

## Reviews / Comptes rendus

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## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Ester Reiter, *A Future Without Hate or Need: The Promise of the Jewish Left in Canada*** (Toronto: Between the Lines 2016)

THIS IS A STUDY of the forging and flourishing of Jewish immigrant left culture in Canada beginning in the early 1920s, concluding with its decline (though not demise) following the dramatic revelation of the Soviet betrayal of the Jewish cause in 1956. The left secular culture had its origins in the breakdown of the traditional religious Jewish culture and of its attendant social structures within the communities of Eastern Europe, and in the mass migration to North America sparked by the pogroms and proletarianization of the Jewish masses. The newcomers to North America constructed a new secular identity based on the merging of Yiddish-based culture and politics.

The immigrants shared a common tradition, language, and familiarity with cultural and political references, the latter acquired during the politically tumultuous years leading to the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Significantly, the shared historical experience of Jewish Communists in the US and in Canada as an oppressed ethnic group and as an oppressed class defined their political struggle for liberation by addressing both dimensions of their identity. The unfolding events in the early years of the Soviet Union, where minorities' rights were recognized and Jewish theatres (Yiddish and Hebrew) and Yiddish literature flourished, were interpreted by many secular Jews as the fulfillment of their

hopes. As Itche Goldberg, a well-known Yiddishist, Communist, and activist in both Canada and the US, affirmed in an interview with the author in 1996: "Jewish consciousness led us very naturally to the Soviet Union." (37)

The underlying assumption of the study of the Canadian left is the belief that communism held powerful appeal to a broad variety of Jewish political and cultural organizations albeit with varying degrees of acceptance of party dogma. In the words of the historians Matthew Hoffman and Henry Srebrnik, the Soviet Union was a "solar system" offering the possibility of belonging to the communist orbit without the obligations of strict loyalty to Moscow (Hoffman and Srebrnik, eds., *A Vanished Ideology: Essays on the Jewish Communist Movement in the English-Speaking World in the Twentieth Century*, [Albany: SUNY Press, 2016], 6). And, as Ester Reiter demonstrates, Jewish organizations inspired by communism were not always extensions of the Party. Rather, they were the products of historical and immigrant experience as "lived" in ethnic enclaves in the cities of North America. The common experience of working in the garment industry and participating in cultural institutions and organizations, some imported but others inspired by local conditions, contributed to the formation of organizations imbued with the spirit of solidarity and progressive ideologies independently of a communist dynamic.

The foundation of the culture was Yiddish, the workers' language. While

Yiddish literature was a medium expressing and celebrating universalist concerns for social justice, the Jewish left did not abandon its particularistic Yiddish culture and concerns for national emancipation. This contradiction, when standards of communist dogma were applied, created tensions between the party, the leadership, and the rank and file. There were, for example, cases where a Jewish communist leadership, also known for its uncompromising attachment to Yiddish and Jewish culture, stood at the helm of organizations of non-communist rank-and-file membership being accused of negligence in exerting pressure on the grass roots to conform to the Moscow line. (In similar cases in New York, leadership resorted to quoting Lenin's definition of communist culture as "socialist in content and national in form" to smooth relations with the party at these moments of tension.) The variety of fraternal organizations rendered such demands mostly impractical. Thus, since broadly speaking, the non-aligned secular left played an important but self-driven role in the making of the left culture, the author pays attention to the varieties of socialists and other progressive groups, as well as communists. Importantly, however, she does not shy away from examining the realities of the relations with Moscow, especially in the years 1928 to 1935. She notes, for example, the party's closer scrutiny of the curricula of Jewish communist schools and to its denunciations in *Der Kampf* (The Struggle), a communist daily, of teachers who failed to toe the line. Moreover, the period was also hurt by the Soviet treatment of the Hebron massacre of 1929 as an anti-imperialist uprising, a pronouncement that caused defections.

The Popular Front, the rise of fascism, and World War II ushered a new spirit of solidarity and commonality between many branches of the left. In contrast to the years of attempted "Bolshevization,"

the Popular Front years, the heyday of cultural creativity and activism, witnessed the legitimation of the left and of the Party's support for allowing communists to reach out to the Yiddish-speaking masses. It should be noted, however, that anti-communist discourse and attacks by the socialist New York *Forverts* and the Workmen's Circle did not cease. Both groups denounced as communist the world conference of 4000 Yiddishists, convened in Paris in 1937, which led to the founding of  $\gamma\kappa\upsilon\text{F}$  (Yiddish Cultural League), an international organization committed to support Yiddish culture. Symbolic, however, of the renewed faith in the USSR during World War II was the enthusiasm about the 1943 visit, approved by Stalin, of two giants of Yiddish Soviet culture and leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the poet Itzik Feffer and Shloime Mikhoels, the director of Moscow Yiddish Theater. Their public appearances attracted audiences of 25,000 and 47,000 in Montreal and New York respectively.

The preservation and expansion of Yiddish and its literary canon was at the centre of the forging of left culture. The language represented the intertwining of culture and politics. Chaim Zhitlowsky, a world-renowned advocate of Yiddish, declared in Montreal in 1910: "If you reject Yiddish, the Jewish proletariat will reject you." (157) His call was heeded by all streams of Jewish politics of the time, from labor Zionists, to anarchists, Bundists, and socialists. Through the years, new Yiddish literature created a broad reading public, as well as thriving publishing enterprises and booksellers (especially in New York). Yiddish writers, poets, playwrights, and actors were idolized. The appearances of literary stars from the US and the Soviet Union were cultural events attracting thousands of worshippers from all ranks of the left spectrum.

The knowledge of the Yiddish spoken by the first generation of immigrants was propagated by fraternal organizations to the second and third generations through the popular *shuln* (*shules* in the text.) The three major cities of Canada offered schools reflecting the ideological range of their communities. Winnipeg, for example, had a labour Zionist school and two left *shules*, Shalom Aleichem and I.L. Peretz, a communist and a socialist school respectively. Despite the ideological differences in the subjects being taught, both schools were committed to the preservation of Yiddish literature and to the appreciation of its values of human liberation and social justice.

Choirs were popular within the secular community of Jewish North America. These were institutions where poets, composers, singers and musicians created and popularized Yiddish poems set to music on topics of concern to the Jewish left. In this spirit, a poem by Peretz Markish about the Soviet revolutionary struggle was set to music; and, one of the most promising young poets Dovid Edelstadt, who died of tuberculosis – the scourge of sweatshops – dramatized work in a sweatshop, while calling for workers to rise against capitalists. These and commemorative poems about the Holocaust were set to music ranging from cantatas and oratorios to operas. The repertoire also included celebration of the multi-ethnic culture through folk songs, labour songs, Ukrainian songs, and spirituals with memorable appearances by Paul Robeson. These musical activities were of particular importance as opportunities to convey to the broad public the unique values of the Yiddish left.

Reiter's invaluable contribution is in identifying the dynamics of the making of a left Yiddish culture. The author's archival research both in US and Canada has unearthed a wealth of varied voices with their uncompromising advocacy of and

attachment to the Yiddish language and the left's political culture. These voices emerge from the memoirs of and interviews with the participants in that culture as well as those of their children and in the author's carefully crafted biographies. In addition, the book's illustrations, drawn from newspapers, personal photographs, and group activities, greatly enhance the reader's familiarity with the historic actors. This is an exemplary history of a people engaged in the making of a new Jewish ethnic identity through activities that range from reading circles and lectures to schools and summer camps, to mention but a few. One may wonder, however, whether labour unions, only occasionally mentioned in the study, but known in the US for their educational and cultural activities, should not have been recognized as an important presence of working-class experience in the making of the Jewish Canadian left identity.

The demise of the communist orientation of that identity is well known, as is the decline of its linguistic component. Symbolically, the author sees the tradition alive in the remaining summer camps. In 2008, for example, the children of Camp Neivelt recreated the lives of the Jewish children who ran a commune, a kind of "children's republic" in Vitebsk in 1920s. (2) Reiter concludes her study with some contemporary voices from members of today's left communities and surviving cultural organizations which preserve the legacy of Canada's Jewish left culture by opposing racism and exploitation, while advocating social justice, the environment, and a negotiated peace with the Palestinians. Thus, although the rich network of the Canadian Jewish left's organizations and their social and cultural activities no longer exists, as Ester Reiter reminds us, the legacy of that past has not been forgotten.

HADASSA KOSAK  
Yeshiva University

**Bryan D. Palmer and Gaétan Héroux,**  
*Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History*  
 (Toronto: Between the Lines 2016)

WITH AN IMPRESSIVE set of blurbs, a foreword from Frances Fox Piven, and an advertising campaign from activists like John Clarke, *Toronto's Poor* will have deservedly won a wide audience before this review makes it to print. A lengthy tome, it is structured around two case studies, Communist-organized protest during the Great Depression and the mobilizations of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) beginning in the 1980s, with shorter sections detailing the intervening years and the pre-1930 period. *Toronto's Poor* charts organizations involved in two different but interrelated struggles: a battle for greater amounts and different types of municipal relief and provincial welfare programs, and a challenge to capitalist property and power extending well beyond national limits.

Héroux and Palmer stress three arguments throughout. First, they emphatically direct our attention to capitalism's crisis tendencies, effectively recasting the question of why the poor are always with us. "The working class has no security that capitalism is bound to acknowledge, let alone preserve," they claim, situating these struggles in the long line of boom and bust cycles. (7) Second, using the concept of dispossession, Héroux and Palmer argue that our historical vision of this working class too often focuses exclusively on the securely employed and those dependent on their wages. But in its dialectic of creation and destruction, capitalism needs, and makes, both proletarians and potential proletarians. Drawing from a range of arguments, the authors persuasively expand the concept of dispossession. This involves both a more complicated sense of chronological process – dispossession is both "original" and ongoing – and a wider understanding

of the conditions necessary to life with and without a wage. Finally, the authors emphasize the role of leadership in these movements, interpreting Communists and OCAP activists in the context of the dynamic between radical leadership and "the agency and initiative of the dispossessed themselves." (6)

As a historian of the 1930s, I am impressed with this book's account of Depression-era urban organizing campaigns. Unlike most studies of relief programs, which focus on either single men or families, *Toronto's Poor* gives both full consideration while also devoting space to single women denied these forms of provision. That said, I found the section devoted to OCAP most compelling, especially in its portrayal of the challenges of Direct Action Casework, designed to produce tangible gains that represented "something different than securing social work-like incremental improvements in the lives of the dispossessed." (312)

Because I agree with James Struthers's assessment that *Toronto's Poor* will become "the starting point for teaching and writing about the history of anti-poverty mobilization for years to come," I want to highlight issues I expect will figure in future evaluations. Because this book is about Toronto, I fear these movements will become national models, lesser versions of which dotted the Canadian landscape. It's my sense that Toronto is better grasped as home to a unique conjuncture of forces. Nowhere else did poor people's movements face a more international aggregation of capital. To borrow from Utah Phillips' "The Two Bums," it took the labour of dozens of people in dozens of countries to furnish Toronto's elite with a meal, and some of the profits generated locally from the exploitation of Toronto workers went to folks who never set foot in the city. And nowhere in Canada were poor people's movements represented as extensively via communications media,

including those they controlled. In most urban centres, unemployed organizing campaigns did not often generate the spectacular dimension apparent in Toronto, and I expect historians will accord this fact more significance than have past generations of scholars. These Communist- and OCAP-organized campaigns posed a challenge both programmatic and tactical; both groups were usually condemned for their chosen forms of politics, whether the Communist free speech campaigns or OCAP's squatting and demonstrations at the homes of politicians. And nowhere else did 1930s unemployed movements take root and grow in the shadow of the Communist Party's national leadership. My own research suggests that the Party's abandonment of the "Work or Full Maintenance" program initiated by the National Unemployed Workers Association had disastrous effects in Vancouver. I wish this book devoted more space to distinguishing between CP and OCAP histories. Unlike Depression-era Communist organizations in Toronto, which served an exemplary role in ensuring Stalinist politics dominated nationally, OCAP operated without such restrictions, even though it nonetheless still faced periodic outbreaks of intense red baiting.

On a final note, I was surprised that concepts such as "racial capitalism" and "the possessive investment in whiteness" have no purchase here. Class and state formation are the keywords, and more criticism is directed at "identity-based social movements" than at racist practices in movements of dispossessed people. The idea of a "nativist assertion of white skin privilege" appears once, in a discussion of Communists combatting British-Canadian objections to Italian migrants receiving work relief, within the Toronto Association of Unemployed in 1924, but "white skin privilege" and other comparable tools are not used

in any systematic way. This aspect of *Toronto's Poor* approach is unfortunately commonplace in Canadian scholarship on poor people's movements, including my own: few have pursued the lines of enquiry suggested by Cheryl I. Harris, George Lipsitz, David Roediger, and other American scholars.

There are several missed opportunities for greater clarity of analysis. Should we be surprised that Somalis figured prominently in OCAP's efforts and West Indians did not? Shawn Brant and the Tyendinaga Mohawks are here, but their support for OCAP isn't explained. Given Palmer's already published research on Red Power, inspired by this very campaign and the subsequent blockading of Highway 401, the story told in *Toronto's Poor* portrays as unremarkable an alliance that, at its core, was utterly remarkable. To put it another way, the promise of the framework of "dispossession" is not fully realized here, because the authors sidestep connections among those dispossessed through different mechanisms. I'm certainly not immune to this way of thinking: three articles and a book about hobo jungles and not once did I address these issues. Here, I found myself wondering, what did Toronto's poor owe the people of Tyendinaga? This question needs asking if we are to create a politics that valorizes squatting and Indigenous control simultaneously.

TODD MCCALLUM  
Dalhousie University

**Richard A. Jarrell. *Educating the Neglected Majority: The Struggle for Agricultural and Technical Education in Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec*** (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2016)

*EDUCATING THE NEGLECTED Majority* is the late Richard A. Jarrell's study of the movement for agricultural and technical education in 19th-century Ontario and Québec. Led by ambitious educational reformers – a group which included legislators, journalists, manufacturers, and philanthropists – Upper and Lower Canada (later Ontario and Québec) took part in the earliest attempts in the North Atlantic world to institute agricultural and technical instruction for the working class. Jarrell was a professor in the Faculty of Science at York University before his death in 2013. A prolific researcher and writer on the history of Canadian science and technology, often with a particular focus on science and technical education, Jarrell's background situates him well to offer the most comprehensive study of its kind to date.

Jarrell's analysis is divided into two parts. The first part considers the shape and form of agricultural and technical education in pre-Confederation Canada. Through an analysis of the agricultural press, the minutes of nascent agricultural societies, provincial exhibitions, and an insightful reading of surviving government records, Jarrell demonstrates that the prime movers and shakers in Canadian educational politics were ahead of their time in the promotion of agricultural education in Upper and Lower Canada, and even made efforts to establish agricultural colleges. Nevertheless, convincing the farmer that sending a child away for such an education was worth the effort was another matter still. The few private agricultural schools that did spring up before Confederation

tended to attract few students and funds, and died shortly after their founding. Despite interest from educational leaders such as Jean-Baptist Meilleur and Egerton Ryerson, "simply building up the common-school systems in Canadas East and West took all the available energy and money." (63) Universities did not fill the void in the early years, and tended to focus on liberal education intended to prepare students for other careers.

Pre-Confederation efforts in technical education were led mainly by supporters of informal mechanics' institutes. From its beginnings in England in 1823, the movement spread quickly throughout the British North American colonies, with the Montréal Mechanics' Institution firmly in place by 1828. The Rebellion of 1837–1838 slowed the movement down, but new mechanics' institutes, particularly in Canada West, began to appear in the 1840s. While libraries were their main attraction, they also served an array of purposes, from better training and education to organized social activities. Jarrell shows us that mechanics' institutes served a vast population, including not only those in the manual trades but also people from commerce, education, a variety of professions, and many of Upper and Lower Canada's political elite. The "Victorian middle class," the author reminds us, "rarely conceived of leisure time in a frivolous way but rather believed it must be constructive and uplifting." (71) The development of more formal technical education in pre-Confederation Canada, however, was dismal. One bright spot, though, was the emergence of engineering programs at both the University of Toronto and McGill University in Montréal.

The second part of this book considers developments in post-Confederation Canada and the campaign for advancements in agricultural and technical education in the two provinces until the early

20th century. For the farmer in search of formal education, this era was one of major advancement. Successive provincial governments in Ontario assumed the state's role in providing financial stimulation toward agricultural development and education. The Ontario College of Agriculture in Guelph was one such investment at the macro level, while at the micro level Ontario acknowledged its responsibility to fund the growing number of private, and increasingly specialized, agricultural associations. This was seemingly the right approach, according to the author. "Ontario's agricultural sector was far more complex at the end of the century, and its educational response was as good as any on the continent." (163) Québec did not initially have the same success in agricultural education. Like most aspects of Québec society, the Catholic Church guided the development of agricultural politics in the province. In the 1870s, Québec had three small agricultural schools. None of them were under government control, but rather were part of colleges with religious affiliations. Despite steady political discourse and commissions of inquiry, there was little change by the end of the century. It would not be until 1907, through the philanthropy of Sir William Macdonald and Sir J.W. Robertson, that an agricultural college comparable to Guelph was created at McGill University. Political pressure then built up in the nationalist press, and by 1912 a second university agricultural program was in place at Laval. Despite its delay, Jarrell concludes, the "time for amateurs was over" and Québec was now at the forefront of agricultural education in Canada. (192)

Ontario's industrialization after 1867 raised the stakes for technical education in the province, but there was little progress in that area throughout the century, at least directly. The success of the common school movement in the first half

of the century meant that most working boys and girls could, all other things being equal, obtain a secondary school education in the growing network of high schools throughout the province. But all other things were not equal. The vast majority of working-class children did not attend high school. The main avenue for working-class education remained the mechanics' institutes; however, by the 1870s they had become "too small, too poor, and too unconnected to provide technical instruction for the rapidly changing industrial segment of Ontario's workers." (237) While the provincial government of Québec affected technical education more directly, Québec, just like Ontario, had little to show for thirty years of discussion and activity after Confederation. The decline of mechanics' institutes in the late-19th century left the working class with virtually no educational options beyond elementary school.

While an exhaustive survey of agricultural and technical education in 19th-century Ontario and Québec, there are some limitations to this study. For one, there is some awkwardness in offering a singular narrative for the two provinces. The author himself wrestles with this, and at times – such as his examination of the rise of formal technical education before Confederation – admits that "as happened in so much else the United Province did, two sets of identical machinery operated quite differently," and so "we may treat their histories separately." (98) The question, then, is why examine their history collectively? Indeed, we might ask why other provinces were not included in his survey and what we might learn from them. Second, we never fully come to understand the extent to which the working class benefited from the institutes of learning being built supposedly for them. Indeed, in his final analysis of the mechanics' institutes the author himself concludes that for the most part



“working men and women generally ignored the call” for such education, as “most, after working ten hours for \$1 a day, went exhausted to their families, for whom they worked all their lives.” (273) Working-class indifference to the efforts made by agricultural and technical education advocates, supposedly on behalf of the working class, is surely worthy of further investigation.

Despite these lingering questions, Jarrell has produced a fascinating study that will appeal to a broad range of scholars. Historians of science and technology, educational historians, and labour historians are only three of the many audiences for this book. Indeed, *Educating the Neglected Majority* is essential reading for any student of 19th-century Canadian history.

ANTHONY DI MASCIO  
Bishop's University

**Douglas McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada*** (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 2015)

FOR MANY, the overwhelming image of immigrants to Canada is one of hardship. Whether it be as actors in the fur trade, or as pioneering farmers, the idea of carving a life for oneself and one's family out of the wilderness was one that involved limited material resources, and was based mostly on the self-sufficiency of the household. While the academy has, to some extent, moved past the Laura Ingalls Wilder inspired narrative, this data-rich study not only reinforces the idea that people bought things, and that those things came from stores, but it also undertakes to unpack the accounts of those making the purchases. In doing so, the study builds a framework for a much more nuanced understanding of Upper Canadian consumption patterns,

and does so in a way that allows for future comparisons.

While such a study is not a groundbreaking concept, as McCalla himself outlines in his assessment of the literature, it is new to learn more about the details of Upper Canadian consumption in this period. Filling a hole in the data regarding material consumption in the Atlantic World, it builds on other work to look at the origins of European material culture in a period of transition between 1808 and 1861, in which the majority of the world was moving towards a more conspicuous form of consumption. The study itself is well organised, with each chapter breaking down a specific collection of goods, beginning with textiles, and moving through the wide range of goods available at general stores. By looking at the sales accounts, and not at importations, the study constructs a model of not just what was available to consumers in rural Upper Canada, but also what they actually bought. In doing so, it not only addresses larger arguments in related fields about consumption practices, but provides specific insight into the circumstances of these particular communities.

As a result, McCalla is able to confirm the continued establishment of sugar, tea, and coffee as staple goods rather than luxury ones. He is also able to engage in a brief discussion of the issue of survivability of material culture as a barrier to certain forms of archaeological evidence in regards to cotton products versus homespun. He unlocks the idea of consumer choice, even for those in these rural communities, as well as reinforcing the commonality of the extension of store credit. By illuminating that goods for sale were priced, and not simply bartered for, the rural general store is framed to look much like it would have in other Atlantic World contexts, and not as a place of barter. In fact, that services provided in payment were given cash values

in the accounts goes to further prove that even in these remote communities, currency was being used as it was in more established centres.

The study also does an excellent job of challenging the concept of the self-sufficient pioneer household and provides a more nuanced view of the economy of home production at this time. In looking at the purchasing of candles and nails, McCalla proves that consumers in this study, even though capable of making these goods for themselves, would allocate their time and energy resources to other avenues, and buy these things, rather than make them, as some narrative sources suggest. The modest purchase of gunpowder shown in this study also suggests that the narrative surrounding pioneers hunting most of the winter is inaccurate, or, at the very least, not present in this sample.

Showing how many local goods were available for purchase in the general store also proved to be a fascinating detail in the economy of the towns in question. That even the artisans of the communities, like the shoemaker, would have their goods available for sale at the general store displayed both the importance of the stores themselves to the communities, but also that the commerce of this period did not operate in a way that was outside of our modern understanding. It is also fascinating to see that, particularly in terms of alcohol and tablewares, there seems to be a real balance in terms of the matters of taste as opposed to matters of cost. Unpacking the detail that knife and fork sets were within the purchasing power of nearly all consumers, yet not commonly purchased, for example, strongly supports this very point.

Beyond the strength of the data set, and the detail it has mined, McCalla's inclusion of other approaches to consumption is a real asset. By linking the account data with census data over the study period,

McCalla succeeds in building thresholds of purchasing that allow for further discussion. In doing so, he has also provided a basis for future comparisons, both within the data set, and with other sets that have been or may be created in the future. The purposeful discussion of women as purchasers, both as individuals and in relation to the family account, helps to further de-mystify the importance of the rural woman and how the household that they lived in operated and participated in the larger community, although much of that discussion continues to revolve around textiles. The smaller aspects of the study, such as the relative prominence of medicinal opodeldoc, and the noted absence of drinking chocolate, evokes Upper Canada as a space of particular tastes and circumstances, and in doing so, helps set the study area apart as distinctive in its own right.

The negative consequence of linking the study group with the census data is that the opportunity to discuss those who would not have been counted in the census has been lost. There is one specific mention of Indigenous consumers in regards to purchasing gunpowder, but they, as well as any others who would not necessarily be included in the census, are under-reported in this comparison. The study also lacks some discussion of how the price and dollar values in the study compare to modern standards, which would be of benefit to the reader if only to show what the relative value of these goods would have in the present context. Finally, while the inclusion of all the data in the appendices is greatly appreciated, the reader would be better served to have at least some of the tables integrated into the text. This is especially true of the household by household breakdowns, which, if shown in their relevant chapters, would more clearly illustrate to the reader where in terms of the median threshold each study group appears.

By showing without question that people of Upper Canada participated in the market economy, and doing so by accessing retail accounts, McCalla succeeds in showing that there is still much that historians can do to challenge the traditional narrative even by using traditional sources. The data provided is invaluable, as is the analysis provided.

MICHAEL C. BUMSTED  
Brandon University

**Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, eds., *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror*** (Toronto: Between the Lines 2015)

THE EDITED COLLECTION, *Worth Fighting For*, is an important addition to historical literature about Canada. The nineteen different contributors provide insight into the politics, activism, institutions, social movements, and individuals that make up a long tradition of Canadian war resistance. The volume contains valuable historical information, engaging and important stories, and thought-provoking commentary. It certainly supports the editors' claims that "military conflict and mobilization in Canada have never gone unchallenged or unquestioned," and that "Canada's war resisters were a complex, active, and multifaceted group." (11)

In addition to the editors' introduction, the book is composed of seventeen chronologically organized chapters, dealing with matters as far back as the Militia Act of 1793 and as recent as public debate about Canada's military mission in Afghanistan. The 20th-century and English Canada receive the bulk of the attention. Jonathan Seiling's discussion of the historic peace churches during the War of 1812 in Chapter 1 provides evidence of the complex reaction to that

conflict in Canada, and of the significance of requisitioning and billeting as experiences of the burdens of war. Ross Fair impressively surveys the efforts of pacifist sects to secure exemption from military duty in Upper Canada and Canada West in Chapter 2. But that is where the book's pre-Confederation history ends. Pre-20th-century history ends with the next chapter, in which Amy Shaw offers a welcome new perspective on the Anglo-Boer War by reviewing opposition to Canada's first foreign war.

The first three chapters suggest a relationship between war resistance and the extent of mobilization. The small-scale of mobilization for the war in South Africa must partly explain the "muted anti-war voice in Canada" (48) that Shaw analyzes. In sharp contrast is the War of 1812, which threatened homes and communities, and made demands Canadians could often not ignore. Whereas the War of 1812 transformed social life in parts of British North America, the Anglo-Boer War did not, however important it was politically. The practical and material realities of war played at least a role in determining the level and nature of opposition to war.

The book offers 20th-century comparisons to these 19th-century conflicts in the form of the world wars, in which Canada mobilized on a massive scale, and the Cold War, which shaped Canadian politics and society for forty years, but led to participation in only one war, the Korean War. Two chapters in the book deal with the First World War and three with the Second World War. Seven of the remaining nine chapters look at the postwar period and Cold War issues, and the last two chapters are about the War on Terror. That nearly half of the book is about Cold War Canada means it is hardly even its historical coverage, but since a great deal has been written about conscription and the World Wars there is

reason to showcase scholarship on an era currently generating increased interest.

One of the historical trends the chapters suggest is the declining importance of religion for war resistance. Of the eight chapters covering the period 1812–1945, five deal explicitly with religion, whereas the remaining nine chapters on the period after 1945 do not. This periodization proposes a pattern of secularization that is doubtlessly over-simplified, but it at least asks us to consider how moral philosophies and faith traditions have been important for war resistance over time. The book's chapters might lead to the conclusion that the ideological roots of modern Canadian war resistance are in internationalism and humanitarianism, especially their feminist versions. It is possible, however, that the peace activism addressed in several of the post-1945 chapters was partially informed by religion, or shaped to some extent by religious institutions. What is clear is that a moral or faith-based objection to war was far from the only basis for opposing war, even for religious officials in some cases.

Linda Ambrose's chapter discusses the efforts of a Pentecostal school principal, the Reverend J.E. Purdie, to secure the exemption of students from military service during World War II. "Purdie was not a pacifist," explains Ambrose, and his church contained a range of opinions about participation in war. (107) Purdie's activism on behalf of his students was more about the need to explain to military authorities that service in the Pentecostal Church deserved consideration for exemption from military service on the same grounds granted other churches. For Purdie, recognition for his growing sect and protecting its future ministers was evidently worth fighting for, but was this really a form of "war resistance?" This is how Ambrose characterizes Purdie's activism, but it might instead be called an example of debate

about war policy or participation. The categories are not mutually exclusive, and part of the value of this book is how it collects together variations in opposition to participation in war. Some greater care could be taken in exploring the meaning or definition of war resistance, however.

The editors prefer an inclusive definition, and they persuasively argue for a definition of "war resister" that goes beyond pacifists to include their allies and advocates, as well as critics of "the social, economic, and political impact of war." (9) The unanswered question in the volume is whether this should include those who seek exemptions from war service, on various grounds, but apparently profess no objection to war generally, or to the war in question specifically. The question may also be put this way: are those who oppose the participation of individuals in war resisters if they do not oppose the country's collective participation?

It is not clear to me that Purdie was a war resister, but his story is a clear example of a tradition of Canadians' engagement with, and often opposition to, war policy in its domestic and foreign spheres. There is ample evidence in this book that Canadians asserted their right to debate, oppose, and negotiate wartime policies, the basis for exemption from military service being among the issues that drew their attention. Another such issue was how to respond to American migrants opposed to their country's wars, which is addressed by Jessica Squires in her chapter on the anti-draft movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Canada, and by Luke Stewart in his chapter on Iraq War resisters seeking asylum in Canada. The place of war in public education is addressed in a chapter by Rose Fine-Meyer that discusses Toronto classrooms from the 1960s to the 1990s, and one by Michael Dawson and Catherine Gidney, about the national anthem debate in New Brunswick that began in 2009. Other chapters look at

cadet training, feminist peace activism, and particular anti-war protests.

While the book reveals numerous forms of resistance to war, or to aspects of war policy and culture, the editors claim that “Canada boasts a long tradition of war resistance.” (3) A case can be made that the plural, *traditions* of war resistance, is more accurate, but the editors’ argument is set in the context of Canada’s tradition of engaging in war. From this perspective, a coherent tradition of opposition to war is clearly apparent in Canada’s past. The contemporary importance of this tradition is equally important, partly because of Canada’s ongoing commitment to military action in its interests, and partly because of the central place of war in mainstream interpretations of Canadian history.

David Tough’s chapter on resistance to conscription in the First World War highlights this latter theme. As the book’s editors do in their introduction, Tough argues against the nationalist constructions of war as heroic sacrifice in the name of democracy and freedom. Tough’s depiction of the First World War as key to the development of Canadian democracy, rather than a moment in which a pre-existing democracy was defended, will be familiar to historians of women’s suffrage, labour, and the Left. But few writers have presented this case as eloquently, and presented it as clearly as an alternative social memory for contemporary Canadians. Tough not only reviews how the democratic legacy of the First World War is rooted in Canadian resistance to conscription, and the democratic impulse behind women’s enfranchisement and the income tax, but he shows how historical analysis of war resistance can undermine “the ideological work” of commemorating war as “sacrificial myth.” (76) His chapter, and *Worth Fighting For* as a whole, demonstrate that

Canadians collectively resisted war and willingly sacrificed in the name of peace.

NATHAN SMITH  
Brock University

**Brian Thorn, *From Left to Right: Maternalism and Women’s Political Activism in Postwar Canada*** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2016)

BRIAN THORN undertakes an ambitious comparative study in *From Left to Right: Maternalism and Women’s Political Activism in Postwar Canada*. In this, his first book, Thorn compares and contrasts the differing perspectives of women involved in Alberta’s Social Credit Party (SCP or Socreds), British Columbia’s Communist Party of Canada (CPC) as well as that province’s Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) from 1945 to 1960. The comparison is an intriguing one. In their campaigns to build the “New World Order,” as Thorn argues, left- and right-wing women relied upon a common maternalist ethic – that is, exalting women’s role in the home and the family – in order to advance very different political, public agendas. In short, the CCF and CPC members advocated for a stronger welfare state, appropriating a maternalist language in part as a means to gain respectability in the conservative Cold War era. Conversely, SCP women envisioned a return to pre-capitalist, pre-industrial values. Through their activism, however, the latter implicitly suggested that women deserved a larger role in society. The use of maternalism then, was strategic, complex, and often contradictory.

Relying on biographies, the first two chapters outline, respectively, left- and right-wing women’s views on collectivism and individualism. They introduce the book’s “cast of characters,” (18) many

of whom appear in later sections. So that the reader has the luxury to flip back and forth between the text and the appendix, the author helpfully includes brief biographies at the end of the book. In the remaining chapters, Thorn offers a series of case studies in order to illustrate women's views on peace and nuclear disarmament (Chapters 3 and 4) as well as juvenile delinquency (Chapter 6). In Chapter 5, he discusses women-only organizations in all three parties, arguing that they led to a stronger voice for women. Here Thorn adopts the term "safe space" (126) in order to explain the function of these gender-segregated spaces. The latter, however, reads anachronistically, even if it is directed towards today's political parties. Whereas the first two pairs of chapters are mirror images of one another, the last two integrate both left- and right-wing women, drawing connections as well as tracing divergences.

Thorn pays careful attention to structures relating to class, ethnicity, family, religion, place, and region in shaping women's activism. *From Left to Right*, however, could have benefited from a greater engagement with critical whiteness studies, the study of the social construction of whiteness as tied to power and privilege. One Social Credit woman in this study, for example, claimed she was "an honorary Indian princess of a Pegein tribe" and had "been given the name Princess Blue Bird." (51) Yet the author provides no further comment or context. Overall, I was left wondering if more could have been said about the CPC, CCP and Socred women's rapport with racialized and Indigenous women beyond some members' clear evocation of a sense of superiority based on Britishness. Nevertheless, the book provides a window onto the ways in which women's politics were informed by highly local as well as familial factors. Herein lie its strengths.

More specifically, *From Left to Right* vividly presents the personal and political trajectories of CPC, CCF, and SCP women, arguing that the two were in fact intertwined. In Chapter 1, for example, we meet Mary Crowe from Nelson, BC, a rank-and-file Communist party supporter. Crowe came from a family of Welsh miners who immigrated to Canada when she was a child. Later, she and her husband joined the CPC under the auspices of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. Indeed, as Thorn points out, resource-based areas often produced a pro-union, leftist culture, while small towns and rural areas with economies based on farming, such as those in Alberta, fostered a more conservative political climate. Significantly, both Crowe and her Socred counterparts tended to come from families with strong traditions of civic engagement. In other words, the book reminds historians of social movements in Canada to provide deep contextualization when examining the politics of activist historical actors. It also challenges scholars to anchor their analyses locally rather than regionally or nationally.

Similar to other, more recent studies on women's activism, *From Left to Right* moves away from the wave metaphor, or the concept of waves receding and surging and of activism occurring in starts and stops, to explain feminism. Therefore, the book builds on the works of feminist labour historians who argue that a vibrant "left feminism" developed in labour and left-wing movements in the 1940s and 1950s. By including Social Credit women, *From Left to Right* is also in conversation with the growing North American historiography on conservatism. Together, these discussions further complicate our understanding of the 1950s. Rather than strictly retreating into the domestic sphere after entering the workforce

in greater numbers during World War II, as Thorn points out, left- and right-wing women entered the public sphere through party activism. Their actions, the author contends, helped pave the way for the resurgence of feminist activism in the 1960s and 1970s. Interestingly, SCP cabinet minister Ethel Wilson helped to establish a women's bureau in Alberta, the latter integral to advancing a feminist agenda into the present. By the end of the 1960s, however, women played less of a role in the Conservative party, which, as Thorn maintains, contributed to its slow decline.

Yet there exists a tension between the book's intention of calling into question the wave metaphor and the author's use of its terminology, especially the frequent comparisons to the "first," turn-of-the-century "wave" of feminism, which divorces the book's subjects from their postwar socio-economic context. By trying to draw links between politically divergent groups of people, moreover, *From Left to Right* occasionally conflates very different forms of women's activism. When discussing campaigns for peace, for instance, the author maintains that Social Credit women expressed concern over war-mongering men who "left society in poor shape." "In its portrayal of men as the major problem with contemporary society," as he claims, "we might see this view as a precursor to some branches of 1960s and 1970s radical feminism." (92) This statement elides the fact that patriarchy, rather than men, was radical feminists' prime target. Furthermore, the political and intellectual traditions upon which these two groups relied upon and contributed to were poles apart.

*From Left to Right* nonetheless provides historians of postwar women's activism with a valuable contribution to continue to ponder these questions. The book is also useful for scholars working on right- and left-wing social movements as well

as post-World War II Western Canadian social history more broadly.

AMANDA RICCI  
McMaster University

**Cy Gonick, ed., *Canada Since 1960, a People's History: A Left Perspective on 50 Years of Politics, Economics, and Culture* (Toronto: James Lorimer 2016)**

*CANADIAN DIMENSION* – Canada's premier magazine of left thought and politics – recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and, to commemorate the occasion, the magazine's founder and editor, Cy Gonick, has provided an edited collection of more than two dozen reflections on *Dimension's* significance to the Canadian left. The book shows the impact of *Dimension* on not only the coverage and examination of Canadian left events, but as an influencer of multiple leftist ideas and concepts, along with being an indispensable forum for leftists of nearly all tendencies and contexts to converse and debate. *Dimension*, at day's end, was not simply meant to theorize about Canada's left, but about enacting change in the ways it best felt possible. If one thing draws the collection's chapters together, it is the perception – in the words of labour historian Bryan Palmer – that over the half-century *Dimension* has been "Canada's main forum for discussion, debate, and exchange of left-wing thought." (463)

Fittingly, the book is anchored with a comprehensive chapter by Gonick, who tells us of the haphazard early *Dimension* years through its development into a fully-fledged operation, along with how his own personal path to the left influenced his perception that, in the early 1960s, Canada was desperately in need of an unabashedly left magazine connected to struggles at home and abroad. This is where *Dimension* came in. Gonick's

chapter is deeply informative and engaging, although it could perhaps be more concise and streamlined: some of the later pages could have been weaved into previous sections, and the chapter is harder to parse because it alternates between a chronological and thematic approach. Still, the chapter is still ultimately effective. Gonick's general argument – which is accompanied by his views on the various historical and contemporary left debates – is that *Dimension* has been a trailblazing publication on the Canadian left scene. Throughout, Gonick outlines the places in which *Dimension* broke ground, offering coverage of anti-colonial struggles, bringing radical French Canadian voices to English readers, making the cause of left nationalism a central one, and being an intellectual sounding board for New Leftists operating in communities, the labour movement, and both within and outside the New Democratic Party.

Beyond this, Gonick outlines that, while *Dimension* was initially dominated by a small team of largely white and male scholars, the magazine became increasingly effective at including the intersection of socialist and working-class politics with environmental, feminist, Indigenous, anti-racist, and LGBTQ movements and schools of thought. Here, Gonick suggests that the marriage between socialist analysis and the experiences of marginalized peoples gave *Dimension* a character that few other sources offered in pre-internet Canada. While one might see the conflict of interest in Gonick celebrating the magazine that has in large part defined his legacy, Gonick would say that his children aside, *Dimension* “has been the one constant in my life.” (18) I do not feel the claims are out of line in any substantive sense. Gonick never claims that *Dimension* has gotten every issue or prediction correct, nor that it lacks blind spots in its range

of coverage and analysis, but he effectively demonstrates that the magazine has endeavoured to be a broad voice for Canadian leftists, beginning when few such venues existed beyond numerous sectarian options.

Beyond this foundation, the collection continues with pieces showing how *Dimension* has played a special role in illuminating aspects of the Canadian left, such the environment, French and English Canadian nationalism, the evolution of the labour movement, imperialism in Palestine and elsewhere, student politics, and the developing role of various marginalized populations. In this sense, each chapter leaps off of Gonick's introduction, offering its own perspectives. In many places, views and interpretations differ from Gonick's, but most every chapter holds that *Dimension* has been, and continues to be, an indispensable magazine of left Canadian politics, thought, and culture, and that one of its greatest strengths has been its ability to adapt to the ebbs and flows of old movements, along with the rise of new ones. Additionally, most note that while *Dimension* has been consistently “of the left,” the specifics have never been strictly defined. Put another way, the diversity of thought within *Dimension's* pages has allowed the magazine to have malleable views on a host of topics, which has kept it from becoming doctrinaire, stale, or overly inward-looking.

Ultimately, this collection of essays, including major figures from Canada's academic left, is a welcome addition to numerous bodies of literature. For activists within various left circles, this book offers an accessible read that highlights the history behind various causes, how this has influenced the present, and how we may find paths forward for the left in our age of austerity and right-wing nationalism. For scholars of the Canadian left, this collection is a worthwhile



resource, for even though much within can be found elsewhere, the analysis intertwined with the history of *Dimension* makes for a unique approach. Indeed, for anyone using *Dimension* in the course of a scholarly project, this book should be a required source to situate the magazine's debates, personalities, and development.

But even beyond the left, the book is useful for all those scholars interested in the intersectional histories of women, environmentalists, racialized peoples, and LGBTQ peoples. As an example, labour studies scholar Stephanie Ross' chapter deftly demonstrates how *Dimension* has been host to a swath of very difficult discussions about socialism, feminism, and the practical realities therein. This often entailed different debates about how socialists often failed to imbue feminist principles in their activism and personal lives. Further, she speaks of how white socialist feminists at times resisted the critiques of racialized sisters, who saw oppression not just from the capitalist class or social regressive, but from within their own movements. Such discussions here are woven into the pages of *Dimension*, and should be of value to all scholars of postwar Canadian feminism.

In the end, Gonick and company have put together an interesting set of articles that critically display the value of *Dimension* past, present, and future. If one is looking for a single collection that gives readers a broad view of the Canadian left over the past fifty years, suitable for those on both sides of the academic-popular divide, there are few better options than this overview of *Canadian Dimension*.

CHRISTO AIVALIS  
Queen's University

**Simon Archer, Daniel Drache and Peer Zumbansen, eds., *Daunting Enterprise of the Law: Essays in Honour of Harry W. Arthurs*** (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2017)

EDITING A COLLECTION of essays in honour of Harry Arthurs is itself a daunting task. During his long career, Arthurs has been active as a public intellectual, especially as an influential and off-cited labour arbitrator, university president, and author of official reports evaluating the state of legal education or labour law. He also has enjoyed an impressive scholarly career, contributing to the fields of labour law, administrative law, and legal education, as well as developing a pluralist approach to the law. He writes with verve, and increasingly for a transnational audience. His editors, a labour lawyer, a political economist, and a transnational legal theorist, have done an admirable job in identifying themes and assembling a wide range of authors – twenty-five – to reflect upon Arthurs' contribution to legal scholarship and their own work. Some chapters explain Arthur's major intellectual contributions, for example his ideas on legal pluralism (Brian Langille in Chapter 1, Eric Tucker in Chapter 4), industrial citizenship (Gregor Murray in Chapter 3) and the law of subordination and resistance (Katherine V.W. Stone in Chapter 21), and detail his law reform efforts and impact on the trajectory of labour law (Gilles Trudeau in Chapter 5; Kevin Banks in Chapter 14 and Guy Davidov in Chapter 15). Others use his approach as a way of contesting existing boundaries of labour law (Kerry Rittich's discussion of informal work in Chapter 6), or for looking for other sources of norm generation and resistance for building transnational labour law (Adelle Blackett in Chapter 18).

The collection emphasizes Arthurs' intellectual contribution as a legal

academic. There is some reference to his personal and social history in the introduction and the chapters by Langille and, especially, Mark Freedland, which helps to explain Arthurs' focus on labour law and industrial relations. He was part of Jewish intellectual life in Toronto, which had a decidedly leftist, educated, and labour tradition. At that time, Jews were shut out of much of Toronto's political elite. His grandfather was a labour supporter, and his legal mentors combined a range of professional roles, such as professor, arbitrator, lawyer, and judge. Arthurs studied labour law with the prominent labour law scholar Bora Laskin in 1957, and went to Harvard to study with Archibald Cox, also a prominent labour law and civil rights scholar, where he wrote a thesis on the legal regulation of picketing. Given his intellectual training and milieu, it is not surprising that Arthurs adopted a critical realist perspective on the common law approach judges took to resolving industrial conflict in Canada. He endorsed autonomous collective bargaining and supportive state regulation that would institutionalize industrial democracy and citizenship. He believed that the social generation of legal norms was more likely to be successful in resolving conflict than state imposed solutions. Arthurs adopted a legal pluralist account of the development and institutionalization of norms, which led him to reject the idea that superior courts were the sole and true measure of legality. His approach to judicial review and its role in administrative law in general and labour law in particular reflected his attention to social context and the microphysics of power. He drew on and developed this account of the workings of law in his role as an arbitrator, where he helped to construct the boundaries of industrial citizenship. He argued that lawyers should be trained in a variety of social sciences, and that law was an academic study and

a vocation. Robert Gordon observes that Arthurs' heroic view of legal education comes from his own career, where he played a number of important and different institutional roles, and has in his own practice and scholarship "striven to bring deeper historical knowledge and broader comparative social knowledge to bear upon the solution of current problems." (197)

The book is divided into seven parts comprised of twenty-four chapters. In the titles to five of the parts the word "labour" figures, although administrative and constitutional law as well as legal education are topics to which Arthurs often returned and to which several chapters are devoted. Although interdisciplinary is a theme both of Arthurs' approach, most of contributions are written by legal academics. This focus is not surprising given Arthurs' engagement with legal education and legal research, and his commitment to a law and society approach.

The editors' introduction identifies and traces some of the key themes in Arthurs' scholarship, which are taken up by several of the contributors. They emphasize his contextualized way of seeing legal problems, and his ability to consider broader structures and other institutions, as well as other disciplines, when considering the shape of, and solution to, legal problems. They chart the shift in his work from legal pluralism as an analytic and normative frame to one of political economy, although they insist that Arthurs remained a pluralist both because he is interdisciplinary and because he is searching for ways in which social norms can be collectively expressed in ways that resist inequality and subordination. The editors note that this shift from a practitioner and proponent of industrial pluralism to a critic of neo-liberal globalism is an unbridgeable divide, (10) one which Arthurs attributes to the new economy and globalization. (84)

Harry Arthurs' scholarship in labour law charts the arc of the pinnacle of industrial citizenship and industrial pluralism in the 1960s in Canada to its fall in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Arthurs began his academic career when the institutions of industrial pluralism in the private sector were strong and being extended to the public sector. Early he saw how globalization and new economy were hollowing out national labour law by eroding the supports upon which the fordist regime had been built. This writing, as well as his critique of constitutional labour rights as an institutional basis for a renewed labour law, are widely cited and respected for their breadth and cogency of analysis.

Some of the most impressive contributions take issue with Arthurs. Lorne Sossin engages with Arthurs' distrust of judicial review and preference for the decisions of administrative actors. He appreciates the difficulties that a pluralist confronts when dealing with issues of civil liberties and rights that are infringed by an increasingly securitized state. In these cases, judicial review has some attractions. Sossin notes that the executive branch may well have overshadowed both the judiciary and the legislature in contemporary Canada, and the question is whether administrative agencies have the capacity "to foster truly diverse and non-hierarchical forms of norm generation." (161)

Arthurs creates a map of labour law of his own projection, emphasizing the concept of labour market regulation and the on-going crisis. More recently, he has added a broader idea of the "law of economic subordination and resistance" that is not limited to the labour market, but includes consumers, tenants and other groups who should have the right to be protected from the arbitrary experience of private economic power (Harry W. Arthurs, "Labor Law as the Law of Economic Subordination and Resistance:

A Thought Experiment," *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal* 34, 3 [2013]: 585–604). How it could be realized is left unsaid. But the fact that it emerges out of such clear-sighted pessimism does leave some small space for hope.

JUDY FUDGE  
Kent Law School

**Shirley A. McDonald and Bob Barnetson, eds., *Farm Workers in Western Canada: Injustices and Activism*** (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2016)

*FARM WORKERS in Western Canada: Injustices and Activism* examines the ways in which social, political, and economic conditions have shaped the organization and conditions of farm work in western Canada from the late-19th century to the present day. The contributors to the book make use of government documents, testimonials, life writing, interview data, and national and international law to interrogate the rights and disadvantages of agricultural workers across different sectors. One of the greatest strengths of this book is its emphasis on unsettling a series of longstanding myths about agriculture in western Canada.

Drawing on political economy, Bob Barnetson examines how the rhetoric of the so-called "family farm" has been strategically employed to exclude farm workers in Alberta from rights and protections available to almost every other working citizen in the province. Many large and intensive agricultural operations remain family-owned; however, the social relations of production have changed as a growing number of farm operations expand, intensify, and externalize production costs onto farm workers. Barnetson argues, quite persuasively, that the family farm is a misleading and politically charged label that is not

particularly useful for public policy debate. In the subsequent chapter, Darlene A. Dunlop and Shirley A. McDonald illuminate the lived experience of farm workers, the dangers they face, and barriers to reforming labour relations and rights. This testimonial puts to rest any disbelief about the inequitable conditions of labour many farm workers endure; it falsifies the myth that governments do not know about such conditions; and it exposes continuous barriers to farm worker activism. With this contemporary political portrait in view, McDonald takes a more historical approach by examining the ideologies and hierarchies of white settlers in the late-19th and 20th centuries. She demonstrates the ways in which settler narratives promote the hard work, rights, and privileges of the white aristocracy while obscuring the dispossession and work of nameless “Indians” and “Chinks.” (73) McDonald’s analysis illustrates the longstanding class and racial hierarchies underlying relationships between farm owners and farm workers in western Canada. It offers a powerful counter history to the dominant story of the settling of the west that ought to be required reading for all Canadians.

In the second half of the book, the contributors continue to explore the role of government policies and racialization in other agricultural sectors and provinces. Michael J. Broadway and Jill Bucklaschuk interrogate the shift toward migrant and immigrant workers in the meat processing industry in Brooks, Alberta and southwestern Manitoba. Broadway focuses on the implications for the community while Bucklaschuk examines the physical, mental, and emotional challenges that emerge from the particular conditions imposed on temporary foreign workers. Her work contributes to the growing body of research on the injuries, pain, and silences that temporary foreign workers endure to secure permanent

residency in Canada. Moreover, she argues that the two-step structure used by the Manitoba government to first recruit foreign workers, and then allow them to apply for full residency, exacerbates inequalities between workers and employers. In doing so, she illustrates the importance of ensuring the right to collective action and advocacy particularly for foreign workers.

In Chapter 6, Zane Hamm turns the reader’s gaze toward the experiences of farm owner-operators. This is the only chapter to focus on “small farms” and the impact of competition from agribusiness. More specifically, Hamm explores the increasing dependence some farms have on the oil and gas industry for off-farm employment as well as its implications for family dynamics and decision-making. Hamm also identifies gender differences in employment related geographic mobility. Such family and gendered dynamics require further investigation and theorization, particularly in regions that are not as strongly influenced by the oil and gas industry. Moreover, more attention needs to be paid to the role of place and scale in the organization and mobility of farm labour in Alberta and western Canada more broadly.

Jennifer Koshan and colleagues provide a legal analysis of the exclusion of farm workers in Alberta from employment and labour legislation prior to the New Democrats passing Bill 6 in 2015. They argue that the previous legislation violated farm workers’ rights to freedom of association, security of the person, and equity under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Although they make strong arguments against the historical exclusion of farm worker in Alberta from the Employment Standards Code, the Labour Relations Code, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, and the Workers Compensation Act, they also raise questions about how new

regulations will be enforced and what forms future exclusions might take. Importantly, for example, family members are excluded from employment standards protections in many provinces. Certainly, there is a continuous need for scrutiny of inclusions and exclusions that form present legislation as well as closer examination of challenges related to enforcement.

The final chapters of the book examine the use of migrant labour in British Columbia's fruit and vegetable growing regions. Kerry Preibisch demonstrates the ways in which the seasonal agricultural worker program has been used to shape a particular kind of worker who is not only racialized but also young. This emphasis on youthfulness and the precarious legal status of the migrant is critical to creating the conditions for hyper-productivity. Similarly, Patricia Tomic and Ricardo Trumper examine the continuous exploitation of racialized and marginalized groups labouring in the Okanagan Valley. Their analysis follows the chain of production to tourist consumption revealing the ways in which exploitative practices are masked when presented to the consumer. These final chapters shed light on the complex spatial and social organization of labour practices.

A particular strength of the book is its focus on understanding the hierarchical, classed, and racialized nature of farm labour; however, more attention could be paid to gender as an analytical category rather than just an attribute. For example, what role does masculinity play in the agrarian myths and practices being examined? The authors have also failed to include Saskatchewan in the book. Although the editors note that there are important differences in the ways that provincial governments respond to negative aspects of farm work in western Canada, the book focuses predominantly

on the province of Alberta. A concluding chapter, which examines the important differences between regions, sectors (e.g. meat packing, ranching, and fruit growing) and the diversity of farm workers (e.g., migrant labourers, tourist-workers, small farm owner-operators) would have strengthened the contribution of this book and presented an agenda for future research, activism, and policy change.

RACHEL HERRON  
Brandon University

**Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec*** (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2016)

SEAN MILLS' *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec* explores the intricate and largely unexplored relationship between Québec society and the influence of migration from the Global South, specifically Haiti. His work details the bonds created between cultural and political elites as well as how Haitian migrants in the 1970s helped to shape Québec society. While some of the broader arguments may seem a bit familiar, the book is a necessary and important contribution to the history of Québec, Haitian migration, and Canadian history broadly speaking.

Mills divides his book into two parts with the first part dealing with the inter-war connections between Haitian cultural elites and those in Québec. He reveals how Haiti was both connected to French Canada by language and yet, at the same time, was considered fundamentally different and less civilized. Language and culture could help bring together Haitian elites and French-Canadian ones as Black Haitian leaders could "speak white" (26) by speaking French. As one Laval professor put it: "If I closed my eyes, if I did not know that I was sitting among palm trees

among ebony faces, how could I imagine myself anywhere else but in a Parisien salon!" (33) The Vodou and Creole influences among the Haitian peasantry led French-Canadian intellectuals to have a dual understanding of Haitians. They simultaneously connected with Haitian elites through language, yet believed peasants needed saving. As Mills demonstrates in the next chapter, the peasants' beliefs and culture was what drew French Missionaries to Haiti in order to help save Haitians from themselves. While Mills' work in conveying these views is notable, Part One does appear to be the weaker portion of the book. It only encompasses two chapters while six make up Part Two making the decision to split the book in two an odd choice. The emphasis in these first two chapters is almost all on the writings of elites and despite the frequent mentions of the Haitian peasantry, the reader is not exposed to them as much as one would like. It would have also been interesting to know if French Canadians shared the sentiments of the cultural and political French elite and were able to overlook race when it came to the Haitian elites.

Part Two is arguably some of Mills' best work. In these chapters, Mills introduces readers to Haiti's brutal leader François Duvalier who rose to power in 1957 and ruled until his death in 1971. Originally elected as a populist Black nationalist leader, Duvalier was known for torturing and murdering his political opponents. His repressive regime forced many Haitians who opposed him into exile and Mills eloquently describes the harsh realities faced by liberally-minded intellectuals and artists, many of whom arrived in Québec and began to contribute to the transformation of Québec society that was taking place in the 1960s. In some ways, the argument feels somewhat familiar in that Québec society was changing because of international

influences but what really stands out is Mills' ability to complicate the argument further by detailing the myriad ways that language, race, gender, and class intersected and played an important role in transforming Québec society with the arrival of Haitian migrants.

Any historical study that deals with migration has to balance how much attention to devote to the receiving nation versus the migrants' home nation and there are no easy methods of deciding this. There are moments in the book where readers may want more on Haiti, and hear from a broader segment of the Haitian people beyond their activities and role in relation to Québec. The book tends to focus quite a bit on Haitian intellectuals and their works though there are moments in Part Two where Mills does give us greater insights into how a broader class of Haitians struggled to carve a space in Québec society.

Part Two pays particular attention to how Haitians were active in shaping Québec. In "Migrants and Borders," Mills details how 1500 Haitian migrants arrived in Québec between late November 1972 and mid-August 1973. They were part of a diaspora seeking to escape the brutal and repressive regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier, who was the successor to his brutal father. Many were sold tickets to Canada under false pretenses. They were often told by sellers that they could claim legal status upon arrival but what they were not told is that the law that formally permitted such a practice no longer applied. The ability to apply for landed immigrant status was removed in early November 1972. The result was that the government initiated a plan to deport these Haitians from Canada. Legal appeals to stop the deportation plan were also failing at a high rate. The concern the immigrants had was the likelihood that their lives would be placed in danger if they were deported back as the regime

would consider these fleeing Haitians as opponents of the regime. Activists such as Paul Dejean organized around their fellow community members and were also able to appeal to broader Québec society by demonstrating that these Haitian immigrants, as French speakers with a history of immigrating to Québec, were ideal immigrants and a part of a broader French speaking community. All told approximately 55 per cent of the group had their deportation orders suspended. In "The Location of Knowledge," Mills examines the second wave of Haitian migration to Québec which often found themselves working in domestic service and the taxi industry. He explores the growth of Haitian feminism in the Maison d'Haïti which functioned as a site of mutual aid but also a hub for Haitian women to engage in activism to oppose a power structure that forced women into secondary roles. It contributed to the growth of Haitian feminism through the creation of the Rally for Haitian Women and later the group *Nègès Vanyan*. By means of publications and public events, they worked to empower marginalized women in Québec. Mills also reveals how Haitian taxi drivers organized to combat the intense racism they faced on the job. Transport Canada established regulations that had the effect of limiting the number of Haitian drivers able to work at the airport which substantially hurt their income. Taxi companies like SOS Taxi even fired twenty Black drivers in a day, arguing it could not compete with all-white companies. Haitian drivers took to public protest and activism expressing their thoughts in the street but also in publications like *Le Collectif*. It would have been interesting to know how widespread the influence of Haitians was on Québec society more broadly. Significant events can stand out in history and sometimes stand out for that reason alone and not because they demonstrate

a longer-term trend. Still, Mills' is able to make his point that the activism of Haitians enabled them to claim a public voice and help redefine Québec's social order when it came to race and gender.

*A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Québec* is a valuable contribution to Québec history by detailing the role that Haitians had in the remaking of Québec, particularly during the transformative period of the 1960s and beyond. Despite some minor drawbacks, Sean Mills has delivered an important and necessary read for anyone studying Québec history, and reminds us of the multitude of ways that Haiti and the Haitian people have helped shape that history.

DENNIS MOLINARO  
Trent University

**Caitlin Gordon-Walker, *Exhibiting Nation: Multicultural Nationalism (and Its Limits) in Canada's Museums***  
(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2016)

A COMPELLING ELEMENT of this book is its ability to force readers to reconsider the more insidious aspects inherent in presenting Canada as a benevolent and inclusive multicultural nation. Multicultural nationalism, as defined by Gordon-Walker, combines the "unifying intentions of nationalism with the pluralizing ambitions of multiculturalism," a form of inclusive nationalism. (7) Gordon-Walker explores how the concept of multicultural nationalism can only be sustained up to a certain point using three basic tenets: firstly, that the state can always achieve unity in diversity; secondly, that the nation can achieve adequate recognition of every individual; lastly, that the nation provides an adequate model for understanding cultural differences on a global or national

scale. (7) The concept of multicultural nationalism explored throughout this book is not only relevant in a Canadian sense, but can be applied more broadly in Australia, Britain, the United States, and the European Union, as these places also incorporate ideas of cultural diversity and tolerance into their national identity. The historiography of multiculturalism is explored in detail and, although exemplary in terms of research, is extremely dense at times and bears the hallmarks of this book's association to her doctoral dissertation at Trent University.

The book is divided into sections related to the metaphors of a Feast, a Spectacle, and a Border. Gordon-Walker uses these themes to delineate different types of representational practices in relation to the Royal BC Museum (RBCM), the Royal Alberta Museum (RAM), and the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). "Feast" explores the concept of power and display related to representation. When thinking about a feast there is typically a host and guests with predetermined social etiquette. While feast is employed to represent the sensory dimension of engagement, Gordon-Walker uses spectacle to emphasize the visual aspects and interactive practices of engagement in museums. According to Gordon-Walker there is a normative relationship between the viewer and viewed that is always established in museums. The border is used as a metaphor to delineate boundaries between clearly defined groups and is employed in both the disciplinary and dialogical sense of a border. The use of feast, spectacle, and border is an interesting way to compel readers to consider the questions of inclusion and exclusion according to the power relations at play. These metaphors are all heavily influenced by the concept of museums as contact zones, first employed by Mary-Ann Pratt. Pratt defined "contact zones" as spaces of encounter, negotiation or

contact and not one of simple imposition (Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* [London: Routledge, 1992]). The museum as a frame for this discussion is ideal and Gordon-Walker uses interesting case studies to explore the contradiction of museums as disciplinary and also dialogic spaces of contact.

Using the three aforementioned museums, Gordon-Walker traces the structural limits of multicultural nationalism that is embedded in the narratives and also the practices of representation in each museum. In Part Two of the book, "Feast," I appreciated the personal element that Gordon-Walker brought into her discussion of the RBCM. In this section, she highlights the Chinatown exhibition and the limits in the claim that the multicultural nation is achieved when we find unity in diversity. Using the sensory experience, Gordon-Walker explores the caveat that the inclusion of difference must not threaten the unity of the proposed nation. (49) She illustrates how the "museum deliberately seeks to disrupt the narrative of inclusiveness by engaging visitors' senses" with a feeling of discomfort in the Chinatown area of the exhibit. (83) Gordon-Walker has her own reservations with the fact that the exhibit "begs the questions as to whether it is possible to raise the spectre of racial segregation in museums without merely reproducing it." (86) This is an extremely important question that may have benefited from a discussion concerning the curation of difficult knowledge. As scholars Erica Lehrer and Cynthia E. Milton explain, difficult knowledge "is knowledge that does not fit. It therefore induces a breakdown in experience, forcing us to confront the possibility that the conditions of our lives and the boundaries of our collective selves may be quite different from how we normally, reassuringly think of them" (Erica Lehrer, Cynthia E. Milton, Monica



Eileen Patterson (eds.), *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places*, [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011], 8). When discussing the Chinatown exhibit, I noted that the interview with the RBCM curator, Lore Hammond is only cited once. However, since oral history interviews were conducted with curators from each museum it seems a shame that she did not include more of their thoughts concerning these arguments.

In Part Three, Gordon-Walker uses the metaphor of spectacle by examining the RAM's cultural communities program. Once again, this section illustrates different exhibits that took place at the RAM and how they "serve as a place where visitors will develop their own interpretations and engage in dialogue that might reinforce or challenge them." (104) However, Gordon-Walker criticizes the way in which museums construct cultural difference by collecting objects and cataloguing them on the basis of their cultural group, by taking photographs that represent specific cultures and by hosting performances or exhibitions that recognize specific cultures. She further contends that the museum is in fact "rendering cultural difference as a spectacle of cultural diversity, presenting different cultures as objects for visitors' visual consumption." (111) I agree with the fact that museums must be conscious of the ways in which they frame cultural difference. Although this argument removes some agency from certain cultural groups who have worked very hard for their recognition and also distinct representation within museums. Gordon-Walker uses the RAM exhibit *Chop Suey on the Prairies: A Reflection on Chinese Restaurants in Alberta* to illustrate an inherent worry that many curators have which is that visitors may not understand the deeper meanings on display. She makes a fair point that "despite its provocative intentions the exhibition might

inspire dialogue that reinforces, rather than challenges, the structures of authority and hierarchy upheld by multicultural nationalism." (126) However, I believe this dialogical element is also important and oftentimes the discussions from visitors, even if they are not what the curator intended, can shine light onto interesting social issues.

In Part Four, the "Border," Gordon-Walker completes her case studies with an examination of the ROM's world culture's gallery. I found this section to be the most engaging as it sets up the mandate and layout of the museum flawlessly. Through the use of maps and visual images Gordon-Walker powerfully argues that, by organizing different geographical regions in different parts, the ROM's architecture is creating spatiotemporal borders. The layout in this gallery implies that spatial and temporal boundaries exist and that cultures seem fixed. Gordon-Walker concedes that the museum acknowledges these constructed boundaries at times, yet she rightly argues they could do more by "openly acknowledging its partiality in the sense of being both incomplete and subjective." (173)

The epilogue contains extremely interesting insights into the authors reasoning. As a reader I almost wished some of the content in the epilogue had come earlier, yet this book is definitely crucial for those interested in museum theory. This book forces the reader to rethink the structures and limitations concerning multiculturalism and how it is curated in some Canadian museums.

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**Ryan Dearinger, *The Filth of Progress: Immigrants, Americans, and the Building of Canals and Railroads in the West*** (Oakland: University of California Press 2016)

THE CANAL AND railroad transportation infrastructure built in the United States from the 1820s to the 1870s was a revolution in transportation that helped to facilitate the market revolution and later industrial capitalism. Central to these internal improvements – as they were known in the 19th century – were wage workers. Although the canals and especially the first transcontinental railroad were viewed by contemporaries as a means to bind the nation together and to progressively move the nation forward, the common workers on these projects were largely left out of the national narrative that celebrated American progress in the 19th century. Nevertheless, scholars in recent decades have noted their contribution to the country's transportation infrastructure and have examined their historical agency in selective contexts. In an effort to provide a more comprehensive history of the wage workers who laboured on the mobile 19th century wage labour frontier is Ryan Dearinger's *The Filth of Progress*. Dearinger does not leave out native-born transportation construction workers, but his primary focus is on three main groups of wage labourers: Irish, Chinese, and Mormons. In his study, he argues that immigrant and native-born workers clashed with elites and other Americans "over the meaning of work, progress, manhood, and citizenship." (9) And out of this conflict, these workers, who were considered unfit by many Americans for inclusion as equal members of the republic, were able "to redefine their role in American progress and refashion their inherited notions of work, manhood, and citizenship." (9)

In the sparsely settled regions of the antebellum Midwest, where major canal works were initiated, local labour was insufficient in the numbers necessary for such large scale construction enterprises. Even though the wages could be comparatively high for this type of grueling manual labour, the work itself was found to be quite objectionable by many native-born men. Contractors, however, could turn to a transient labour population of immigrant Irish who were entering the United States in ever growing numbers. These Irish workers came to dominate the labour on Midwestern canal building and some of the early railroad construction of the era as well, such as on the Illinois Central Railroad. Researching and writing the history of these labourers is difficult given that little written evidence, from the workers themselves, is left in the historical record. Historians, therefore, have to turn to other primary sources, which can be highly biased against these workers in many regards. Dearinger sifts through a plethora of sources to write a compelling history of Irish workers and reveals that the Irish exhibited a vigorous, collective effort to have a say in their workplace through the demand for better working conditions, hours, and pay. Dearinger also deconstructs acts of violence and alcohol consumption to demonstrate the social and culture space that these immigrants carved out for themselves as men and as workers, for they believed that they were just as fit for the status of whiteness and citizenship as native-born Americans of European ancestry. Here Dearinger effectively builds on the scholarship of David Roediger, Peter Way, and Noel Ignatiev, who have dealt with similar themes.

Turning to the Far West, one of the more innovative chapters in Dearinger's book is his examination of Mormon wage workers on the transcontinental railroad.

Mormons were a considerable contrast to Irish immigrant labour and other workers on the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad's portion of the line. Mormons, the author argues, took advantage of the opportunity to be part of the grand, national enterprise that linked the West and East of the country together. Here they could fight for inclusion in the 19th century national progressive narrative and yet stay true to their religious and cultural convictions, especially their sense of masculinity and constructive labour on the western frontier. Mormons contested the prejudices against them though their productivity, entrepreneurialism and, in their minds, upright moral character. Mormon community leaders and average settlers redefined the building of "civilization" in the West to conform to their values. According to Dearing, unlike the Irish, they did not strive for inclusion in the republic as much as they desired to demonstrate the moral superiority of their community and to be accepted on their own terms.

Rounding out Dearing's study is an examination of Chinese workers on the western portion of the transcontinental railroad. After struggling to secure dependable labour from the Caucasian population, the management of the Central Pacific Railroad turned to Chinese workers, many of whom arrived in the second great wave of immigration to the United States in the 1860s. Also, due to placer mining fields being played out in California along with the Chinese being largely excluded from hard rock mining, these workers had few employment options. Railroad construction, then, proved highly desirable. Although other historians have explored the history of Chinese labour on the western line of the transcontinental railroad, Dearing offers an interesting perspective on Chinese workers within the larger national progressive narrative of western

expansion and economic development. Even though the Chinese exhibited their own historical agency in efforts to secure better wages and working conditions as the Irish had, they were destined, at least in the 19th century, not to achieve inclusion in the republic. Ethnic origin trumped accomplishment in the workplace, demonstrating that Americans were unwilling to accept the reality that the country was a multicultural society in the making.

*The Filth of Progress* examines several groups of labouring communities that were crucial to the construction of the transportation infrastructure of antebellum and postbellum periods in the Midwest and Far West. In some respects, Dearing is expanding the boundaries of Carlos Schwantes' concept of the "wageworkers' frontier." At the heart of this study is an argument that conflict and not community characterized these construction projects. Dearing contends that both 19th century observers and modern scholars have overlooked this aspect of the physical construction of American progress. Moreover, Dearing's study underscores the fact that those thought to be unfit for citizenship in the republic actually were instrumental in building that republic. It is true that most contemporaries who observed and commented on the transportation achievements of the 19th century celebrated the engineers, entrepreneurs, and political leaders who made these projects possible while at the same time neglected to include the working men who did much of the physical labour. Unskilled labour, though not always an accurate term, tends to be overlooked or underappreciated in a capitalist society both by many in a given era and even by the historians of that society. However, historians engaged in labour history have an opportunity to bring to light that history of men and women and at times children

who built these societies with their hands, bodies, and skills. Dearing has added a thoughtful and well-researched contribution to this genre of scholarship.

GREG HALL

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**Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II*** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2014)

BEGINNING IN THE MID-19TH century, millions of Chinese left the southeastern coast of China for new opportunities in other parts of Asia and across the Pacific Ocean. For many readers, the history of Chinese immigration to the United States is well-trodden ground. In recent years, scholars have also begun to pay closer attention to Chinese migration to other destinations in the Americas. But while much of this work has been transnational and attentive to borderlands approaches, they have still remained largely constrained by a national or binational focus.

In a welcome departure, Elliott Young's *Alien Nation* provides a hemispheric and global perspective that builds on these earlier studies, bringing them together into one comprehensive analysis. Young allows the immigrants themselves to "determine the parameters of the study," (10) and thus follows the circuits of Chinese migration across the Pacific and to the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Peru from the 1840s to the 1940s. In doing so, he makes more clearly visible the extensive and complicated networks that brought at least 670,000 Chinese to Anglo North America (i.e., the United States and Canada) and close to 340,000 to Latin America over the course of a century. At the same time, he provides a more hemispheric view of the patterns

of migration, arrival, discrimination, and exclusion that so many of them experienced throughout the Americas. He also provides a longer vision of Chinese migration to the Americas, bridging the "coolie trade" period of the mid-19th century with the post-1882 US exclusion period. While much of the scholarship on Chinese immigration treats these two periods as distinct, Young emphasizes continuities over time and place, connecting the strands to show how the racialized debates about immigrant Chinese labourers transformed anxieties about coolie labour into regulations to exclude or police the "illegal alien."

Divided into three parts, the book proceeds in roughly chronological order. Organizing the book thematically rather than by country, Young is equally committed to understanding the transnational experiences of immigrant Chinese labourers as well as the responses of various nation-states. In Part I, Young begins by exploring the ways in which the first wave of Chinese migration to the Americas from 1847 to 1874 was shaped by debates over coolie labour. The term "coolie" was typically associated with Chinese labour in Cuba and Peru – where conditions were frequently described as akin to slavery – and differentiated from the supposedly free or voluntary emigration to Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Advocates of Chinese labour migration thus emphasized freedom of contract principles that they saw inherent in the labour contracts and credit-ticket arrangements that facilitated Chinese migration. Critics of the Chinese, on the other hand, attacked Chinese labourers as cheap and easily exploitable coolies who were no different from slaves.

By focusing on the actual migration and labour experiences of the Chinese, however, Young erodes any sharp delineation between the migratory streams, showing how both groups were subject to varying

degrees of extreme coercion and choice. The differences between Cuba and Peru, on the one hand, and the United States, Canada, and Mexico, on the other, “were distinctions of degree and not kind.” (46) Moreover, Chinese labourers were not wholly victims and could exercise choice, even under extremely constrained circumstances. Though many were vulnerable to greedy recruiters and traders who frequently manipulated, deceived, and sometimes kidnapped young Chinese men, Young insists that most willingly chose to emigrate, “motivated by the eight-dollar advance and the prospect of earning three to four dollars a month” (42) to support their families. Rejecting any stark distinction between the slavish coolie and the supposedly free and voluntary immigrant, Young points to “a vast complex gray zone” (22) in between. “To the extent that the Chinese were victims,” he insists, “it was of a global economic system that left them few options but to migrate.” (42)

By the 1880s, this global capitalist need for cheap Chinese labour would sow deep contestation and anxieties throughout the Americas. When Cuba officially ended the coolie trade in 1874, Chinese migration was reconceptualized as wholly voluntary and free. And yet nationalistic and xenophobic workers refused to acknowledge any commonalities with Chinese labourers, demanding restrictions and exclusion instead.

In Part II, Young examines how each country navigated the tensions between the immigrant’s universal right of mobility and the protectionist demands made by their own citizens. Here, the distinctions between the countries are more apparent: from 1882 to 1900, the United States took the most extreme measure by excluding all Chinese labourers; Canada heavily regulated Chinese labour migration but stopped short of outright exclusion; Cuba and Peru restricted and

eased regulations on Chinese labourers depending on its economic needs; and Mexico maintained the most liberal immigration policy of all, leaving immigration open to all men regardless of race or nationality.

These varying immigration policies and the bureaucracies behind them reshaped the migratory pathways and strategies of the Chinese, especially those intent on entering the United States. Maneuvering through a transnational system of immigration regulations, Chinese labourers increasingly resorted to clandestine migrations, forging documents and using Canada, Mexico, and Cuba as back doors into the United States. Here again, the emphasis on prioritizing the immigrant’s view allows Young both to see the emergence of a hemispheric immigration bureaucracy and to map the vast networks of smugglers, fraudulent papers, poorly-guarded borders, and corrupt officials that Chinese labourers – as well as merchants, who were frequently subjected to intense scrutiny and suspicion by US immigration officials – had to navigate in order to reach their destinations. By the 1920s Chinese labourers continued to enter the United States, but the enforcement of Chinese restriction throughout the Americas and the clandestine strategies of the Chinese affirmed the status of the Chinese as perpetual aliens.

As Young argues in Part III, the alien status that critics continued to ascribe to Chinese labourers – whether in the slavish coolie label of Part I or the “illegal alien” of Part II – would find its ultimate expression in Mexico. While it remained the country with the most liberal immigration laws, Mexico erupted with violent anti-Chinese movements during its revolutionary and postrevolutionary years, emerging as “the culmination and apex of the anti-Chinese movement in the Americas.” (197) The Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) unleashed simmering class

and race antagonisms between Mexicans and Chinese, and “armed insurgents took revenge on the store-owners and merchants they viewed as most alien: the Chinese.” (201) Soldiers and civilians committed unspeakable violence against Chinese men, women, and children, especially in northern Mexico where Chinese immigrants were more heavily concentrated. During the 1920s and 1930s, groups in northern states like Sonora and Sinaloa continued their crusade against the Chinese; between 1931 and 1933, these two states successfully harassed and expelled almost all of their Chinese.

Relying on impressive archival research based in multiple countries (Britain, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Spain, and the United States), Young’s hemispheric examination of Chinese immigration and each country’s response more clearly illuminates the hopes that Chinese labourers carried with them, the hardships that many of them endured, and the strategies that so many Chinese devised in order to find new opportunities in the Americas. The transnational scale of the book is uneven at times – Peru largely drops out of the picture after Part I, and Part III is mostly concerned with the anti-Chinese campaigns that were integral to Mexico’s revolutionary and postrevolutionary nation-building processes. For specialists working on Chinese migration in the Americas, much of the history may also be familiar. Yet Young has provided an essential synthesis of the multinational archival sources and the secondary literature about Chinese migration in the Americas, delicately balancing what could easily have been a story about overwhelming state power with the immigrants’ perspectives and, importantly, the actual voices of the immigrants themselves. Ultimately, the book provides a compelling examination of how the open borders that defined the coolie era turned

into the increasingly closed borders of the free labour capitalist world, and how Chinese labourers not only survived but forged new transnational diasporic communities through their clandestine migrations.

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**Sharon McConnell-Sidorick, *Silk Stockings and Socialism: Philadelphia’s Radical Hosiery Workers from the Jazz Age to the New Deal*** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2017)

IN *SILK STOCKINGS and Socialism*, Sharon McConnell-Sidorick examines the activism of hosiery workers during the 1920s and 1930s in the Kensington section of north-east Philadelphia; a mill-town with a long and significant history of labour activism in the US. Kensington was the birthplace of the Knights of Labor in 1869, and later in 1889 the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers (AFFFW). McConnell-Sidorick argues that 19th-century traditions of community-based activism and radicalism were carried over into the 20th century where a younger generation of hosiery workers, or “youth militants,” were at the forefront of the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), New Deal programs, socialism, and labour feminism.

McConnell-Sidorick situates the story of Kensington hosiery workers in the context of the transatlantic movement of industry and traditions of workers’ radicalism from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany. She uses oral histories, trade union records, the labour press, and studies conducted by social scientists in the 1930s to paint a rich picture of the community networks of support and traditions of resistance and radical craft unionism that emerged in Kensington. By

the 1920s what the author describes as a form of “working-class cosmopolitanism” existed in the community. African-Americans, however, comprised only a small percentage of Kensington’s population, and were peripheral to the textile trades both in the community and nationally. She suggests that the textile unions of the 19th and early 20th centuries did not concern themselves with racist hiring practices, but does not explore this issue in depth. Gender occupies a prominent place in McConnell-Sidorick’s analysis. Although women did not occupy the most skilled jobs in the trade, which were the purview of male workers, McConnell-Sidorick emphasizes the importance of women, including wage-earning wives and mothers, to the development of the trade. When hosiery women asserted themselves in the community, she suggests, they were continuing a tradition of “disorderly women” that can be traced back to the textile trades in England.

The hosiery industry in Kensington benefited from Jazz Age changes in fashion and popular culture. The hosiery industry expanded with the demand for sheer, form-fitting, more affordable, stockings. A new generation of young workers in the industry participated in the burgeoning youth culture and its pursuit of commercial amusements. McConnell-Sidorick challenges the interpretations of the flapper as a frivolous party girl, who wore short dresses and purchased an array of consumer goods including cigarettes and cosmetics. From a reading of the local labour press, McConnell-Sidorick concludes that the modern working girl of the 1920s was also influenced by “a new sense of independence and rights, and an admiration for the female ‘heroines’ who gained prominence in sports, movies, and the media during the 1920s,” sparked by the heroism of the suffragettes. (7) Hosiery workers of both sexes reconfigured into

what the author describes as “youth militants,” by fusing youth culture and radical politics to build a subculture that included dances and parties as well as picket lines and sit-down strikes, while forging a vision for social change. Participation in such pastimes and an interest in consumerism did not necessarily preclude the development of social consciousness. McConnell-Sidorick suggests that Kensington was ethnically diverse, but overwhelmingly white in the 1920s and that most young workers lived with their families. More analysis of ethnic differences in the freedom and independence granted to working wives and daughters might have highlighted any tensions and differences in what the author presents as a harmonious view of working-class community and family life.

The wave of repression that swept the US after World War I resulted in a series of strikes in the 1920s. A concerted effort was made by textile unionists to build a broad based cross-generational and cross-gender solidarity based on socialist internationalism as the union became not just an affiliation but an identity. According to McConnell-Sidorick women were some of the most visible “youth militants” in the 1920s as a form of labour feminism was forged based on the self-conscious participation of women. She states: “They not only demanded the right to unionize, equal pay, and participation in union leadership, but also fought for the rights of married women and mothers to hold jobs and for childcare – allowing women workers to have greater access to the workforce and their union.” (105) Separate women-only meetings were organized by the union to help women workers gain more confidence and learn how to formulate their grievances, all of which the author argues contributed to the emergence of working-class feminism. McConnell-Sidorick’s discussion of the activism of the women

hosiery workers is an important revision to the older historiography that constructed the 1920s as a time when women's struggle for social and political rights took a downturn. In doing so she bridges an important gap in the scholarship between the suffrage-era women's movements and the later women's movement of the post-World War II era. In the late 1920s, the AFFFHW even adopted the iconic image of the youthful modern woman with union hosiery held in her raised arms against a cityscape background as constructions of working women merged with those of the Modern Girl.

According to McConnell-Sidorick, Kensington and its workers provided an alternative to the narrative of defeatism that usually surrounds the Depression. Hosiery workers expanded their organization and supported the labour movement throughout the country perpetuating the vision of social justice dating back to the 1920s and earlier. Adopting a strategy of "Thinking Globally, Acting Locally," (170) the union sponsored social and educational activities that included women and unified hosiery workers in the 1920s continued into the 1930s. In two detailed chapters, Chapters 5 and 6, McConnell-Sidorick presents a convincing argument that the massive scaffolding for the CIO has ties to the AFFFHW in terms of people, institution, and ideology. She further attributes workers' gains stemming from New Deal programs to the co-ordinated efforts of the hosiery workers at the local and national level. She finishes with the successful campaign by the union to organize Philadelphia's largest hosiery mill, the Apex, a takeover which was described similar to "the storming of the Bastille." (212)

*Silk Stockings and Socialism* has much to recommend to labour and working-class historians and to women's historians with its skillful weaving of the interrelationship of human rights, women's rights,

and industrial unionism and the importance of a community-based approach in teasing out the threads of worker's activism, most notably among women in the 1920s and 1930s.

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**Erik Loomis, *Empire of Timber: Labor Unions and the Pacific Northwest Forests*** (New York: Cambridge University Press 2016)

ERIK LOOMIS' BOOK, *Empire of Timber*, examines the history of workers' environmental activism in the Pacific Northwest of the United States through five case studies of five different labour organizations. As Loomis points out, "examining how unions conceptualized nature to appeal to members or how unions articulated a specific environmental program that shaped resource usage are understudied questions in the environmental history of work." (8) *Empire of Timber* tackles this topic by looking at the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW) organizing of Pacific Northwest logging camps, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman (a company union) during World War I, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) from its formation in 1937, the more conservative United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and the experiences of tree planters or, as Loomis refers to them, "countercultural reforestation workers." (9) Much of *Empire of Timber* predates the modern environmental movement and illustrates the existence of a working-class environmentalism that has been understudied both in labour history and environmental history.

In Chapter 1, the author explores the early history of the IWW organizing in the region. Loomis connects the radical labour union's well-known actions to the demands that he frames as



proto-environmentalist. By shifting the focus to “the IWW campaigns around sanitation, food, and health” he shines a light on activity which he considers, “should be considered as environmental justice concerns linking labour, class, and environmental concerns.” (20)

The following chapter continues the story of the IWW as it gained more of a foothold in the woods of the Pacific Northwest. Loomis notes the, “IWW’s presence in the forests grew rapidly in 1916, as did the escalation of violence against them.” (55) He tells the story of how timber operators sought to eliminate their organizing efforts. In Everett, Washington one group of Wobbly organizers, “were met at the dock, rounded up, stripped naked, and forced to run the gauntlet while the vigilantes beat them.” (55) Loomis shows how the companies tried to sidestep radicalism by creating a company friendly union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman (Four-L). The Four-L, with the complicity of the employers, delivered on some of the demands of the IWW by banning “IWW members from work, but guaranteed the eight-hour day, steady work, and improving conditions.” (65) This “led to a major victory for workers, but a complete defeat for the IWW.” (65) The IWW declined but a new union, the International Woodworkers of America, was created in the late 1930s.

Chapter 3, “Working-Class Forests,” focuses on the IWA’s fight for a sustainable resource policy. Loomis describes the IWA as, “a powerful working-class voice for conservation, challenging the timber industry’s control over the Pacific Northwest forests.” (89) The IWA was the first American union to hire a professional forester, Ellery Foster, providing it with added credibility. Problematically, though, “with Foster’s hiring, the IWA forestry plan would be funneled almost entirely through him, making this

program a top-down exercise that did not engage the rank and file.” (102) Despite this limitation, Loomis shows how Foster was key to the battles the IWA waged attempting to balance conservation with its members’ needs. The fight against the *Sustained Yield Forest Act* of 1944 is one example of this. *Empire of Timber* shows how the IWA influenced public discourse around forestry issues in the Pacific Northwest and the role they played in fighting for a sustainable forestry policy.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus to workplace health and safety. As Loomis argues: “Whereas forest policy primarily engaged union officials, workplace health placed power into the hands of workers to evaluate their own workplaces and shape the environment in which they labored.” (124) One example of the importance of health and safety was the discovery of how tree fallers would be affected by Raynaud’s syndrome, or white finger as the workers called it, from the constant vibrations of the chainsaw. “Long term effects included the loss of hand function, arthritis, and permanent nerve damage.” (137) Raynaud’s syndrome had been known since the 1910s but never taken seriously until pushed by the IWA. *Empire of Timber* sets the stage for a more inclusive environmentalism arguing that “a vigorous workplace health and safety program expands the meanings of environmentalism to include the everyday, yet dangerous, industrial nature experienced by working peoples.” (157)

Countercultural reforestation workers (tree planters) in the 1970s and 1980s are the subject of Chapter 5. Loomis provides a study of the workers who occupied a space between worker and environmentalist in the popular imagination. Tree planters were also “the least organized and most exploited in the industry.” (159) Loomis studies countercultural cooperatives of reforestation workers as they fought against exposure to toxic

chemicals and exploitative labour conditions in the Pacific Northwest.

This is a good segue into the more contentious relations of the Ancient Forests Campaign dealt with in Chapter 6. Here Loomis demonstrates that he is not trying to paper over the inherent conflicts between the labour movement and traditional environmental groups. He quite rightly points out that, “many workers saw wilderness protection as a real threat.” (200) At the same time, “the IWA saw itself as holding a middle ground on environmental issues between corporate rapacity and greens’ overreaching.” (205) He deals with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters’ hostility towards environmentalists and also honestly evaluates the increased hostility to environmentalists’ concerns shown by the new IWA leadership of the late 1980s. In particular, with the creation and expansion of the Redwood National Park, Loomis illustrates how, despite the history of working-class environmentalism he had just documented in the previous chapters, there was still conflict between workers and traditional environmental groups.

Every once in a while you read a book that resonates with the way you are also thinking about a historical problem. *Empire of Timber* is that book for me. It tackles the rather large topic of how the working class can, and have, acted as environmentalists and tries to reconcile that with the dominant narrative of workers and environmentalists as fundamentally at odds with one another. It is an important subject and one that has not received a lot of attention. Loomis skillfully navigates the history of worker environmentalism in the Pacific Northwest; his case studies illuminate the issues well. *Empire of Timber* is not the whole story of the IWW or the IWA nor even of countercultural forestry workers. However, Loomis weaves a narrative that illustrates how these groups were integral

to establishing and building upon a working-class environmentalism that is essential to addressing issues of sustainability in the 21st century. Perhaps leaving the last word to Loomis is the best way to sum up what he accomplishes in this relatively short book: “Creating a holistic environmentalism that centers the contributions and experiences of working people is a necessary part of building a sustainable and equitable future for people and the planet. Labor unions must play a central role in that future and therefore, so must work in nature.” (238)

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**Albert J. Raboteau, *American Prophets: Seven Religious Radicals and their Struggle for Social and Political Justice*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2016)

IN *AMERICAN PROPHETS*, historian Albert J. Raboteau provides concise, lucid biographical sketches of seven religious radicals, each of whom contributed to movements for social justice in the 20th-century United States. His subjects include intellectuals and activists from a diverse set of faith traditions, including the familiar faces of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dorothy Day, and Fannie Lou Hamer, as well as the less well-known Jewish theologian Abraham Heschel, heterodox iconoclast A.J. Muste, Black Protestant intellectual Howard Thurman, and Catholic monk Thomas Merton. Although these individuals hailed from disparate theological backgrounds, Raboteau argues that they were united by a shared religious commitment to social justice, defined by moral solidarity with the socially marginalized and faith in the redemptive power of nonviolent direct action. For readers who are unfamiliar with the history of the mid-century

religious left, this book offers a readable and illustrative introduction to the field, told through the lives of some of its most influential participants.

Raboteau's central argument is that members of the religious left have served as a prophetic voice in 20th-century United States politics, blending civic and theological language to develop effective moral arguments against injustice and inspire grassroots movements for social change. Their political vision was defined by what Raboteau dubs "divine pathos" – meaning a heightened sense of compassion for the least among us, derived from a religious belief in the divine dignity of each individual, the spiritual unity of humanity, and categorical opposition to systems rooted in violence and coercion. Inspired by this divine pathos, religious radicals played pivotal roles in a wide variety of social justice movements across the course of the century, ranging from the long civil rights movement to radical labour organizing to anti-war resistance. They mounted campaigns rooted in nonviolent direct action, drew on religious networks to organize activists at the grassroots, and delivered soaring political speeches redolent with religious imagery, appealing to the consciences of their fellow citizens through both word and deed. These appeals were often successful, most notably in the case of the Southern freedom struggle, which unsurprisingly takes centre stage here. But of equal importance, Raboteau argues, they passed their sense of divine pathos on to their audiences, engendering new moral awakenings and sustaining the religious left across generations in a manner that other branches of the United States left have notably failed to do. This combination of interpersonal encounters, flexible moral language, and effective protest tactics have made religious radicals capable of adapting their relatively consistent set of principles and strategies to a diverse

set of causes. In doing so, they have had an outsized impact on United States politics over the course of the century.

Raboteau delivers this argument episodically, organizing *American Prophets* into seven independent chapters, each devoted to one of his subjects' intellectual biography and history of social engagement. The book is already succinct, clocking in at just under two-hundred pages, but because each chapter can stand alone, educators might consider exploring Raboteau's overarching argument by assigning excerpts on just one or two of his subjects. His chapter on Thomas Merton is a prime candidate for such treatment. Merton was a Trappist monk whose early writings called on readers to seek God by withdrawing from the world, but who reemerged as a preeminent social critic and political advocate in the 1960s. Raboteau's discussion of him is rife with meaty block quotes, which articulate Merton's seemingly-paradoxical fusion of contemplative life and worldly engagement, his analysis of the relationship between systems of social violence and personal alienation, and his deep skepticism of the ability of white liberals and civil rights legislation to unravel the tangled knots of racial inequality in America. His writing is rich and provocative, and his thinking on race relations feels especially prescient today, marking Merton as one of the most intellectually challenging voices in this collection. Also noteworthy are the chapters on Howard Thurman, who remains an underappreciated influence on a generation of civil rights activists, and Fannie Lou Hamer, whose powerful life story is here blended with a thoughtful exploration of how scripture shaped her worldview and rhetorical strategies.

Experts in the field are likely to find little new earth to till on these pages. Variations on Raboteau's central argument have been made by several

scholars before, and the lives of most of his subjects are well-trodden ground, thanks especially to the excellent work of Dan McKanan, Joseph Kip Kosek, and Charles Marsh, among others. The majority of the book's sources are also well-known and widely available in print, and Raboteau has a habit of elevating his subjects' voices over his own. Moreover, he is an unapologetically sympathetic narrator. He does pay his fair share of attention to conflict within the religious left and the occasional crisis of faith, of course – most notably in the chapter on A.J. Muste, whose religious and political trajectory could hardly be narrated without such complications. But these chapters largely amount to clear moral lessons about the power of religious nonviolence and the sustaining force of faith. Raboteau is writing a paean to his prophets, rather than a critical analysis of their impact on public life or the role of the religious left in modern United States politics writ large.

Yet I suspect that for Raboteau, that is precisely the point. If *American Prophets* is nothing else, it is an attempt to provide readers with their own encounters with divine pathos – with, as Raboteau puts it, “the heuristic power of these accumulated stories” – in the hopes that his subjects' lives will continue to inspire action among new generations. (xvi) On this front, he may very well succeed. For readers who are unfamiliar with the history of the modern religious left, these stories will offer a fresh perspective on the relationship between religion and public life, offering an alternative to popular caricatures of a reactionary Christian right facing off against a secular United States left. For those already committed to advancing social justice in the name of faith, they will serve as both intellectual inspiration and a model for organizing, advancing political arguments that can speak to a variety of religious traditions

with a shared moral tongue. Raboteau ultimately seeks to inspire advocacy by way of collective biography. For interested readers, his sensitive accounts of this compelling group of subjects will deliver precisely that.

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**Matthew Pehl, *The Making of Working-Class Religion*** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)

MATTHEW PEHL'S *The Making of Working-Class Religion* is a welcome contribution to the emerging literature on religion, class, and labour that has been gaining momentum over the last decade or so. The title's obvious allusion to E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* signals both the author's worker-centred focus, and that his analysis of something he calls “worker religion” is thoroughly grounded in the particular time and place with which his study is concerned. In this case, the place is Detroit, and the time is the 20th century. Pehl makes a strong case at the outset, interesting in itself, that Detroit is not only an important city in the history of industrial labour, but also one of the most religiously significant cities in the United States in the 20th century. And it was here, in the midst of a religiously diverse industrial city, that Pehl explores the ways that working people forged new relationships between their religious faith (Christianity in this case) and their class identity.

Worker religion, as Pehl constructs it, is not a universal or perennial religion. It is rather a religious formation that emerged in the very particular setting of the 1920s and 1930s in the United States, and likely somewhat differently in cities other than Detroit. Critical to Pehl's formulation is what historian

Michael Denning has called the “laboring” of American culture in the 1930s. In the context of the Great Depression and a crisis in capitalist labour, the United States turned its attention to issues of work not only in economic and political circles but in mass media and popular culture as well. Labour was the *zeitgeist*. And against this background, organized religion also prioritized issues of work and labour (though in ambivalent ways), even as Detroit’s workers were producing forms of religion that reconciled their industrial experiences with their traditional faith and constructed identity and meaning on both an individual and community level.

One of the refreshing contributions of Pehl’s book is its focus on working-class religion as *consciousness*, drawing on E.P. Thompson’s treatment of class consciousness as lived experience. For Pehl, working-class religion is “built from the shared experiences, relationships, and value systems that people ‘made’ in the search for meaning.” (6) Religion as consciousness is dynamic, always embedded in unfolding social and material relationships. It is also, therefore, always ambivalent, in tension with tradition and contemporary circumstances. While in some sense “consciousness” might suggest that religion is a purely intellectual thing, Pehl says that “rather than representing any systematic theology, working-class religious consciousness might be better described as a network of idioms, the proper use of which permitted believers access to spiritual resources and supernatural patrons.” (26)

Over the course of six chapters, Pehl traces the development and change of this network of idioms over time in Detroit from 1910 through to the 1960s. Pehl’s primary wager, and I think it pays off, is to explore the shared class consciousness of workers across three quite different communities in Detroit that

might be treated separately by other authors: Roman Catholics, who were largely European immigrants; African American Protestants, many of whom migrated to Detroit from the South; and white evangelical Protestants who also migrated from the South (especially in and after the 1930s). Despite the great differences between these groups, they shared a similar – though, as Pehl shows, sometimes ambivalent – class identity that cut across denominational, doctrinal, and racial categories. Each chapter of the book treats all three of these groups, separating them out to discuss their particular concerns, pursuits, and changes over time, but also showing how they shared, in their own ways, a worker religion. The changing dynamics of race and gender, and the nature and meaning of work and worker identity eventually led to the decline of worker religion in the post-World War II years and into the 1960s. Pehl deserves credit for his attention to the ways that working class identities meanings of work in Detroit, and the US more generally, have been particularly entangled in messy ways with race and gender.

Pehl does an excellent job exploring both the shared working-class religious consciousness across differences of faith traditions, and the more specific dynamics of each of the three groups he follows. He achieves this by choosing one or two people as exemplars for each group in each chapter, allowing a level of detail and concreteness that illuminates the tensions between pro- and anti-labour perspectives within denominations and traditions as they played out in the industrial history of Detroit. Included here is important analysis of the relationship between labour organizations and working-class religion. The book is not just a labour history *per se*, but an examination of the ways that workers and their allied religionists forged worker religion out of the particular concerns of the

industrial labour experience of the city, which included both local dynamics and the larger dynamics of capitalist labour and national politics, alongside larger religious issues playing out in the nation. Ambivalence is a key work in Pehl's book; there is as much conservative backlash as there is worker religion. These tensions were determined by historical context, and are not always predictable, informed by such discourses as anti-fascism and anti-communism; shifting racial and gender identities and relations; modernism and fundamentalism; even the moral meaning of work itself, which could be seen as either a blessing or a curse.

*The Making of Working-Class Religion* is an important read for both scholars of labour and scholars of religion as a methodological model for advancing the study of religion, labour, and class. Too often these complicated elements are oversimplified, with labour historians unaware of the theoretical concerns that drive religious studies, and religion scholars unfamiliar with the conversations driving labour history or class interpretation. In the press today it has become all too common to find attempts at prognosticating working-class political views on religious issues (or religious views on political issues), or at divining politician's values and likely decisions by analyzing the denomination they belong to or grew up in. Religion is more complex, dynamic, and ambivalent than that. In Pehl's book we see that Catholics could be radical labour organizers, or radically anti-labour. We see Baptists condemning capitalist labour relations, and we see them backing bosses. We see religious critiques of organized and organized religion, and secular sympathizers of religious organizations. We see stereotypes of class behavior and consciousness premised on representations of religious practices. And we learn that the relationship between religion and class, and the religious meanings and

values of work, are embedded within geographically and historically situated local contexts. Pehl's book teaches its readers – whether they be scholars, labour organizers, or graduate or undergraduate students – how to recover and interpret, critically and empathetically, the religious worlds of working-class people.

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**Stephen M. Ward, *In Love and Struggle: The Revolutionary Lives of James and Grace Lee Boggs*** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2016)

STEPHEN WARD'S *In Love and Struggle: The Revolutionary Lives of James and Grace Lee Boggs* focuses on the period from 1940 to 1963, during which time the ideology of Grace Lee and James Boggs morphed from Marxist left to Black nationalist. Ward argues that, along with others, James and Grace Lee Boggs, laid "the organizational and ideological groundwork for the emergence of Black Power in the middle of the 1960s." (1–2) Ward's argument, however, is unconvincing, and perhaps more importantly, eclipsed by the backdrop of Marxist factionalism.

*In Love and Struggle* is divided into three parts. The first is biographical, examining the early lives of the book's subjects. Boggs, an African American, was born in 1919 near Selma, Alabama. Joining the Great Migration, he arrived in Detroit in May 1937, eventually gaining employment with Chrysler and with it, membership in United Auto Workers Local 7. He also joined American Youth for Democratic Action, the Young Communist League's successor organization. In 1946, disillusioned, he split from the Communists, joining the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (swp).

Grace Lee's trajectory differed significantly. Born in Providence, Rhode

Island, in 1915 to successful Chinese immigrants, she entered Barnard at 16 and graduated from Bryn Mawr with a PhD in philosophy in 1940. She moved to Chicago, where she came into contact with the Workers Party. In 1941, Ward says, "she became a Trotskyist." (85)

In order to understand the ensuing narrative, Ward provides a brief history of the American Marxist left of the 1930s and 1940s. A decade after being expelled from the Communist Party in 1928, James Cannon, Martin Ahern, and others formed the Socialist Workers' Party. In 1940, 40 percent of the membership split to form a rival Trotskyist organization – the Workers' Party (WP). In Chicago, Ahern mentored Grace Lee as a Marxist. She became an accomplished Marxist scholar, the first to translate several of Marx's essays into English. She soon joined a faction of the WP known as the Johnson-Forest Tendency (JFT), named for its pseudonymous leaders J. R. Johnson and Freddie Forest, in actuality Marxist intellectual C.L.R. James and, former secretary to Trotsky himself, Raya Dunayevskaya. In 1947, condemning the WP for having "lost all confidence in the American working class," (125) the JFT split from the WP and soon rejoined the SWP.

In 1950 the JFT formally rejected Leninism, and thereby Trotskyism as well, effectively cutting its ties with the SWP. Now an independent Marxist organization with a membership of about 75 people, the JFT changed its name to Correspondence. The following year James Boggs and a group of Detroit comrades split from the SWP and joined Correspondence. Grace Lee and James Boggs met when the organization relocated Grace to Detroit in 1953 to edit the group's eponymously titled publication.

Part Two covers the period from 1953 to 1958 during which Correspondence focused on publishing. Boggs wrote;

Lee edited. C.L.R. James, for the most part, exercised editorial control, albeit from abroad. During this period three issues competed for the group's attention: the Kenyan independence struggle, the Hungarian Revolution, and the civil rights movement in the United States. Boggs and Lee immersed themselves in Kenya solidarity work, taking time in 1954 to marry. About the same time, Dunayevskaya and roughly half of Correspondence's membership split, citing, in reference to C.L.R. James, "the rotteness of Johnsonism." (196) Following the failed Hungarian Revolution, C.L.R. James, convinced that Hungarian anti-Communists were leading the world's working-class struggle, directed *Correspondence* to give substantial coverage to the subject. Far more interested in anti-colonialism abroad and civil rights at home, the Boggses did not share C.L.R. James' enthusiasm.

Part Three concerns the period 1958 to 1963. During this time *Correspondence* gave particular attention to Robert Williams, NAACP Field Secretary in Monroe County, North Carolina. Williams led armed resistance to white terrorism perpetrated against the local African American community. According to Ward, the Williams case "anchored the paper's increasing attention to racial matters and its growing focus on the black freedom struggle," much to the chagrin of C.L.R. James. (260) By 1961, the Boggses increasingly identified race as their primary organizing principle. C.L.R. James interpreted this as "a vicious, concentrated attack upon Marxism," severed all ties with the Boggses and their allies, and declared them "no longer Marxists." (289–290)

In the final chapter and epilogue Ward quickly summarizes the rest of his subjects' lives – a period of over half a century. The couple immersed themselves

in Detroit's civil rights struggle. Both continued to publish prolifically. Despite their prioritization of race as an organizing principle, class clearly remained important. In 1963 James Boggs published *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook* (New York: Monthly Review Press), a work that became an icon of the nascent Black power movement despite the wording of its title. In 1970 he continued this narrative with the publication of *Racism and the Class Struggle: Further Pages from a Black Worker's Notebook* (New York: Monthly Review Press). James Boggs died in 1993. Grace Lee Boggs continued to publish throughout her life. In 1998 she published *Living for Change: An Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). She died in 2015.

*In Love and Struggle* is a well researched book. Ward makes use of the papers of James and Grace Lee Boggs and fellow Correspondence members Martin and Jessie Glaberman and Raya Dunayevskaya, as well as those of C.L.R. James, United Automobile Workers Local 7, the NAACP Detroit Branch and others. He also uses existent oral history collections as well as almost 30 interviews he conducted himself.

Yet, Ward leaves several questions unasked. The first concerns what it means to be a revolutionary. Clearly Ward believes his subjects to have been revolutionaries, as they themselves did. But their primary activities remained writing and publication. It is only in considering the work of Rachel Peterson, a scholar of American Marxist culture of the 1950s, that it can be understood how the Boggses understood such seemingly passive activity as revolutionary. According to Peterson, the members of the Correspondence collective practiced "a convenient abnegation of praxis," eschewing recruitment, organization, and mobilization,

believing that if workers and others continued to read their publication, revolution would be spontaneous. (Rachel Peterson, "Correspondence: Journalism, Anticommunism, and Marxism in 1950s Detroit," in Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang, eds, *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement* [New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009], 122)

On the rare occasions when James and Grace Lee Boggs ventured beyond the printed word, such as their Kenyan solidarity work and their participation in Detroit's civil rights movement, Ward is unclear if these actions were carried out as individuals, or as members of the collective. Regardless, such actions are hardly revolutionary. Similarly, Ward's assertion that the Boggses can be counted among the pioneers of the Black power movement may be technically correct, but they were local actors only.

Perhaps the most burning question that Ward fails to address concerns Grace Lee Boggs, race, and gender. While the author recounts Grace Lee Boggs' early life as a child of Chinese immigrants, there is no discussion of her experience as an Asian American woman within the leadership of Detroit's nascent black power movement. Ward simply states in his introduction that "Grace developed a political identity as a black movement activist" and leaves it at that. (3)

While Ward provides comprehensive biographies of the early lives of James and Grace Lee Boggs, he does not provide a convincing argument regarding their role in the Black freedom movement other than that of journalists. More interesting is their political development. But it is often confusing. Various parties, factions, tendencies, pseudonyms, abbreviations (and surprisingly poor copy editing), especially in part one, require the reader to be constantly turning back and



re-reading passages. Still, with patience the reader will be intrigued, and possibly entertained, by a fascinating exploration of the labyrinthine world of mid-20th century American Marxist factionalism.

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**Marcia Walker-McWilliams, *Reverend Addie Wyatt: Faith and the Fight for Labor, Gender, and Racial Equality***  
(Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)

FEW PEOPLE INVOLVED in the great struggles of the mid-to-late 20th century for the rights of women, workers, and against racism can say they were fully committed to each in equal measure. Except from within Black-church-based civil rights movements, few who committed to the often secular forms that labour and women's rights struggles took through the modern era can say they were also primarily motivated by their faith in God to organize. Reverend Addie Wyatt of Chicago transcended all of these realms.

In the richly detailed and well-researched study *Reverend Addie Wyatt*, historian Marcia Walker-McWilliams reconstructs the life and activism of a faith-based activist who is arguably one of America's most important and unheralded labour, civil, and women's rights leaders. Selected as one of *Time* magazine's "Women of the Year" in 1975, Wyatt's honour placed her accomplishments in line with a women's liberation movement that was invariably represented as white and middle-class in origin. As Walker-McWilliams notes, the *Time* article "minimized the importance and contributions of women of color and working-class women in the movement" whose lives and labours pre-dated the 1960s and 1970s iterations of women's rights activism. (2) As Walker-McWilliams further suggests,

"more than anyone, Addie Wyatt – a black woman, a labor leader and a feminist – transcended the barriers between the organized labor and the women's movement in hopes of providing a stronger voice for women in labor and for working-class women and black women in the women's movement." (2)

Indeed, Wyatt's resume indicates that she literally lived and breathed intersectionality. Born in 1924 into an African American community in rural Mississippi, she and her family fled to Chicago during the Great Depression as many southern Blacks did over the course of these years. Wyatt was able to gain work in a canning factory during World War II and, from the 1940s through the 1960s, she rose through the ranks of locals in her union, the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA). Over time, she became the union's first female vice-president in the mid-1970s when the UPWA was the Amalgamated Meat Cutters. Wyatt became the International Vice President and Director of Civil Rights and Women's Affairs with the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), which was one of the largest unions in the United States in the late 1970s and 1980s with over a million members. Upon her retirement in 1984, Wyatt was one of the "highest-ranked women in the organized labor movement." (3)

Over this time, Wyatt worked with numerous prominent Black labour and civil rights organizations including the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), the Negro American Labor Council, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. She helped her union, the UPWA, lead fundraising efforts to support Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. She served on President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women as a member of the Protective Labor Legislation Committee and later "became

one of the nation's most outspoken proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and began lobbying for its ratification in the early 1970s." (4) In Chicago, Wyatt also became closely involved in significant local civil rights, church, and community empowerment organizations such as Jesse Jackson's People United to Save Humanity's Operation Breadbasket in the 1970s and in the campaigns to elect Harold Washington as Chicago's first Black mayor in the 1980s.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Walker-McWilliams' treatment of Wyatt's lifetime of activism is how Wyatt's labours in disparate social movements are shown to be integral expressions of her profoundly Christian universalism and deep commitments to her Protestant faith. Walker-McWilliams writes that Wyatt's ministry "offered an alternative to conservative, antifeminist interpretations of the Bible popular among the religious right and opponents of the women's movement." (152) Moreover, Walker-McWilliams demonstrates how Wyatt's faith and ministry helped Wyatt challenge gender conventions within her own faith community – the Church of God in Christ, which emerged from the Holiness-Pentecostal denominations of the Third Great Awakening. Indeed, Wyatt and her husband Claude helped found what became the Vernon Park Church of God on the South Side of Chicago in 1955 and the Wyatt Choral Ensemble. Their church and its activities became instrumental in promoting civil rights activities from Chicago and very much paralleled, and was connected to, Wyatt's growing commitments in the labour and women's rights movements.

Given that so much of Wyatt's early activist career was enabled by her union work in meatpacking, Walker-McWilliams' study also offers an extended treatment of the history of the United Packinghouse Workers. The UPWA was

one of the most progressive post-World War II era industrial unions in the United States. It was among only a handful of Congress on Industrial Organization unions that maintained its progressive character during the repressive early Cold War years and avoided the general rightward shift of organized labour in that country. The UPWA was often well ahead of other American unions on discrimination issues and installed innovative anti-discrimination programs beginning in the 1950s that explicitly championed the rights of women and minorities. Despite Walker-McWilliams' mostly effective review of the extensive literature on the history of the UPWA and its anti-discrimination activities, her assertion that the Anti-Discrimination (A/D) Department founded by the union in 1950 did not make sexism against women a "top priority" seemed incongruent with the evidence deployed. (71) Indeed, the assertion that women and sexism were not a priority was stated in a section that outlined the very efforts of Black women in the UPWA in Chicago to challenge the racist and sexist hiring practices of packing companies such as Swift, which routinely hired white women over Blacks in the pork trim departments of their plants. In the same section, Walker-McWilliams demonstrates how the A/D Department, under the leadership of Russell Lasley, helped direct an investigation into the matter and filed a successful complaint with the federal government, which responded affirmatively to the union's concerns and forced the packing company to hire more Black women in pork trimming. It is true that it would take until the 1970s for women like Wyatt to gain executive leadership roles in the union. However, the UPWA had earlier organized innovative conferences, meetings, and educational initiatives that directly concerned women's workplace and community rights throughout the 1950s and 1960s and elected female

leaders (including Wyatt) to head of some of its locals. Walker-McWilliams analyzes these very initiatives in the several chapters of the book that cover the union and its history.

To be sure, biography is an inherently limiting genre. One biography cannot tell the story of the American labour, civil rights, or women's movement in their entirety, nor can it give the fullest account of even one union's history, such as the extent of the UPWA's innovative anti-discrimination programs throughout the post-World War II era. However, in *Reverend Addie Wyatt*, one individual's story remains so remarkably and clearly at the intersections of the 20th century's most important social movements that the study does not lose sight of larger issues. Wyatt's work speaks directly to the ways the social movements of which she was a part unquestionably advanced America's still unfinished struggles for democracy and, as such, should interest scholars of women and gender studies, labour, and civil rights in equal measure.

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**Tanya Maria Golash-Boza, *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*** (New York: New York University Press 2015)

WITH A RECORD 400,000 deportations in 2012, United States President Barack Obama earned the title, *Deporter-in-Chief*. Tanya Maria Golash-Boza, however, argues that mass deportation cannot be credited to one administration. Instead, she demonstrates that the process of border policing has been "intimately tied to the worldwide movement of people and goods" and has evolved as a natural product of "global capitalism, neoliberalism, and racialized social control." (ix) Golash-Boza grounds her

analysis with the voices and stories of the migrants themselves, helping demonstrate how Dominicans, Jamaicans, Guatemalans, and Brazilians came to the United States and became caught in a web of exploitation, policing, and incarceration that stripped them of rights and access to the law. *Deported* demonstrates how certain migrants became crucial cogs in a neoliberal machine established to perpetuate individualist labour practices. Ultimately, the book offers an excellent glimpse into the lives of a group who are important to America's economy, yet face uncertain job prospects and the daily threat of incarceration and deportation.

Golash-Boza's conclusions are based on 147 interviews of deportees conducted from 2009 to 2010, giving the book a timely and intimate examination of global migration. Migrants were interviewed in their home nations of Jamaica, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil, ensuring a transnational approach, and the book focuses on several core themes. Golash-Boza examines how migrants entered the United States and became Americanized, how many got entangled in drug wars and consequently were caught by US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and police officers, were jailed, and sent to their home nations. Her final chapters focus on how deportees fare in their Latin American home nations, where many became stigmatized by their deportations. But large numbers of deportees, she argues, have become crucial components in an increasingly globalized economy. Many returned migrants use the language and technical skills along with their cultural acumen to work in call centres and American enterprises abroad. Thus, migration and deportation provides informal and inexpensive training to major global enterprises.

Golash-Boza's source base allows her to uncover the voices of deportees, but it

also creates constraints on the work. The sample of 147 interviews forces Golash-Boza to make generalizations about national groups and migration patterns based on several individuals. Her reliance on outside literature, statistical analysis, and census data, however, helps mitigate this source issue. By focusing on particular interviewees, she is able to breathe life into a field that has been dominated by numbers and data, emphasizing the different needs between migrants according to their class and national background. Her analysis deftly demonstrates the difference between middle-class Dominican refugees fleeing the end of Trujillo's regime and poorer migrants, emphasizing that both groups made remittances crucial to the development of the Dominican Republic's struggling economy. Her interviews also uncover how border crossings worked, profiling Guatemalans who had to approach all of Mexico as a border and Brazilians who faced a trek across South and Central America before reaching their destination.

The key strength of *Deported*, however, is its ability to connect literature on deportation to emerging scholarship on mass incarceration and the United States War on Drugs. Golash-Boza's analysis reveals that the federal spending allocated to anti-terrorism in the wake of 11 September allowed for increased policing in immigrant neighborhoods. This portion of the book focuses on Dominican and Jamaican migrants, groups that have the highest number of criminal deportees, most of whom faced deportation after being charged with drug possession or sale. Michele Alexander's *New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2012), Angela Davis's *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), and more recently, Keyanga-Yamahtta Taylor's *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (New York: Haymarket, 2016) emphasize

how neoliberal policies combined with racism to incarcerate disproportionate numbers of African Americans. Golash-Boza completes this story, arguing that in urban centres, police can rarely distinguish between Dominican and Jamaican migrants, and African Americans, and tend to police their neighborhoods with the same ferocity. While many migrants do get caught up in drug trafficking and use, *Deported* emphasizes the importance of place in determining how these migrants get charged with drug crimes. Golash-Boza's interviews demonstrate that in many instances, Jamaican and Dominican immigrants face deportation because they live in close proximity to the places in which drugs are sold or are in a car with a friend or acquaintance with drugs in their possession. Thus, Golash-Boza demonstrates that mass deportation represents an understudied yet crucial aspect of mass policing and incarceration.

While most of the interviewees in Golash-Boza's book are men, she often mentions how women are left to fend for themselves when husbands are incarcerated or deported. In Chapter 5, she introduces a system of "gendered racial removal" in which men are more likely to get caught and forced to leave their families behind. And while Golash-Boza explains how this impoverishes many women and children, she could do more to connect it explicitly with an increasingly global neoliberal regime. Altha Cravey's *Women and Work in Mexico's Maquiladoras* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998) demonstrates how women faced particular hardships as victims of a post-NAFTA globalized labor system. Golash-Boza would benefit from an incorporation of Cravey's work to offer a more consistent gendered analysis of the United States' deportation regime.

But this issue presents more a suggestion for further research than a criticism

of Golash-Boza's work, which is necessarily guided by the themes set forth by her 147 interviewees. Ultimately, *Deported* provides a thoughtful and nuanced look at the effects of ICE raids, policing and deportations on some of the United States' most vulnerable inhabitants. These immigrants sustain a neoliberal system that requires "docile workers willing to work for less than a living wage." (19) Instead of joining unions or demanding benefits, these undocumented workers keep their heads down and govern themselves, sustaining a system that relies on cheap labour and derives its power through the possibility of forced deportation.

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**Fran Quigley, *If We Can Win Here: The New Front Lines of the Labor Movement***  
(Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2015)

THE AMERICAN LABOUR movement has been in crisis perhaps longer than comparable movements in any other major industrialized country. Union density is at levels not seen since before the New Deal, the political right is again ascendant, and unions are continually trying to staunch any further losses in membership that they see coming their way. The American labour movement is, like its counterpart in countries like Canada, primarily concentrated in the public sector. More than half of union members live in just seven states, which means that the labour movement is really regionally-based while striving to exert itself as a representative for workers across the United States. This problem of regional union membership concentration is further exacerbated by the fact that 26 American states now have so-called Right-to-Work laws that prevent mandatory dues payment. Employees in the federal public service, while able to

form unions, are also covered by separate Right-to-Work provisions. Recent stunning electoral successes by the political right at the state and federal levels are expected to make American labour's circumstances even more dire.

American union leaders, local activists, and sympathetic academics in the labour studies community have long debated how to change the labour movement's trajectory. Fran Quigley's new book *If We Can Win Here: The New Front Lines of the Labor Movement* is an interesting and timely new addition to the literature on union renewal. He examines successful union organizing strategies in Indiana. This is a state that was once was a bulwark of industrial unionism – the United Auto Workers union was founded there – but now has a Right-to-Work law and political climate that is hostile toward unions. Quigley argues that it is possible to successfully organize in states like Indiana, and devotes considerable space to discussing the personalities and tactics behind effective organizing drives. Most importantly, the organizing campaigns that he analyses occurred within the low-wage end of the service sector. This includes hotel, restaurant, retail, and health care workers. These are people making poverty-level wages who have little to lose by organizing, and much to gain if they are successful. Many of the workers described by Quigley are also people of colour and women. These are groups who are widely known to be receptive to unionization, but who also have not always received sufficient organizing attention from labour.

Quigley's analysis is hopeful, especially at a time when American unions are reeling from renewed attacks from the right, but the scale of what he hopes that labour can achieve does not always sufficiently consider the challenges that winning entails. The fact that unions have been able to organize marginalized low-wage

workers in a conservative Right-to-Work state like Indiana is a welcome achievement. However, organizing is just the first step in forming a union. It is clear from Quigley's discussion that keeping unions in place after organizers have left can be difficult. Unions need to devote more resources to training and encouraging activists who will build locals that endure. There is also the fact that restaurants and other low-wage service sector workplaces have high rates of staff turnover, which makes organizing difficult. Overcoming the fear of retribution by employers is also always an obstacle for organizers to overcome. The role of full-time organizers, as shown in this book, is both hopeful but also problematic. Hope lies in the fact that unions continue to be able to attract smart, dedicated people who want to devote their lives to improving the prospects of working people. The problem is that successful organizing is ultimately dependent on rank-and-file worker activism. Whereas organizing is an all-encompassing mission for a paid union staff member, it is one of many duties fulfilled by local volunteer activists.

This book complements other recent publications that advocate for a renewed focus on local organizing. Those works include Stanley Aronowitz's *The Death and Life of American Labor: Toward a New Worker's Movement* (London and New York: Verso, 2014) and Jane McAlevey's *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). Quigley's analysis is one of workers trying to collectively further themselves through the Wagner-based labour relations system that has existed in the US since the mid-1930s. A serious reconsideration of the continued usefulness of that model, at least in its current form, is going to have to be part of any future strategy for organizing and expanding the labour movement. Quigley notes the role of unions

like the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in the Fight for 15 movement to raise minimum wages across the United States. Unions in many instances provided key resources, but social activists from outside of the labour movement did a lot of the hard work of actually mobilizing workers. As Dorothy Sue Cobble and Janice Fine have separately discussed, there is a large and growing non-union labour movement in the United States that is often closely linked to immigrants' rights groups like the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON) and other progressive movements.

Quigley has shown one part of the path forward for American organized labour, but taking that journey is going to be very challenging. The success of movements like the Fight for 15 illustrates that a future labour movement that thrives in the United States will be far more diverse, have an agenda that is much more based on local activism, forges progressive alliances, is less bureaucratic, and willing to operate outside of the long-standing parameters of collective bargaining. This is a tall order for a movement that has been losing ground for a long time. There is hope because, as Quigley has shown in this book, workers who are pushed to the margins and have little power can be organized to improve their lives through collective action.

JASON RUSSELL

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**Dennis Deslippe, Eric Fure-Slocum, and John W. McKerley, eds., *Civic Labors: Scholar Activism and Working-Class Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2016)**

"ENGAGED SCHOLARSHIP" covers a wide terrain and this book offers a panorama of historical and current examples of scholars' efforts to link their research to a

variety of workers' and community struggles. Shelton Stromquist, whose retirement produced a conference to honour his work from which most of the articles in *Civic Labors* are drawn, sets the stage with an excellent piece on E.P. Thompson and David Montgomery which points out both commonalities and differences in their personal histories and approaches to labour history. Most important from the perspective of this book is that they were both more interested in addressing working-class audiences with their research than in addressing fellow academics and university students. In practice, of course, they had more impact with the latter than the former, but they made every effort to address working-class audiences and work with them in grassroots efforts. The challenge for the other authors here is to demonstrate how their own combination of research, teaching, and activism has had an impact both within and beyond the university.

The authors are a mixed bag, which makes for a lively book. There are well-known labour historians with current or past full professorships and armloads of publications, including Stromquist, James R. Barrett, and Stephanie Luce. But there are also emerging scholars with university appointments and three independent scholars, four if one counts a retired professor whose career ended with a termination during a downsizing exercise. While historians dominate, academics specializing in labour studies, gender studies, social work, and ethnomusicology are also included.

Independent scholar Daniel E. Atkinson, an African-American ethnomusicologist, briefly describes his fascinating and relatively recent PhD thesis, which focuses on the cultural work of imprisoned musicians at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. His essay is a plea to labour historians to make the carceral state one of their focuses and to delve not

only into the unjust race and class relations that produce and reproduce it but also to reveal the ways in which prisoners attempt to express their humanity and their cultural inheritance within a brutal setting. Atkinson is clear about the ongoing struggles he faced with prison authorities in his efforts to have access to the men whose story he wanted to hear, contextualize, and then share with the world.

Another example from the book of an effort to use storytelling to document the lives and struggles of a rarely studied group of workers is social work scholar Susan Chandler's essay on back-of-the-house casino workers in Nevada, including maids, cooks, cocktail waitresses, porters, laundry workers, and dishwashers. Mostly Latina immigrants, they earn poor wages for long hours of work and experience many injuries. Chandler relates the story of Alicia Bermudez (a pseudonym), an immigrant laundry worker in Reno whose exploitation led her to become a union activist.

Most of the rest of the book is less of a showcase for people's research about workers habitually ignored by labour studies scholars than a demonstration of what individual scholars are doing within and without universities to help people generalize their specific situations within a larger understanding of capitalist exploitation and worker resistance. For some that has included struggles to unionize university colleagues and win job protections. That includes Ralph Scharnau, who was terminated after 29 years at the University of Dubuque, a private liberal arts college. Susan Roth Breitzer writes about the empowerment and social consciousness that graduate students from the University of Iowa carried forward with them in their later work lives. Historian Stephen Meyer, whose research helped to explain the transformations in the Wisconsin economy that were contributing to giving reactionaries

more victories than progressives, describes how he attempted to both educate and mobilize both fellow faculty members and students to become part of the resistance to the anti-union campaign of Governor Scott Walker in 2011. Meyer notes the success of right-wing campaigns to silence historian William Cronon's exposé of the American Legislative Exchange Council's attack on Wisconsin political traditions. The climbdown of Cronon, who later became president of the American Historical Association, was the result, says Meyer, of his feeling isolated when he came under attack. That was a product of the academic community being too distant from the broad civil society coalitions opposing austerity and anti-union legislation.

Michael Innis-Jiménez, an American Studies professor, went further with his classes than Meyer, transporting his students to a march in Birmingham against state anti-immigrant legislation. He notes that he sought to turn his course on "Immigration and Ethnicity in the South" into "a vehicle for both education and advocacy." (88)

Still other labour scholars have been able to parlay their combination of scholarship and activism into ongoing institutes for the education and advancement of militancy of working-class people. As she completed her Labour Studies graduate work, Emily Twarog, a unionized waitress, wondered about whether she really wanted to work in a university setting since she found her discipline to be disconnected from real workers' lives. Fortunately for her, a wealthy banking executive had funded the Regina V. Polk Scholarship Fund for Labor Leadership after his wife, a union militant focused on women's struggles, died in a plane crash. The Polk School for Labor and Employment Relations allowed Twarog to develop a program for working women focused on developing leadership skills.

Similarly, Joseph McCartin describes the efforts of the well-funded Kalmanovitz Institute to go out to workers and the unemployed to teach them courses in their communities that the teachers and workers jointly wanted to be offered. The Institute also attempts to be a bridge between unions and community groups, often ethnic-based, to build working-class solidarity.

There's more in this book than this brief summary can present. As a long-time activist within and current president of the Alberta Labour History Institute, which seeks to give workers a public voice through its oral history collection, workshops, film presentations, conferences, books, booklets, calendars, films, and public entertainment, I found this book invaluable. We all know that there are many efforts out there to make labour scholarship accessible and integral to workers' movements, but we don't always know what others are doing in that regard. *Civic Labors* will help many of us to do more than re-invent the wheel. Its catalogue of strategies that have worked or have failed, while hardly encyclopedic, is voluminous. Its attention to workers who have been almost invisible to labour studies scholars in the past is also praiseworthy. This is a must-read for labour activists, scholarly or not.

ALVIN FINKEL  
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**Thomas Gibson-Brydon, *The Moral Mapping of Victorian and Edwardian London: Charles Booth, Christian Charity, and the Poor-but-Respectable* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2016)**

WHILE THIS STUDY offers valuable information on Charles Booth's least known London investigation, his religious survey begun in the late 1890s, it



must be used with caution. The book grew out of Gibson-Brydon's doctoral dissertation, which, unfortunately, he did not live long enough to revise – a task which was subsequently undertaken by his supervisor, Brian Lewis, and a friend, Hillary Kaell. In his study, Gibson-Brydon argues for a different understanding both of Charles Booth and of the London poor. He denies that Booth's survey should be seen as a precursor to modern social scientific investigation (as a number of historians have argued), claiming instead that it was deeply marked throughout by a moral vision and purpose. The first two chapters introduce Booth, the man, and his religious survey. In Chapter 1, Gibson-Brydon first explores Booth's religious beliefs, arguing that the latter saw religion "as a broad moral influence that could order society." (11) He then sets out the still wide-ranging influence of the evangelical impulse in late 19th-century society. The second chapter explores Booth's specific research agenda, and his classification scheme, arguing that he believed competition to be necessary in order to revitalize character, even though this meant there would always be some in "persistent misery." (38) Gibson-Brydon repeatedly argues that Booth found the causes of poverty in character and morality (or lack thereof), rather than in structural problems within the economy. In this approach, Gibson-Brydon says Booth shared much with the Charity Organisation Society (COS), a group to which a number of historians have hitherto contrasted Booth's understanding of poverty and philanthropy. Gibson-Brydon argues that the two "are best seen as competitors in an intensely subjective field of charity control, each armed with the same ideas about the immoral poor," (11) and he concludes that most of the ministers whom Booth interviewed were attempting to give charity carefully in ways that tallied closely with

the COS mindset, in spite of incarnational theology's focus on loving the poor. The fourth chapter focuses on the role of women as agents in the control of charity. Gibson-Brydon is deeply critical of religious leaders, arguing that they took for granted, and demeaned, the contributions of women in charitable endeavours. Ministers regularly accused female charitable agents of giving indiscriminately to the unworthy as well as the deserving, even though Gibson-Brydon says evidence suggests women were equally committed to the kind of approach favoured by Booth and the COS. Indeed, he argues that women, as frontline charitable workers visiting the poor, were largely responsible for providing the raw data upon which Booth built his classification system.

In the last two chapters of the book Gibson-Brydon turns to the subjects of Booth's investigations: the poor themselves. In Chapter 5, he discusses what he calls "a socially conservative response to inequality" (14) on the part of working-class people. He says that Booth's hierarchy of classes came from the poor themselves (rather than being a middle-class imposition), and this was the case because working people bought into the middle-class ideology of respectability. The poor-but-respectable, as he terms them, did so because of anxiety that they might be pitched into absolute poverty. Gibson-Brydon says, "perpetually struggling for and sometimes unable to reach poor-but-respectable goals, working people took every opportunity to displace aggression, targeting their own perceived inferiors within the community." (14) Gibson-Brydon sees working people not as a unified class entity, but existing in a myriad of hierarchical social gradations within which men and women tenaciously defended their place against those below them and aspired to rise to the status of those above them. Not surprisingly, he

denies the existence of class consciousness, saying that E.P. Thompson's notion that class solidarity had anything to do with working-class values "now seems somewhat fantastic." (115)

In Chapter 6, Gibson-Brydon focuses on the poor-but-respectable, and in particular, on their "self-discipline and release." (139) He employs a framework developed by Richard Wilkinson, a social epidemiologist examining affluent societies of the late 20th century. According to Wilkinson, anxieties over material scarcity are "accompanied by the effects of psychological and social stress," (107) which Gibson-Brydon explains in the late 19th century took the form of "the anxieties surrounding maintaining respectability and status." (107) He concludes that "respectability was – psychologically and physically – a negative addition to working-class life." (107) The chapter traces the various releases that, according to Gibson-Brydon, the poor pursued in their attempts to deal with this stress. Rather than industrial action, these releases were more likely to be an adherence to highly emotional forms of religion and an undue reliance upon alcohol (especially among women, who were chiefly responsible for maintaining the family's respectability).

Gibson-Brydon's book offers some useful correctives: as was the case for almost all Victorians, Booth's world view, permeating all facets of his survey, was a moral one in which concerns of character were central. As he notes, any attempts to see Booth's work as a progenitor of modern social scientific investigation must be tempered by this realization. Also useful are Gibson-Brydon's attempts to delineate the similarities between Booth and the COS, although there were certainly differences between them as well. When Gibson-Brydon turns to the poor, however, his analysis is much less convincing.

Generally speaking, he offers remarkably little evidence to back his claims that

class solidarity did not exist. As Gibson-Brydon admits, 80 per cent of the working class did not attend church by the 1890s. Those interviewed by Booth were, then, a quite small minority, and Gibson-Brydon does not provide adequate evidence that their views were representative of the working class generally. His argument against solidarity, moreover, hinges on his understanding of respectability. While it is certainly the case that respectability was a pervasive concern for the working class, adherence to it was not new in the 1890s, but had existed throughout the century. It is also the case that members of the working class had their own various understandings of what constituted respectability, and these did not always tally with those of middle-class observers like Booth. Moreover, *contra* Gibson-Brydon, respectability was not a wholly negative phenomenon (one notes again that very little evidence is offered to show the applicability of Wilkinson's late 20th-century framework to the earlier period). While notions of respectability could certainly lead to competitive status concerns, being well thought of by one's neighbours also meant being able, in times of need, to access borrowing networks, to get credit, or even on occasion, out relief from parish officials, or philanthropy from morally judgemental middle-class purveyors. Respectability, in short, could act as a positive force helping to reinforce neighbourhood solidarities. Respectability and class were both far more complicated than Gibson-Brydon allows: working-class people did judge one another according to the kinds of competitive status gradations he describes. At the same time, however, when faced with external threats they could and did stand together to defend their interests.

LYNN MACKAY

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**Barbara C. Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov, 1885–1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik***  
(Chicago: Haymarket Books 2016)

WHAT SHOULD BE the relationship between a communist party and trade unions? Alexander G. Shlyapnikov never doubted, from the moment he became politically conscious, that he had the right answer to this question: nothing less than the subordination of the former to the latter. This partiality was solidly anchored in his belief that there was a very close link between the fate of communism in the Soviet Union and the well-being of the industrial working class.

Born in 1885 into poverty, Shlyapnikov's upbringing as a persecuted Old Believer shaped his personality, even though he became an atheist in his middle teens; indeed, it helped him develop powers of argumentation, critical thinking skills, steadfastness, even stubbornness in defending his views. During an early childhood spent in the small provincial town of Murom in Vladimir Province, this highly intelligent and intensely ambitious lad learned to appreciate studiousness, hard work, honesty, compassion, and sobriety; he also discovered that, despite his work ethic, more than one path of social mobility was closed to him because of his class – hence his distrust and anger towards the authorities and his desire for social justice. His decision to become a metalworker introduced him to revolutionary socialism. Arrested by the police in January 1904 for his underground work, he landed in prison where he met Bolsheviks; largely under their influence, he identified himself as a Bolshevik by the end of 1905. Drafted into the army in January 1907, he was sentenced to two years in a fortress for having refused to take an oath of service to Tsar Nicholas II. From January 1908 until late 1916, Shlyapnikov worked abroad (Switzerland first, then France and Scandinavia) as a

skilled metal turner and fitter. A steadfast Bolshevik and a crafty underground activist who smuggled literature and people and evaded the police, he proudly organized factory workers on behalf of the revolution, while learning from West European socialist parties and trade unions. Like most Old Bolsheviks, Shlyapnikov was devoted to Lenin and respectful of his intellect, his learning, and his dedication to international revolution, but he was occasionally critical of his tactics (his factionalist methods of struggle, for example) and policies (his advocacy of national self-determination that ran against Shlyapnikov's conviction that all workers had common interests). In a nutshell, Allen remarks, "he addressed Lenin as a partner, not a lackey." (75) During these years, Shlyapnikov became convinced that workers should not depend on *intelligenty* (intellectuals) to accomplish their goals; instead, they should take their fate into their own hands. This commitment to worker power ran consistently throughout his life and would be the source of much grief.

Shlyapnikov was the most senior Bolshevik in Petrograd in February 1917. He called for the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to form a provisional socialist coalition government until a constituent assembly could design a new political system, and for an end to the war. He was soon edged out of the central party leadership, however, following the return from exile of Kamenev, Stalin, and in April, Lenin himself. Nevertheless, he played an active role in that tumultuous year – as a prominent member of the Petrograd Soviet involved in long and arduous tariff negotiations with representatives of the Society of Factory Owners; a key figure in rebuilding the Petrograd Metalworkers' Union and transforming it into a strong national union; finally, after helping establish both the Workers' Militia and the Red Guard,

a participant in the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917. Such an involvement on the part of a man who believed that only revolution could bring about real change should not surprise. As People's Commissar of Labour in Lenin's first government until October 1918, Shlyapnikov tried to use his power in order to increase the role of trade unions in economic policy-making and planning as well as in government. For him, the role of trade unions was crucial in the transition to socialism. Committed to trade unions as the channels through which workers could acquire the capability to govern and also optimistic that he could improve the lives of workers, Shlyapnikov soon faced the harsh reality of a deteriorating economy and Lenin's opposition to the concept of workers' control of industry. During the course of the Civil War (1918–1920), Shlyapnikov rejected Trotsky's proposed "labour armies" – a scheme that would have imposed harsh discipline on industrial workers in order to bring production back on track. Instead, he promoted trade unions as natural organizers of the economy; in particular, he denounced the practice of relying on managerial and technical specialists to run industry. Shlyapnikov's increased frustration with the Soviet state's policies towards workers and his conviction that the latter should take an active role in the building of a socialist society resulted in the formation of the Workers' Opposition (1919–1921) – yet another attempt to allow trade unions to implement economic policy and, simultaneously, to confront worker disempowerment. Attacked for fostering syndicalism, the members of the Workers' Opposition were roundly condemned at the 10th Party Congress (1921). Furthermore, a key resolution on party unity forbade the future expression of dissent. Allen clearly identifies the dilemma that oppositionists faced: in order to ensure worker mastery over

production rather than worker subordination to production, party officials would have to voluntarily relinquish their powers – a concession they were not willing to make since, in their estimation, many years of education would be required before workers could be trusted to manage the economy.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, which allowed the revival of private trade, the privatization of small enterprises, and the granting of foreign concessions, came as a shock to Shlyapnikov; he was afraid that the state was now favouring the peasantry to the detriment of the working class. Shortly thereafter, party leaders removed him as Chair of the Metalworkers' Union, his organizational base, and brought him up before the Party's Central Committee for violation of party discipline. This double setback left him "on shaky ground." (226) Shlyapnikov's ultimate failure after the 10th Party Congress, Allen argues, is attributable to the fact that "he could not resolve the dilemma of trying to wrest unions from the party's dictatorial grip while observing party discipline, and that he did not possess sufficient material resources or supporters to take over party organisations at the local level." (226) Indeed, centralization – a trend that the experience of the recent Civil War further accentuated within the Communist Party – and Shlyapnikov's attempt to take control of that party through the trade unions could not coexist. A subsequent appeal to the Communist International (Comintern) – the "Letter of the 22" (1922) – lamenting the persecution of dissenters within the Russian Communist Party did not improve Shlyapnikov's status: the letter was censured and accompanied with a warning not to make such an appeal in the future. By now, party discipline had taken on a whole different meaning: party members could no longer express opinions that differed from

those of the Politburo members. With the coming to power of Stalin following Lenin's death (1924), the limits of political discussion became even more constricting; as a result, Shlyapnikov, a man with a dry wit and a well-developed sense of irony who never ceased insisting on the right to freedom of criticism within the Communist Party and dreaming of the day when an ideologically conscious proletariat would take charge, ended up paying the ultimate price. First, his books on the revolutionary year (1917) were condemned and banned for having failed to glorify Stalin and the role of the Bolshevik Party; then, in 1933, charged with poor work and political errors, he was excluded from the Communist Party (to his credit, though, he refused to perform the humiliating ritual of self-abasement that was required); finally he was arrested by the NKVD (the secret police) in January 1935, accused of anti-Soviet agitation, counterrevolutionary organization, and terrorism, and shot on 2 September 1937 – a truly ironic ending for someone who “considered Soviet courts an important means of redressing grievances” (19) and who supported Stalin's industrialization policy in the late 1920s. Retribution upon the family followed shortly thereafter. A welcome consolation, though: the criminal case against Shlyapnikov was overturned in 1963 and, in 1988, he was restored to party membership.

Some readers will likely remark on Shlyapnikov's lack of political flexibility, possibly even deride the idealism of a man who never lost hope that socialism based on workers' initiatives would eventually prevail, not only in the USSR, but also in other countries; others, hopefully, will applaud the courage of a man who refused to distort his revolutionary past and who dared defend a Soviet socialist project that did not square with Stalinist dictates. Shlyapnikov's resistance was

firmly grounded on his belief that the Communist Party was not Stalin and his cronies, “but a revolutionary political institution organised by workers in order to achieve a better life for the oppressed.” (365) One is left wondering what would have happened to the Soviet Union, if Shlyapnikov's political credo – the prevalence of workers within the Communist Party and their management of the economy through trade unions – had been somewhat given heed to. The author, an American historian, has mustered an array of sources, besides her conversations with Shlyapnikov's three children: his reminiscences, diary entries, and correspondence with Bolsheviks, including Lenin; trade-union records; notes from Workers' Opposition meetings; the diaries of Alexandra Kollontai, the woman with whom he had a romance (1911–1916); and party and state archives. Shlyapnikov's life journey, as narrated in this well-written, well-balanced, and superbly researched monograph, enriches our understanding of Russian and, especially, Soviet political culture. Barbara C. Allen has met the challenge of transforming a rather tragic story into a beautiful book – an example of life-writing at its best!

J.-GUY LALANDE

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**Matthew B. Hoffman and Henry F. Srebrnik, eds., *A Vanished Ideology: Essays on the Jewish Communist Movement in the English-Speaking World in the Twentieth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press 2016)**

HISTORIES OF THE Communist Party lend themselves well to collected works. While these histories are transnational, the nature of organizing – often under circumstances of repression – make them deeply local. Following directives from

the USSR, Communist Parties around the world shared common ideology, but no two shared the same experiences. *A Vanished Ideology* is located along this intersection of local and global. Focusing specifically on Jewish Communist Party members adds fascinating complexity to the already gripping historiography of transnational leftism.

In *A Vanished Ideology*, Matthew B. Hoffman and Henry F. Srebrnik thoughtfully curate a collection of essays on the local experiences of Jewish Communists in the English-speaking world. Central to this work are the competing identity politics that often challenged the allegiance of Jewish Communist Party members. Connecting these pieces is the pervasive issue of the primary affiliation of such Party members – often posed is the question: were they Communist Jews or were they Jewish Communists? This distinction was even more pronounced when local party members faced international schisms and debates – among the most ravenous to the Party were the rise (and subsequent Soviet criticism) of Zionism, the escalation of fascism in Europe, and ultimately the revelations of Khrushchev's secret speech in 1956.

Hoffman opens the collection with his piece on the place of Yiddish-speaking Communists in the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). He examines the role of both Jewish particularism and the forging of a distinct Jewish communist culture. Jennifer Young similarly addresses the CPUSA, doing so through an analysis of the allegiance of the Jewish Peoples' Fraternal Order (JPFO) and its role in forging the Jewish Communist movement. Young argues that the JPFO contributed to the creation of a community that lasted far beyond its affiliation with the Communist Party. Gennady Estraikh explores Jewish Communism in the United States through the lens of Paul Novick – editor of the daily *Frayhayt*.

Estraikh follows Novick's career and dedication to the daily from its inception in 1922 until its final edition in 1988 during which time it weathered myriad international scandals.

Henry Srebrnik introduces the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the role of the Jewish community in fostering Jewish identity while both reacting to and resisting burgeoning Zionism. Srebrnik contends that following the 1956 Khrushchev revelations, Jewish Party members had to confront the reality that the USSR and its promised Birobidzhan region had not offered a viable safe heaven from anti-Semitism. Ester Reiter also addresses the CPC, exploring the internationalism that marked eastern European Jewish migrants as secular socialists inclined towards working-class movements. Reiter zeroes in on women's activism and confronts several challenges to Canada's left – notably the Padlock law and 1951 expulsion of the United Jewish People's Order from the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Stephen M. Cullen takes us out of North America with his piece on the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Cullen argues that Jewish Party members are inaccurately painted out of the picture in Great Britain in part due to the reliance on class as the primary unit of analysis in Communist historiography. In addition, Cullen contends, there has been intentional negligence by Stalinist historiography to acknowledge the presence and contributions of Jewish Party members. Basing his work on sound recordings, Cullen "tests" his theories on Jewish presence by relying on interviews with notable Jewish members of the CPGB. Philip Mendes examines the small yet present group of Jewish Communists in Australia. Mendes argues that while they were by no means a mass, Jewish Communists (and their allies) were active participants in the Jewish community.

Concluding the volume, David Yoram Saks delves into the fascinating world of the Communist Party of South Africa. Saks follows the trajectory of several Jewish Communists as they achieved substantial political power following the overthrow of the apartheid system in 1994. Seating this national narrative in an international context, Saks convincingly positions the dissolution of apartheid in the collapse of the USSR – arguing that once the threat of a Communist coup ended, whites were slightly less resistant to ceding power.

While the authors all seem to agree on the tremendous impact of Comintern directives on local Party policy, this volume offers a fascinating glimpse into the distinctive ways in which such directives played out in various English-speaking communities. Certain Soviet policy shifts – such as the turn to the Popular Front – had a remarkably positive impact on Jewish Party membership. Other Soviet actions were more challenging for local Party members to reconcile – most notable in this regard were the 1956 Khrushchev revelations. But perhaps the most contentious debate as it relates to the Jewish Communist Movement in this collection – and one typically left out of histories of the Communist Party – is the issue of Israeli settlement and the emergence of an organized and international Zionist movement.

While essay collections offer a marvelous glimpse into local conditions, one weakness in a collection of this nature is the isolation of each individual piece. Though the reader can infer connections, the transnational moment that binds histories of both the Communist Movement and the Jewish diaspora more broadly begs for a more direct comparative analysis. Why, for instance, did some communities radically reject the Zionist turn, while others embraced it as a viable solution? And how did Jewish Communists

enter the political arena in South Africa while they remained political outsiders or anomalies in North America? One cannot help but wonder how connected these histories were: were the clandestine Canadians in conversation with Great Britain's Sir Alfred Sherman or Mick Mindel? While perhaps outside the scope of this work, one must ask: how isolated were the players in this transnational history?

One also couldn't help but wonder how many of the challenges and realities presented in this book were exclusive to the Jewish Communist Movement. So often the authors relied on the status of working-class eastern European immigrant to rationalize the gravitation of Jews to the Communist Party. However, this argument holds for many communities present in the Party in this period. While Jewish involvement in the Party is often treated as a default position – they joined because they were disenfranchised from other forms of political capital – the same can be said for the influx of Finnish and Ukrainian migrants to North America, many of whom were also active in the Party. While several of the arguments for involvement may hold true for the Jewish Communist Movement, it is important to seat this in the larger lived experience of first generation, working-class migrants in the years leading up to the Great Depression.

What convincingly binds these pieces together is the ongoing concern of identity and betrayal. The constant tension between loyalty to Party and commitment to Jewish identity is perhaps the most fascinating element of this work. While the vanished ideology in question is intended to be the Communist movement, the pages of this text are filled with the legacy of powerful and competing ideologies (among them, the rise of European fascism, Zionism, and apartheid) all of which underscore the challenging

reality of 20th century politics. While – like many collections – this work has certain limitations, it does offer a fascinating (though often cursory) glimpse into the lives of a varied cross-section of English-speaking Jewish Communists as they attempted to reconcile their beliefs with the ever-changing landscape of political culture in the 20th century.

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**Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger, eds., *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* (Leiden: Brill 2016)**

MANY OF THE STORIES and statistics about the working conditions faced by domestic and caregiving workers around the world are shocking. For example, in April 2017 a video that circulated online showed an Ethiopian maid in Kuwait clinging to a window sill and yelling for help before falling several stories while her employer not only stood by but filmed the incident. Fortunately, the worker survived. According to Human Rights Watch, however, it is not the first time that a domestic worker has fallen from a building in Kuwait. In response to abusive and exploitative working conditions, workers, some of whom have been locked inside their places of employment, attempt to escape by whatever means necessary, risking deportation, physical harm, and even death. Much of the discussion about how to improve the lives and working conditions of domestic and caregiving workers focuses on contemporary issues – how current social, political, and economic factors shape domestic labour. Yet as the contributors to *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* show, this type of work has a long history around the world,

and many of the contemporary issues facing domestic workers have deep historical roots. Addressing problems pertaining to caregiving and domestic work thus requires a solid historical understanding of its development and practice in particular contexts. This edited collection aims to address this need.

The book emerged from the annual International Conference of Labour History and Social Movements in Linz, Austria that brought together over 50 scholars of domestic work in September 2013. The resulting edited collection features the work of more than twenty scholars from a range of disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, including history, sociology, anthropology, political science, gender studies, and migration studies. They examine the dynamics shaping domestic and caregiving work over four centuries and in a number of countries. As editors Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger explain in the first chapter, the collection “aims to contribute to a global history of work, in which the history of domestic work and domestic workers are not discarded as ‘unproductive’ and therefore insignificant to labor history.” (4) The central argument of the book is “that domestic work has not only been an important social and cultural factor throughout space and time, but that its economic (‘productive’) value has for long been underestimated, misunderstood, or negated.” (4–5)

*Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* is comprised of 25 chapters grouped into three parts. An introductory essay by the editors provides an overview of the collection and issues related to terminology (domestic worker, servant, household worker, etc.) and theory (domestic work as “productive” or “unproductive” work) and outlines the volume’s contribution to global labour history. Using a “broad and



inclusive definition,” the editors define domestic work as “work *in the households of others* [that] includes all tasks concerning household work . . . as well as *care work*. (2) The next two chapters, by Raffaella Sarti and Hoerder respectively, offer valuable reviews of existing scholarship and the historical development of domestic work around the world. By summarizing and analyzing the theoretical debates, historiographical developments, and changes and continuities in domestic work from a global perspective, these three chapters advance our understanding of the history of domestic work and the research on it.

The remaining chapters are divided into three parts. Part One examines workers’ strategies, agency, and self-assertion. As Hoerder explains, although much of the scholarship on domestic work focuses on either exploitation or agency, in reality these competing frames intertwine: domestic work can be a source of oppression and liberation depending on the specific historical circumstances. The chapters in this section look at how this dynamic shapes the lives of workers in a variety of national and transnational contexts, from older Czech women’s experiences caring for the children of Vietnamese immigrants, to Indian workers’ efforts to organize, strike, and secure improvements in their working condition, and to Filipina caregivers’ ambivalent feelings about returning “home” to the Philippines after working abroad.

Part Two explores domestic work in imperial and colonial contexts, paying particular attention to how gender, race, and ethnicity influenced relations between workers and employers. The essays in this section cover more than 300 years, from the mid-17th century through to the late 20th. They look at how such factors as power, knowledge, and emotions shaped relations between employers and workers in South Africa and colonial

Tanganyika; migrant women’s entry into domestic work in countries that had colonized their places of origin; and attitudes and policies regarding domestic work in Southeast Asia and the immigration, wages, and labour of Chinese and Native American workers in the United States.

Part Three examines how domestic labour has changed and remained the same over the 20th century and how activists, employers, governments, and international organizations have supported and hindered improvements. Most of the essays are detailed case studies of specific countries and regions (Austria, Chile, Cyprus, Morocco, Yemen, and China, Hong Kong, and Malaya). In contrast, the final chapter analyzes the factors that led the International Labour Organization to approve Convention 189 in 2011 that established standards for domestic work and extended protections to domestic workers.

Overall, *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* is an impressive collection. Its interdisciplinarity and international scope allow the reader to take a broad view of domestic work, trace continuities and changes over time, and better understand the similarities and differences experienced by workers around the world and throughout the past four centuries. That being said, some scholars may take issue with the editors’ assessment of current academic attitudes towards domestic work and their claim that domestic work is more complex than other forms of labour. In the introductory chapter, they state that “many economists and labor historians remain welded to the proposition that ‘production’ or material goods creates ‘surplus value’ for capital and capitalists while production of a healthy family is mere ‘reproduction’ without value added” (17). This statement may accurately describe the situation in some fields and regions of the world, but the lack of a citation and sufficient

explanation leaves the reader with no way to evaluate the veracity of such a broad claim. Also problematic is their assertion that “because of the intricacies of domestic work ... work in the domestic sphere requires a far more complex analysis than work in factory or in offices.” (23) Particular workplaces and employment relations may need different analytical tools, but to suggest that domestic work is inherently more “complex” and is the only type of work that involves emotion and intimacy is to ignore the intense feelings experienced by and the complicated emotional labour required of other types of workers, such as flight attendants, nurses, and teachers, to list only a few.

Nevertheless, by examining the particular dynamics shaping domestic work in four centuries, in a number of countries, and from a variety of disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives, this edited collection makes a valuable contribution to the study of global labour history and will appeal to anyone interested in domestic work, globalization, and worker organizing.

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**Kiran Klaus Patel, *The New Deal: A Global History*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2016)

IN THIS BOOK, Kiran Klaus Patel approaches the New Deal as a key element of the “critical repositioning of America in the world (2) that followed the Great Depression. As Patel convincingly shows, the New Deal “shared more with processes in other parts of the world than is normally recognized.” (300) The New Deal profoundly reshaped the United States but neither its agenda, nor its course, nor its results were merely domestic – it was a product of, and in turn helped create, powerful interconnections with a series

of process at the global level; a “global New Deal” that saw the expansion of state intervention in the economy and society to address the failures of capitalism in the wake of the global slump of the 1930s. This is a different narrative of “the American World Order,” the title of the book’s fifth chapter, to the one that many are accustomed to: a world order based on the expansion of US corporate capitalism, military power, and Hollywood.

The book is clearly in dialogue with the “global turn” in historiography and is intended as a corrective to historical interpretations of the New Deal that view it primarily or even exclusively as a domestic issue or that privilege its study from a local perspective. Instead, Patel shows that the New Deal needs to be understood in the context of much broader global response to the impact of the Great Depression and indeed in the context of the widely-shared perception in the 1930s that the evident failures of capitalism needed to be addressed if capitalism and liberal democracy were to survive. Correctly, Patel sees this global response as being not only a question of the changing role of government but also of what Michel Foucault called governmental-ity: the process whereby “the population came to be seen as amenable to management through the deployment of specific rationalities and technologies of power.” Such an approach leads Patel to examine the New Deal and its connections to the world in numerous ways, combining economic, political, social and cultural perspectives. As a result, the New Deal that is examined in this book is not simply a series of state policies, or an alphabet soup of acronyms (TVA, AAA, CCC, NIRA, PWA, WPA, etc.). Instead, it is the subject of a more profound examination of how state-society relations were reframed in the wake of the Great Depression in the United States but also across much of the world.

Two short chapters, respectively on the origins and character of the Great Depression and on the new world order that the New Deal helped create, flank three meatier chapters. In Chapter 2, Patel shows that the solutions to the impact of the Great Depression on a range of sectors, from banking, to agriculture, to industry, to work creation, that Roosevelt's New Dealers devised, need to be examined in the context of, to use Sebastian Conrad's useful term, *synchronous* developments elsewhere in the world. This is not simply a story of how transnational ideas and policies of state management of the economy circulated in this period. Instead, it is a careful examination of how the response of the United States to the Great Depression was shaped not only by domestic considerations but also by how the New Dealers viewed the responses of other countries, including Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, the Soviet Union, and indeed countries in Latin America and Asia. As Patel explains, "transnational learning and linking mainly served as a means to find a better *national* solution to the double crisis of democracy and capitalism." (114)

In Chapter 3, Patel turns his attention to changing relations between the United States and rest of the world during the 1930s. He explores how the "national solution" to the crisis represented by the New Deal, and its implications in terms of domestic economic management, impacted on other parts of the world and also reshaped US foreign relations. The chapter ranges widely, exploring the consequences for the rest of the world of US positions on currency stabilization, gold and silver prices, trade agreements, disarmament, and the League of Nations. Patel emphasizes the extent to which domestic politics shaped foreign policy in these areas, influencing if not determining Roosevelt's margin of action. But domestic business considerations

also mattered. The Good Neighbour policy towards Latin America was motivated by the belief that expanding trade would strengthen the US economy, but it had important political consequences. Particularly interesting in this chapter is the attention to Puerto Rico as a sort of colonial laboratory of New Deal policies where they took on a racialized social engineering dimension. Indeed, throughout the book, Patel rightly pays careful attention to ways in which race shaped the New Deal and the New Deal shaped race – from the racialized exclusions of social security act to the immigration restrictions of the 1930s, to the anti-Semitism that led to the New Deal being criticized as a "Jew Deal." (174)

Chapter 4 shifts attention back to key policies of the New Deal, including the 1935 social security act and housing policy, but also to other areas of increasing state intervention and management, such as suburban and rural communities, electrification, consumer cooperatives, crime, and securitization, as well as transport infrastructure and architecture. Again, Patel convincingly shows the ways in which the architects of the New Deal designed their policies in a manner that expressed an implicit but also sometimes explicit dialogue with synchronous developments elsewhere (while recognizing that such dialogues tended to favour some cases over others often in a manner that makes evident implicit preferences if not outright prejudice: in considering examples for the development of cooperative enterprises, the New Dealers were more interested in learning from the Swedish case than from the Japanese). Patel shows that while many of these developments were expressive of the growth of the federal government, they were highly dependent on the active involvement of state and local governments who were needed in order to implement the new policies: the New Deal did not simply

centralize power, it strengthened government at all levels.

The final chapter examines the ways in which World War II reshaped the New Deal. Many policies became obsolete, but the circumstances of the war helped to entrench certain New Deal programs. The war, Patel suggests, “continued and reinforced some of the core tenets of the New Deal, such as strong state action along with a focus on welfare, regulation, and security.” (271) In the post-war era, Patel argues, such tenets became the basis of a modernization paradigm, which he defines as a “state-based form of Progressivism with its roots in the New Deal and certain Keynesian elements.” (285) This paradigm, Patel suggests, was internationalized both as a discourse of development but also more concretely through the incorporation of New Dealers into key post war institutions, particularly institutions such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) or UNESCO or the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The extent to which this new paradigm, subsequently linked in much social science literature to W.W. Rostow’s stages of development argument, succeeded in bringing development to the world is a matter for debate and, as is well known, alternative paradigms soon emerged to challenge it. Still, in shedding light on the New Deal origins of the new “American world order” Patel offers a compelling and counterintuitive interpretation of the origins of US hegemony in the post war-era.

Based on prodigious research and engagingly written Patel’s *The New Deal: A Global History* is an excellent example of how global history, as an approach to studying the past and as a scale of historical analysis, can produce new and important insight into historical processes.

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Teri L. Caraway, Maria Lorena Cook, and Stephen Crowley eds., *Working Through the Past: Labor and Authoritarian Legacies in Comparative Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2015)

*WORKING THROUGH THE PAST* tackles an essential question for labour scholars and activists today: how do we assess the prospects for organized workers’ resistance in the neoliberal era?

Specifically, the collection examines the tensions and contractions of labour relations in a diverse range of political contexts connected by shared histories of authoritarian governance over the past century. Included in this volume are former state socialist countries (Russia, Poland, Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia) and a range of primarily military regimes across Latin America (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile) and South East Asia (Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan).

The main premise of the book is that the legacies of these authoritarian governments continue to have a significant impact on the nature of labour relations in these countries. Focusing on the institutional and organizational capacities of labour organizations, the contributors lay out the ways legacies of anti-democratic and authoritarian governments have shaped their potential for developing effective strategies to counter neoliberal processes.

Drawing from the conceptualization of Paola Cesarini and Katherine Hite (“Introducing the Concept of Authoritarian Legacies,” in Nancy Gina Bermeo, ed., *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe*, [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004], 1-24), the editors identify three central primary arenas where histories of authoritarian governments have impacted the nature of labour relations. These

include legacies in formal structures, in the ongoing cultural and psychological context, and the power of conservative groups. In the diverse set of political contexts considered in this volume, the applicability of each of these legacies and the degree to which they impact the current labour context varies markedly. In terms of the analyses developed in this collection, consideration of authoritarian legacies translates into a focus on the formal and informal practices of actors inside unions, the state, and those of employers, and the way these practices and institutional processes can be traced to the authoritarian period. More specifically, the contributors focus on three areas to assess the strengths and liabilities for unions following from these histories: labour law, ideology, and the role of legacy unions, those unions originating or dominant during the authoritarian period.

How does this volume contribute to our understanding of the current potential for labour resistance in these regions?

First, this collection provides useful snapshots of the overall institutional terrain on which labour organizing happens in each of the countries examined. The chapters primarily assess the current capacities of unions and the rootedness of the dominant institutional practices, dynamics, and strategies of these unions in their respective authoritarian periods. Contributors pay particular attention to the internal dynamics and structures of the unions, assessing how their practices have been aided or hampered by state strategies and structures which have been inherited from the authoritarian period. One of the ways they do this is by examining the most important features of contemporary labour laws in each country, their origins in the authoritarian period, and how they continue to shape union strategies. Most of the chapters provide insightful analyses of both the internal

institutional context of unions today and the nature and impact of contemporary labour laws. It is on the question of ideology that the contributors differ. Of the three areas used to analyze authoritarian legacies, the ideological terrain is generally the least developed. Given the institutional approach, ideology is mostly understood as a factor shaping internal union politics and/or labour policy decisions of the governing political parties. This means that ideology is treated as one factor in understanding the life of these institutions rather than as a separate analytical frame. For instance, many of the authors examine the ideological motivations of specific actors or group of actors. The analysis of the ideological dimensions of these institutional actors is necessary for assessing the current nature of labour relations and would only be strengthened by added attention to the broader ideological context shaping national politics as well as union membership and participation.

Second, the collection brings together countries with quite distinct labour politics and philosophies, from places where unions were formally subordinated to the state as in Eastern Europe, to places where unions were repressed as in military regimes in Latin America, to places in South East Asia where corporatism was dominant and unions outside the corporatist arrangement were repressed. This volume also considers a very diverse group of authoritarian governments with different ideological orientations and political strategies.

What comes out in the collection is that, while there are important ways that each authoritarian regime has shaped the current labour relations context in each country, the shared experiences of authoritarian governance do not translate into similar union trajectories. Even in countries where there are strong commonalities with respect to political

histories, i.e. between Poland and Russia or between Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia, the paths unions took in each country in the post-Cold War were very different. Similarly, the comparative chapters on Argentina and Mexico and on Korea and Taiwan draw out similarities in the context and legacies while examining the major dissimilarities with respect to results. And so, we find that shared histories of authoritarian regimes, even in cases where there are significant political similarities, do not operate as the key causal factor in the making of the current terrain of labour relations. In a few chapters, there are other factors identified as more critical in determining post-authoritarian labour relations, such as pre-authoritarian regime labour laws, ideological forces, or the post-regime activities of elites. This speaks to the difficulty in trying to isolate a specific period of history as a common causal factor. How do we divorce the current context or the actions of respective regimes from the context in which they arose, i.e. the economic and political context, experiences of colonialism, imperialism, and labour imperialism?

And finally, related to the last point, this collection provides numerous insights into the structural limitations facing specific labour movements. This gives us part of the answer in trying to assess capacities in the context of neoliberalism. What could be developed in the chapters that would strengthen their assessments is more attention to how neoliberalism has transformed the economic terrain on which workers find themselves. Although there are a few chapters that summarize some of the key economic forces shaping labour relations in the current period, discussion of economic transformations is peripheral to the overall analysis and assessment in most chapters. This speaks to the historical-institutional approach of the collection. However, attention to the

material conditions workers and unions find themselves in is critical to understanding capacities. For instance, in the Philippines, how can we understand the role and potential of the different unions without considering the labour export strategy and current levels of unemployment inside the Philippines?

In conclusion, this collection makes an important contribution to assessing the current structures and tendencies. In this sense, the book is quite activist oriented, providing insights into the challenges labour movements face and for thinking about ways to build stronger unions that can effectively fight neoliberal processes today. It is a book full of rich analyses of major issues confronting labour movements in fourteen countries with complicated labour histories and would be a great addition to an upper year or graduate level course on comparative industrial relations or global labour movements.

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**Kim Scipes, ed., *Building Global Labor Solidarity in a Time of Accelerating Globalization*** (Chicago: Haymarket Books 2016)

THIS COLLECTION PUT together by long-time scholar and activist Kim Scipes addresses labour internationalism in a time of accelerated globalization. The perspective is critical and dialectical, in the sense that it considers globalization as both a vector for neoliberalism and an opportunity for a renewed resistance, in particular from trade unions. The book does not take the labour movement as a homogenous bloc, though, and it explicitly focuses on cases of progressive unions and on their potential to build labour internationalism from below. The volume offers seven case studies, based on unions in North America (Canada, Mexico, and the US),

Latin America and Asia (the Philippines and Bangladesh). Although the chapters vary greatly in terms of scope and approaches, they provide valuable insights and reflections on a crucial issue.

The book starts with a theoretical chapter signed by the editor. Those already familiar with Scipes' work will recognize his concern for "globalization from below" inspired by Nederveen Pieterse. Also typical of his approach is the association between the types of unionism practiced at the local/national level and at the international level. Whereas business unionism is considered an obstacle to genuine international labour solidarity, social justice unions are the ones to consider when searching for a more egalitarian, inclusive, and bottom-up internationalism. The chapter provides an interesting distinction between three levels of internationalisms, depending on how transformative they aim at being. That leads to a typology of nine types of labour internationalisms mostly based on their goals, from improving wages to broader political objectives.

Katherine Nastovski's chapter will be of particular interest to the Canadian readership. Her extensive study of labour internationalism in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s draws a clear distinction between what was done at the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) International Department, and various initiatives taken within the rank-and-file. Whereas the CLC's international orientations were still rooted in anticommunism, the grassroots initiatives, in particular vis-à-vis the war in Vietnam and the coup in Chile, led to a much more transformative and class-based model of solidarity. Nastovski provides a thorough set of criteria to define and analyze such models, and also recognizes the limits of these types of initiatives, such as left nationalism.

Three chapters deal more directly with the US. Jenny Jungehülsing makes

a compelling argument about the role of migrant workers in transnational solidarity. Her well researched comparison between Salvadorian members of a Service Employees International Union (SEIU) local in Los Angeles and Mexican members of an Illinois and Indiana United Steelworkers (USW) district highlights how those dynamics can differ. Salvadorian workers had maintained stronger political ties to their country of origin, in particular with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, and played a crucial role in pushing the SEIU towards establishing connections with that group. Mexican members of the USW, on the other hand, contributed to reinforcing the support for the Mexican Mine Workers Union (the *Mineros*) mostly because of their general attachment to their homeland, rather than political convictions.

David Bacon's chapter on solidarity across the US-Mexico border tackles similar issues. After reminding us of the tumultuous history of the relations between US and Mexican unions, in particular since NAFTA, he points at several long-lasting ties built between unions, specifically the USW-*Mineros* alliance, and the emblematic case of the Mexican Electricity Workers union. The role of migrant workers is highlighted in his study of the alliance between the United Farm Workers and the Binational Front of Indigenous Organizations from Oaxaca (Mexico), and the interactive effects it had on both sides of the border.

Michael Zweig's text focuses on the internal dynamics of the US labour movement, in particular the tensions between the national leadership of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and more progressive sections of the movement. He develops the example of labour opposition to war both to show how the position of the AFL-CIO evolved on that

topic (from an almost unconditional support of the US government to a more critical stand) and how the mobilization of anti-war activists led to the creation of a network (US Labor Against War) that would build solidarity ties with Iraqi unions and contribute to changing the attitude of the AFL-CIO itself.

Bruno Dobrusin's chapter shifts the focus to the South of the continent. He builds an insightful comparison between the movement against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the current battles against extractivism. He shows how the more progressive unions which led the fight against the FTAA are the same now criticizing a development model solely based on natural resource extractions and export. At the other end of the spectrum, the more conservative unions, which did not get involved in the hemispheric coalition against free trade, are supporting extractivism today. Dobrusin also points at the downfalls of progressive governments which did not really break away from the old development model, but he finds hope in the social movement orientation of many organizations in the region, including the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas.

Finally, two chapters deal with Asia. Timothy Ryan's contribution on Bangladesh is a bit surprising since he works for the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center, an organization that the book editor, Kim Scipes, has abundantly criticized in his

previous work. Scipes recognizes that in the introduction, but rightly underlines the value of Ryan's work. He documents in much detail the campaigns to improve working conditions in Bangladesh's garment industry, specifically the use of international tools and the role played by the AFL-CIO in that regard. The choice made by Ryan to analyze those campaigns using the "five steps of grief" approach is not completely convincing. Although it brings in some interesting strategic elements, it lacks contextualization and tends to depoliticize the issues at stake.

Scipes's chapter on the Philippines' Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) provides a detailed account on a progressive organization that is not as known as other examples from the Global South. Scipes underlines their alliance strategies, the importance given to labour education, and the model of "genuine trade unionism" developed by the KMU. The international dimension is not necessarily at the heart of the chapter, except for the program of international visitors launched by the KMU and through which Scipes was able to learn more about that organization.

Overall, *Building Global Labor Solidarity* is a rich collection of detailed case studies that show how progressive, grassroots labour internationalism can succeed. With examples from both the Global North and South, it provides a fresh and inspiring perspective on the potential for transnational solidarity.

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