extended within the framework of international trade unionism rather than action independent of it. Subsequent initiatives are best fostered and sustained by active education which socializes and arms activists and encourages democratization. The benchmark is Paolo Freire's theory and methodology of education which potentially liberates and empowers but which, in the hands of leaders of

a variety of institutions, has been used to realize other purposes.

As the authors acknowledge, the difficulties with applying the model for progress presented here are substantial and centred at the national level with national unions. To take one example, the British TUC has been unprepared to employ union education as a significant facilitator for union renewal in Britain—let alone internationally—preferring to prioritize tools courses funded by the government. Happily this is less true of other union centres around the world. More fundamental to the issue of advance is the question of the resources available to unions globally and their distribution between centre and periphery. In a situation where membership is static or decreasing, the health of international trade unionism may necessitate a transfer of resources from national bodies, which their leaders, influenced by limited horizons or allegiance to existing members and arrangements, may be reluctant to countenance. Nonetheless, Croucher and Cotton's case study of the Chemical, Energy, Mineworkers and General Unions Federation and its relations with Anglo-American and unions in Colombia, Ghana, and South Africa, suggests the potential inherent in this book's approach. Anglo-American, it has been observed, is relatively liberal. But first things first.

This is a pioneering text which deserves expansion. We need to know more about many of the GUFs and about their impact. We need to deepen the debate about what trade unionists can achieve internationally and the tensions that international work engenders with national activity and autonomy. As it stands, Croucher and Cotton have made a considerable contribution to the literature on global trade unionism. Powerfully argued and impressively documented, this stimulating book provides a readable, insightful

introduction to the challenges facing global trade unionism. It will prove of tremendous value to both union activists and to academics teaching international business, employment relations, and HRM.

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**Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays Toward a Global Labor History*** (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2008)

TRANSNATIONAL history is now very much in vogue. Marcel van der Linden, a mainstay of Amsterdam's influential International Institute of Social History, has been advocating for a global labour history for many years. This book is a forceful statement of why working-class studies needs to transcend what van der Linden insists is the twinned constraint of labour history's conceptual origins: 'methodological nationalism' and 'Eurocentrism.'<sup>(3)</sup>

A global labour history that refuses to conflate society and class formation on a world scale according to a model of North Atlantic development is indeed long overdue. Whether all working-class history actually falls prey to this colonizing conceptualization is perhaps more open to question than van der Linden is willing to allow. Nor is his insistence that Marx contributed to this wrong-headedness with a definition of class that defined *real workers* as only those employed for a wage, whose dispossession occurred within the logic of industrial capitalism's 'market freedoms,' necessarily as obvious a point as van der Linden assumes. Marx, after all, did write primarily about what was, in his time, the most technologically developed capitalist region of the world, and when he separated the proletariat and the lumpen-proletariat he did so for *political* reasons. He saw no cause

to place much hope in the abject destitution of those truly marginalized, whose capacity to resist capitalist immiseration could be ascertained by specific sets of historical evidence and example to be limited indeed. Nothing in the history of the "advanced capitalist" political economies of the North and the West has given us cause to alter Marx's views on the revolutionary capacities of layers of the lowly who have been driven to the very bottom of capital's hierarchies of social station.

Those with absolutely nothing to lose are not necessarily the first and most staunch recruits to the cause of resistance. This does not mean that Marx and subsequent Marxists have not empathized with portions of humanity who have lost so much in the toss of capitalism's unfeeling dice; it does not mean that historical materialist analysis refuses to plumb the depths of proletarianization and the variety of ways it can lead to ever-widening circles of dispossession; nor, finally, does it suggest that poor people's campaigns are not invaluable and necessary. Marx bent his pen decisively and repeatedly against capital's intractable tendency, indeed need, to foster immiseration. But the specific social stratum that he designated the lumpen-proletariat has disappointed many a western leftist who cast his or her lot with the 'lowest of the low'.

To be sure, the meaning of the lumpen-proletariat in the global South may well be different. Certainly, because of the ravages of imperialism, the levels and nature of immiseration in Latin America, Africa, and Asia both exceed those commonplace in the industrial capitalist North Atlantic and, as a result, colour the nature of class formation differently. And as van der Linden suggests, the importance of slavery, self-employed workers, and the sinking fortunes of the developing economies' petty bourgeoisies are all important dimensions of class if we look to nineteenth-century India or Brazil, rather

than England and France in the 1840s. Indeed, they are quantitatively of undeniable significance, overshadowing wage labour that is conceptualized and empirically explored within traditional sectors of marked proletarianization, such as factories, mills, and mines. But Marx, had his primary gaze been turned away from capitalism's heartland to its peripheries, would not have been shocked or surprised by this. When he looked to the United States, for instance, he was not at all reluctant to recognize that labour in the white skin could never be free as long as black workers were branded in chattel slavery.

If we can move past theoretical differences to van der Linden's main point that a global history of workers must move in the direction of inclusion rather than exclusion in terms of its understanding of class formation, it is possible to appreciate the immense contribution of *Workers of the World*. Van der Linden's global sweep takes in not only 'free wage labourers' but slaves, petty producers, and the dangerous classes. His analysis is as welcoming of the investigations of the Mayhews and the Booths as it is of study of industrial unionism. All of those subordinate to capital and subject to their toil being commodified in a variety of ways are considered workers of the world. As different as their experiences may well have been, they all devised means of survival that made day-to-day existence liveable.

What van der Linden calls "varieties of mutualism" form core chapters that explore mutual benefit associations, protective insurance endeavours, and consumer/producer cooperatives. If these efforts to alleviate anxiety and afford workers small measures of security against death, unemployment, and the oscillations of the marketplace were indicative of workers' power to challenge capital intuitively, forms of resistance also emerged that were more direct in their confrontational refusals: strikes,

protests, boycotts, unions, and transnational movements evident in labour internationalism.

In wide-ranging discussion of such initiatives and struggles, van der Linden canvasses Europe and South America, Asia and Africa, touching down on the United States and elsewhere (Canada figures hardly at all in the analysis). Aware of the rich diversity of experience that he is drawing upon as well as the many barriers to the realization of effective class opposition in the global capitalist order, van der Linden nevertheless opens our eyes wide to the value of a transcontinental perspective.

*Workers of the World* closes with chapters that suggest labour historians need to be brought into globalism's promise by allowing themselves to benefit from the insights of social scientists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (world systems theory) and a variety of development sociologists whose studies address patriarchy on a world scale (Maria Mies) and entangled subsistence economies (what was known as the Bielefeld School, spearheaded by the South and Southeast Asian scholarship of Hans-Dieter Evers).

Readers and researchers will take such cues as they may. That van der Linden has given us all a notable push in the direction of transcontinentalism is undeniable. His insistence that a world perspective will enhance our appreciation of local and regional developments is undoubtedly true, especially given that his approach so genuinely turns against all perspectives privileging his own European vantage point.

The greatest difficulty facing global labour history, however, is of a kind that van der Linden does not address. He ends his book by quoting E.P. Thompson, who stressed the uniqueness of historical process as well as its capacity to reveal regularities. Like all such suggestions, Thompson's was two-sided. The social

history of workers that Thompson pioneered rested on the finely-grained texture of research that was attuned to the particular and that played out, largely, on regional terrain. It spring-boarded into comparisons and common conceptualization across time and place largely on the basis of its historical and political sensibilities. Thompson's influence spread because he championed a way of seeing that flew directly in the face of conceiving class narrowly and in routinized ways. No one ever claimed, in their Thompsonian trajectory, that *this history of this place in this time* was the equivalent of *that study, that topic, or that different chronology*. These social histories of *difference* were, rather, united in their appreciations, approaches, questions, and way of framing inquiry. This was the "regularity of process" that Thompson both argued for and helped to stimulate and achieve, and van der Linden ends his study on this note.

The question for global history, I suppose, is whether it can, by premising itself on the need to start grand rather than beginning with the more narrow, focused, and detailed research of social history's project, achieve the kinds of history that animate and inspire, as Thompson's writing most emphatically did. Time will tell, but van der Linden has posed the question and pushed all of us to think about what answers we might provide.

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Philip Taylor, ed., *Ageing Labour Forces: Promises and Prospects* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing 2008)

THE IMPACT OF demographic ageing on the workforce has become a topic of major concern and debate, especially in advanced industrialized societies. This

very timely collection on ageing labour forces addresses the changing status of older workers, the development of public policy on age and work, and employers' attitudes and behaviour towards older workers. The book examines in detail the recent public policy emphasis on retiring later in life, focussing on the broader structural and ideological contexts within which this policy direction is occurring. Through eight case studies of industrialized countries – Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States – the volume seeks to answer the critical question of whether, in an ageing society, older workers can look forward to the prospect of longer working lives with choice and security, and make successful transitions to retirement.

The main theme that is woven throughout the book is the more recent shift in rhetoric and policy of early retirement towards that of 'active ageing.' While the different case studies reveal variations in the trend towards early retirement in the final quarter of the twentieth century, most industrialized countries have witnessed a lowering of retirement age during an era when societies have been ageing. The authors highlight that the ageing of societies concomitant with the decline in the labour force participation of older people – which has been explained by a drop in demand for older workers due to industry restructuring and by state support for early exit through different social security provisions – has raised deep concerns about the adequacy of labour supply, challenges to the competitiveness of the economy, the increasing population dependency ratio, and the sustainability of social welfare systems in light of the mounting costs of supporting a growing economically inactive older population. While the responses of national governments, which are dis-

cussed in each chapter, show variability, there is unequivocally an upswing in efforts to curtail early labour market exit and to extend paid working lives, what the authors refer to as the move from early retirement towards 'active ageing.'

What becomes clear from the case studies, however, is that 'active ageing' policies have been implemented in a rather piecemeal and sometimes haphazard manner without a clear framework, or what Sol Encel, in his study of the Australian context, refers to as "dis-jointed incrementalism" rather than a strategic approach. As revealed by the Canadian case study by Julie McMullin, Martin Cooke, and Terri Tomchick, policy changes to curtail early exit from the labour market are not necessarily guided by concerns for the well-being of older people, but by other issues such as economic consequences of population ageing and pension costs. Many of the chapters discuss training and especially lifelong learning as a solution to the challenges of ageing populations and as part of the promise of 'active ageing,' but the authors reveal that the participation rate of older workers in learning and training has tended to be low. What is more, Frerich Frerichs and Gerhard Naegele, authors of the German case study, note that lifelong learning has not been implemented widely and that those with higher skill levels participate most. These findings thus present significant hurdles to activation policies that are centred on lifelong learning.

Notwithstanding strong arguments that continued employment of older workers is a key solution to labour market and social welfare problems associated with ageing populations – as well as potentially a huge benefit to older individuals' financial, physical, mental, and overall well-being, continued social engagement, and sense of purpose and meaning – the authors in this volume

provide solid evidence, often disconcerting, that the lived realities of many older workers do not match the rhetoric of 'active' ageing. One of the themes that is consistently raised in the case studies pertains to the relatively negative employment and labour market outcomes of older workers. What the researchers found is that older workers tend to face poor employment opportunities, lower quality jobs, lack of flexibility, reduced training prospects, involuntary and long-term unemployment, increased health and injury risks, and age discrimination, though these outcomes are certainly not the reality for all older workers. In her chapter on the United States, for example, Sara Rix demonstrates that, despite the shift to a service and knowledge economy, older workers often must take up physically demanding and unsafe jobs with poor working conditions. In their case study of France, Anne-Marie Guillemard and Annie Jolivet point out that, in countries with previously fairly well-developed early retirement pathways that are now veering towards 'active ageing' policies, older workers face particularly difficult challenges, both structurally and in terms of deeply ingrained age discrimination. Philip Taylor notes that in the United Kingdom, older workers who lose their jobs are much more likely than younger workers to become long-term unemployed, though this is a disadvantage that older men confront more than older women.

While some commentators wax eloquent about firms' changing attitudes and behaviour towards the hiring of older workers, this volume puts into serious question claims of such progressiveness. Notwithstanding numerous instances of firms seeking to remove workplace age barriers, case study after case study shows that employers do not hesitate to dispose of older workers. Nor do they actively recruit older workers,

and indeed they tend to be reluctant to hire them. Negative perceptions and discriminatory actions seem to predominate even when the business case is made for employing older workers because employers focus on potential threats to industry of population ageing. As Kène Henkens and Joop Schippers report in the Netherlands study, employers do not necessarily prioritize recruiting older workers or attempt to delay retirement even with a tight labour market and in a relatively buoyant economy. In a similar vein, Masato Oka notes that, in Japan, it is mostly older workers with specific skills who are retained by employers. Several of the authors also point to the adoption by industry over the past few decades of new human resources practices that focus on flexibility as a barrier to the active engagement of older workers given employers' perception that the latter present obstacles to organizational transformation and are less capable of flexible performance. Most of the contributors worry that 'active ageing' will not play a central role in firms' labour force policies in the global era as employers, in their quest to maintain a competitive advantage, will discard or fail to pursue older workers and instead will seek out a younger, cheaper, mobile, and flexible workforce elsewhere.

All authors in this volume raise serious doubts about industrialized nations being on the cusp of a 'golden age' of employment opportunities and flexible transitions to retirement for older people. Instead, the case studies show that the future is bleak for older workers who more likely will face poor job prospects, greater age segmentation, constrained choices and lack of flexibility, reduced labour market security, and increased income insecurity and poverty, especially in countries where policy shifts are destroying the option of early retirement. Despite its pessimistic conclu-

sions, the book offers guidance to assist policy-makers in dealing with ageing workforces. The authors call upon nation-states to allocate appropriate resources so that older workers are prioritized for assistance and are afforded adequate protection, thereby ensuring that 'active ageing' becomes more than mere rhetoric. They especially enjoin policy makers to seek a balance between maximizing job opportunities for older workers and creating smooth exit pathways for those who would face undue hardship in the labour market, especially in the context of heightened volatility in the globalizing market. The case studies also highlight the limits to a strategy that focuses exclusively on institutional changes at the expense of challenging how age and ageing are viewed, given that ideological representations shape the actions of those who hold the power to bring about better futures for older workers.

Philip Taylor has produced an important and excellent edited collection on a topic of immediate and ongoing relevance. Readers will appreciate the editor's introductory chapter, which provides an overview of the recent history of older workers as well as a general discussion of the changing policy landscape pertaining to 'active ageing.' Also of great value is the editor's concluding analysis, which serves to integrate the main themes and to reflect on the volume's guiding question about whether real progress is being made towards 'active ageing.'

The case studies presented in this collection are highly accessible and rich in detail, and provide comprehensive and interesting analyses of ageing labour forces. The book challenges myths and oft-accepted statements made by policy-makers and other commentators about population ageing, older workers' position in the labour market and in workplaces, and social supports for this segment of the labour force. In addition,

the volume demonstrates the strength of the case-study methodology in helping us to better understand social structures and relations. Of particular value is that the contributions are from researchers from varied disciplines across advanced industrialized countries. The methodological approach not only aids in the task of developing a deeper knowledge base and stronger critical comparative analyses of the reality of ageing labour forces, but also broadens our perspectives when considering public policy initiatives and workplace changes that would ensure the well-being of older workers as well as favourable education, work, and retirement pathways for all citizens. There is much to commend about this book, and perhaps most important is that it provides a tool set to move in the right direction to facilitate these pathways. As such, this collection is highly valuable for policy makers, employers, unionists, and academics, and should not be ignored.

VIVIAN SHALLA

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**Kevin Bales, Zoe Trodd, and Alex Kent Williamson, *Modern Slavery: The Secret World of 27 Million People* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications 2009)**

PRIMARILY A COMPENDIUM of the existence of slavery in the globalized economy, along with recommendations for its eradication, *Modern Slavery* should be read as self-consciously analogous to the abolitionist tracts of the era of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Garrison, complete with personal testimony given by the liberated slaves themselves.

For historians of forced labour, *Modern Slavery* holds interest because of its efforts to measure and evaluate the institution of slavery in the contemporary world against its antecedents, especially the plantation slavery of the eighteenth-

and nineteenth-century Atlantic world. Bales, Trodd, and Williamson – all avid partisans of today’s anti-slavery movement – make the case that the institution took on some new characteristics after World War Two. First, using the shocking figure of 27 million, in a deliberate effort to puncture modern complacency about human progress, they argue that there are more slaves in the world today than “at any point in history.” (vii) Secondly, as they correctly note, unlike the legal slavery of previous eras, slavery now takes place in the shadows, and its practitioners and beneficiaries (usually) try to keep it hidden from public scrutiny. Moreover, in contrast to the past, modern slavery rests far less heavily on distinctions of race, religion, or ethnicity, preying instead on the economically vulnerable wherever they can be found. Finally, because of massive population growth over the past six decades of human history, slaves, once valuable commodities and investments, have now become so inexpensive as to be practically expendable, “a cheap and disposable input to low-level production.” (29) The authors conclude that the “fall in prices of slaves after the [postwar] population explosion set the stage for a great expansion in global slavery.” (15)

The book offers both a broad survey of slavery’s presence in the global economy today and a careful typology. Since legal ownership of slaves is no longer recognized, reduced to its core elements slavery consists of violent control of individuals, unable to leave their place of employment, for the purpose of economic exploitation. Although over half of today’s slaves live in South Asia, many of them labouring in debt bondage in petty production, *Modern Slavery* shows that slavery exists across the globe. In the developed world, however, it is characterized by the sexual exploitation of women, rather than productive labour, as the commodified bodies of impoverished



women and girls – whether from rural Southeast Asia or post-communist Eastern Europe – make up a key aspect of the global sex trade. Nevertheless, even in the US, half of the estimated 40,000 slaves can be found in domestic labour, agriculture, and even factory work. Also common is enslavement under the guise of a long-distance labour contract that proves unbreakable, a reprise of nineteenth-century indenture that to this day “hides behind modern labour relations.” (34)

In a series of chapters, the authors then detail the connections between slavery and gender inequality, ethno-racial discrimination, armed conflict, and environmental disaster. While all of these elements can be linked to the presence of modern slavery, the authors suggest vulnerability to enslavement is most closely correlated with poverty, debt, and governmental corruption. Ironically, as they point out, it is modernization and globalization that have often created vast pools of “dislocated and impoverished people” who make up “a bumper crop of potential slaves” in the developing world. (55) In a vicious cycle, widespread slavery further distorts local economies, depressing wages and drying up consumption. “While slaves make a lot of money for slaveholders,” the authors observe, “they tend to be a drag on a country’s economy.” (63) Thus combating slavery and eradicating poverty are part of the same struggle.

As a document of today’s global neo-abolitionist human rights movement, *Modern Slavery* should be read as an accompaniment to Kevin Bales’s other works, all of which lay out the same case and advocate global consumer, government, and NGO strategies for combating this evil. As president and co-founder of the modern abolitionist society, Free the Slaves, Bales has already published *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (1999), *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today’s Slaves* (2007), and *Under-*

*standing Global Slavery: A Reader* (2005). As these books and *Modern Slavery* point out, much like the heyday of Atlantic slavery, “slaves are used to produce many of our basic commodities” (49) in today’s world of globalized consumption. Thus, like its predecessor, a coalition of consumers, human rights activists, governments, and international bodies like the UN and the ILO, and not least, liberated slaves, need to join together to end slavery once and for all.

Still, despite their emphasis on the need for an expansion of global labour rights, Bales and his global anti-slavery campaign have not been immune to criticism from the left. Radical journalist Christian Parenti, for example, has taken Free the Slaves to task for allowing multinational chocolate producers to use a cooperative and voluntary “Cocoa Protocol” as a “fig leaf” to shield themselves from intensified scrutiny and more substantive changes in their labour practices in Côte D’Ivoire’s cocoa plantations. For their part, Bales, Trodd and Williamson do seem eager to work closely with multinational capital to strike such accords; in contrast to their abolitionist forebears, they reject consumer boycotts as counter-productive. This kind of direct action, they claim, will punish employers with fair labour practices as much as it will disrupt the profits of slaveholders, who remain adept at disguising their products in the global stream of commerce in any case. Moreover, one is tempted to turn the same kind of critical gaze that David Brion Davis once turned on the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement. To what extent does the well-intentioned campaign against slavery serve to ratify other forms of human exploitation that benefit from being deemed “free”? This, I suspect, was Parenti’s point.

*Modern Slavery* unveils a world of global commerce that we ignore at our peril. Yet, in the end, the book’s argument

appears somewhat paradoxical. After detailing the widespread nature of slavery in the globalized economy, its myriad causes, and its unrelenting brutality, the authors conclude that "if ever there were a tipping point where we might end slavery, it is now." (145) Such optimism seems hard to credit after reading the book. True, as the authors suggest, the moral and economic arguments against slavery have been won, and slavery is now universally condemned. Yet, from their own evidence, the material, social, and environmental bases of slavery seem more entrenched than ever. If slavery is banned by national and international law, can boast no powerful groups arguing on behalf of its desirability, and is economically insignificant, why then does it persist and even spread in today's globalizing economies? A more critical perspective on the nature of modern global capitalism might hold some of the answers.

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

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**Kevin Bales and Zoe Trodd, eds. *To Plead Our Own Cause: Personal Stories of Today's Slaves*** (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2008)

*TO PLEAD OUR OWN CAUSE* is a collection of personal narratives told by individuals whose misfortune, harsh conditions, and the criminal designs of others placed them under various forms of slavery and bondage. The book contains 95 personal stories arranged into five sections. The first section is a collection of narratives that reflect the various forms of modern slavery such as prison camp slavery; war slavery, international and European sex trafficking, contract slavery, debt bondage, and child slavery. Each of these forms of contemporary slavery is represented by narratives from a given country or countries, mostly coming from poorer

classes and regions, marginalized groups, or people caught on the "wrong" side of a war zone.

Section two is composed of narratives from females who experienced domestic slavery and sex slavery in various parts of the world. Both forms involve women mostly trafficked from poorer to richer countries or regions within the same country.

Section three is composed of narratives that document liberation from bondage or what the editors call the "turning point," the point when a slave becomes a man or a woman again, in other words experiences a restoration of their humanity. In some cases, the turning point occurs while the person is still captive; in other situations, however, the turning point takes a while after the individuals concerned have actually gained their freedom. This section also depicts a variety of situations ranging from domestic slavery to trafficking to hereditary bondage from which individuals had broken free.

Section four contains narratives that investigate the vexed question of freedom. For somebody like Faith, who was sold into sex slavery in South Africa by a family member, freedom simply does not exist: "I am very unhappy, but now this is my life. I tried to escape once, but I had no place to go to, so I had to go back there." (217)

Section five groups narratives of former slaves who are 'looking for a solution': "for some of the narrators ... a philosophy of freedom began in slavery and was the driving force behind their self-liberation; for others... the solution is the antislavery movement and their abolitionist work after liberation." (6-7)

The technique of personal narratives and testimonies is quite widespread in human rights activism and has been regularly used by human rights groups in their documentation of human rights

abuses and their campaigns to redress these abuses. Bales and Trodd dip into this tradition as well as the tradition of nineteenth century abolitionists who used personal narratives of former slaves as a tool in their campaigns for abolition. There is no doubt that personal stories of victims and survivors bring particular human rights' abuses to life and give them a realistic and human dimension to which people can relate. In this book, testimonies are arranged by the editors in a way that incite not just sympathy and empathy but also action and activism. In most cases, narrators are interested in effecting change, through educating the public and raising awareness so people in similar situations may avoid the same fate, or so that positive action may be invoked by relevant policy channels and organization towards abolition of modern slavery.

The book is well written and presents ample documentation through the carefully classified collection of narratives. The testimonies contained in the book present the case of modern slavery in its multifaceted forms in a powerful manner. By their very nature narratives are straightforward, and in this book they are composed in plain prose that can appeal to every reader. Nobody with a conscience would read this book without feeling the urge to do something about a problem so widespread, yet so hidden from public view. The narratives are not just testimonies and evidence that modern slavery exists today in various parts of the world, but an urgent call that something should be done about it. The strength of this book is that one cannot finish reading it without noticing a change in how one views various phenomena around them. Perhaps some of the fine Chinese toys and other consumer items were made by forced labour from prison camps? How many women in massage parlours and spas have landed there as a result of trafficking? What is going on behind closed

doors with domestic servants who arrive from poorer countries or classes? And there are plenty of other difficult questions that the book raises.

Though narratives are the book's strength, they could also be its main weakness. If taken at face value, personal stories are indeed precise information told by people who experienced abuse and sufferings first hand. Yet, these testimonies, even when they speak about personal plight, are subject to inaccuracies, exaggeration, and at times plain fraud. In the latter category is the story of Mende, which has been exposed as largely a fabrication. (226–27) Though there may be an element of exploitation in both Sudan and the United Kingdom by the people she was working for as a domestic in either pay or treatment, the main lines of her story that she was kidnapped by "raiders on horseback" and sold to a woman in Khartoum are not true. The story was made up for political reasons at the time and got picked up by various groups, including some well wishers and genuine human rights campaigners as well as some controversial groups such as Christian Solidarity International. Mende became the celebrated case of the contemporary anti-slavery campaigners. The case of Mende may be explained by the politicization that sometimes clouds certain situations, particularly when there is a conflict or political opposition to a pariah state such as the Sudanese state of the 1990s.

Truths and errors aside, the main challenge to the book is that most of the narratives contained are collected by the editors from other sources; hence they can only defer the question of credibility of these stories to their respective sources. Thus it is understandable that certain narratives that are not entirely credible – though widely circulated – found their way to this collection.

That said, the book is indeed a very powerful campaigning tool, and contains rich and moving experiences of several brave individuals who decided to speak out so others may be saved, or avoid a similar misery.

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**Matthew Hindman, *The Myth of Digital Democracy*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2009)

SINCE THE 1990S much has been written about the democratic potential of the Internet. The Internet was heralded as a remedy for many of the ills of representative democracy—apathy, falling voter turnout, and declining party membership. The expectation was that the Internet would provide a voice to the voiceless, enrich public discourse, and enlarge the public sphere. Almost anyone it seemed could be a producer of content. Given the comparatively low costs of production, the absence of control and oversight, and the purported flat structure of the Internet, those with minimal skills could have just as sophisticated a political website or blog as dominant groups and ruling parties. This became known as the equalization thesis.

At the same time there were those who argued that the opposite was true, that ruling corporate, social, and political forces, that is, those with resources, would shape the political future of the Internet. This became known as the normalization thesis. Both arguments are determinist, the first technological, the second socio-economic and political. While Hindman does not address these arguments to any extent, his book falls on the more pessimistic side of the equation, although he does leave some space for optimism. Unlike other analyses which are normative and speculative, Hindman

has produced a fine empirical piece of work that must be addressed by all those working in the field.

The key to Hindman's analysis is his focus on hyperlinks, a layer of Internet architecture otherwise known as the search layer and which includes the "means by which users find and sort online content." (40) How many links there are to any one site is ultimately correlated with its rankings and how many visitors it receives. The hope was that the Internet would be relatively open and flat with large numbers of moderately read sites.

While Hindman's analysis is based on United States politics, it has potential implications for the Net everywhere. His key finding is that "links between sites obey strong statistical regularities" with "starkly inegalitarian outcomes." (41) This leads Hindman to propose his own theory of "Googlearchy: the rule of the most linked." (55) For example, only 0.12 per cent of Web traffic goes to political websites versus 10.5 per cent to adult or pornographic websites. While women outnumber men in terms of Web traffic, substantially more men visit news and political sites. Neither are Web users adventurous. They rely on familiar commercial media websites with few citizens able to find a political candidate's website or bothering to visit a political advocacy site.

Moreover, there is what Hindman describes as a "startling concentration of attention on a handful of hypersuccessful sites" including blogs with "winner take all patterns." (57) In terms of news, the traditional media dominate offline as well as online with few signs of the predicted fragmentation and narrowcasting. In regard to newspapers there is more audience concentration online than in the print format, leading Hindman to herald "the continuing strength of large, national, name brand news out-

lets.” (101) Here Hindman is probably mistaken as most large newspapers in the United States from the *New York Times* to the *Los Angeles Times* are struggling financially.

Bloggers, it seems, are hardly the answer to an ailing newspaper industry. While millions of Americans produce blogs, the “more important question is not who posts on blogs but who actually gets read.” (113) Only a handful of political blogs receive sizeable audiences, most receiving a trickle of readers, thus making blog traffic as concentrated as traditional media. In addition, the top bloggers are highly unrepresentative of the American public. The top bloggers tend to be highly educated white males, and there are few women bloggers. None of the top thirty bloggers are African American or working class. In brief, “online politics has proved less open than many expected.” (133)

This is discouraging, to say the least. Yet, Hindman admits some rays of hope do shine through. The Net, according to Hindman, “seems to be good at gathering large, loose, geographically based groups together to pursue common goals.” (139) In brief, the Internet is a very good means of mobilizing resources, human and financial, for particular causes or campaigns. The ultimately ill-fated presidential campaign of Howard Dean in 2004 showed the way, and the Obama campaign used the Net to good effect, including raising huge sums of money from small donors and mobilizing and coordinating thousands of volunteers while at the same time running a traditional, highly centralized campaign organization.

While it is true that Dean and Obama were outsiders (at least initially) in an established party, their examples do indicate that the campaign for resources can be democratized. This is a positive development. While Hindman is largely con-

cerned with traditional politics, it is well known that social movements rely on the Net to mobilize resources across borders in their ongoing campaigns, whether they be the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico, the opponents of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, the mobilizers of millions around the world against the pending American invasion of Iraq in February 2003, or those who have created public space at the World Social Forums. This is significant and unexplored by Hindman. True, these campaigns may be spearheaded by elites, but not all elites are the same.

However, one book cannot do everything and this book has done a great deal to debunk many popular notions about the democratic potential of the Internet. It deserves to be read. Hindman’s attention, though, is on traditional democratic politics and by no means closes the door on those organizing and mobilizing outside its constraints. For this, however, we must await another book.

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**Giovanni Federico, *Feeding the World: An Economic History of Agriculture, 1800–2000*** (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press 2005)

IN ALL THE CONCERN about sustainable development and climate change, we have tended to let the debate about energy crowd out other important uses of natural (and other) resources, especially the production of food. At the same time, economic historians interested in growth over the long run have tended to focus on productivity gains that have led to – or failed to lead to – breakthroughs, especially in industry and services. In the wider historical field, “agrarian history” has fallen on some tough times. This book is not going to revitalize it, but

it does suggest that there are some very big questions that need posing and that agrarian history could profit by taking a global and comparative approach to what is normally a more regional or local emphasis.

Giovanni Federico, an economic historian of Italy, has written a curious book. It is at one level impressive in its scale and scope. The central concern is with economic growth of food field production, not how food is made or marketed. It is important for any reader to appreciate this before plunging into the text. It is almost entirely quantitative, and summarizes recent econometric analysis. But as much as is possible, the author amasses data from around the globe to make the case for several long phases in the growth of food production: the nineteenth century opening of new frontiers when incorporation of lands added to the productivity of labour, the global mechanization of food production which injected capital to the mix, and then the green revolution which augmented the productivity of land. All three phases enabled food production to keep pace with world growth. Agriculture was unique in the narrow range of commodities, the territorial fixity of its production (it cannot simply be "relocated" to another tax-free haven), its risks, and the seasonality of production, and Federico does a good job of explaining how these features were tackled over time within what is basically a very simple, highly competitive unit of production.

In the long run, extensive agriculture gave way to intensive agriculture, states went from *laissez-faire* to highly interventionist policies, and "traditional" units of production and systems of property right ceded to "modern" ones. But the process is far from complete. Agriculture never shed its peculiarities in large part because of its unique bond with natural resources and their distribution, which

ultimately (and this is where the author is surely going to draw some debate among economic historians) determined the contours of the institutions that governed them.

At the same time, this book is narrow to the point of frustration. The "world" is what it is if it can be counted. Otherwise it gets a passing reference, and more often drops out of the aggregates. The author does provide lots of caveats about the unevenness of sources, especially in dealing with earlier times and poorer climes, but he makes no effort to get around them. There is very little qualitative analysis, and there are no case studies that might illuminate some of his "theoretical" puzzles.

In the end, there is not much here for the labour historian. "Labour" is treated as a factor of production, subject to market and other rules deployed in the production of food, and of interest to this kind of economic history only insofar as "labour" realizes productivity gains or not. Not surprisingly, the story is mixed. Productivity rises dramatically in some areas of the world – like the richest. And it doesn't in the predictably poorer quarters. Why this is the case, of course, begs all kinds of questions about the sources of global inequality which fall outside the purview of Federico's focus. The labour historian's conventional interests in production and reproduction of work are not germane in his work.

What can be gained from this book? For one, it reminds readers that in the "very big picture," agricultural history is not irrelevant, and does not just add up to stories about a sector that was important when societies were rural, or that reveal something about backwardness. Federico's main argument is that food production has been a success story over the previous two centuries in facilitating global growth rates and keeping pace with other dynamic sectors and not retard-

ing them. As we think about this global scale, Federico reminds us that the rural picture is part of the whole. But there is a second value to the book, which is that the history of food is one way to tackle the history of inequality among regions and societies of the world in which food production is not important versus where it is – and this division of the world maps disturbingly onto the cartography of wealth and poverty.

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