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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Todd McCallum, *Hobohemia and the Crucifixion Machine: Rival Images of a New World in 1930s Vancouver*
(Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2014)

THOUSANDS OF UNEMPLOYED wanderers flocked to Vancouver during the Depression. They built hobo jungles on the city's margins and constructed numerous infrastructure projects under the auspices of relief. Todd McCallum captures the indispensability of and tensions embodied by itinerant labourers in Vancouver during the early 1930s. His detailed portrait of transient life and space, relief work, labour camps, and the government and business machinations surrounding the itinerant poor is a worthwhile addition to Canadian labour history, Depression history, and hobo history more broadly.

McCallum argues hobos and other itinerant labourers crafted "islands of non-capitalist, non-statist social practice," within hobo jungles or camps in the city and the communal practices of sharing, foraging, and begging kept them going. (6) He refers to these spaces as "homelands" which functioned as anti-capitalist, and particularly anti-Fordist utopias where itinerant and unemployed labourers established strong communal bonds and organized resistance against city, provincial, and national relief efforts. Epitomizing the implementation of Fordism within Vancouver's relief efforts was the creation of the "transient" as a site of knowledge, commodification,

and control by the Relief Department. Relief workers wiped away any of the hobos' recognizable humanity in an effort to standardize and rationalize relief efforts. This is the "Crucifixion Machine" of the title. Undergirding relief work was a growing interaction between the Relief Department and local business interests during the opening years of the Depression, an interweaving of government and business McCallum terms the "relief industry." (9) Thus economic factors, like efficiency, production, distribution, and consumption shaped the policies and day-to-day practices of the Relief Department. Part of the Relief Department's response to the thousands of homeless men flocking to Vancouver was the creation of work camps where transients earned their keep building roads or cutting timber. McCallum argues that work relief should be understood as another iteration of unfree labour. This made work relief camps a space of resistance fostered by Communist organizers.

Overarching his historical arguments are a firm defense of social history and forceful theoretical claims. McCallum attempts to place the lives of Vancouver's homeless men as the central focus of his study and situate the relief industry as its "shadow." (7) To support these claims he relies heavily on social historical and Marxist methodological practices. He argues social history is the most fruitful approach to exploring the lives of transients because the archive makes no mention of sexuality, gender, race, or class. Although, deeper readings of archival silences

like this rarely leaves the silence intact. Underscoring this, he argues his work is, at its core, a “mode of production” history charting the ways commodification and rationalization underscored the relief industry’s work and relationship with the homeless men they served. (11) Yet, McCallum is not content with the traditional and what he sees as largely stagnant social historical and Marxist methodologies employed by Canadian historians. To this end he brings the Frankfurt School, particularly Theodor Adorno, as well as Michel Foucault to augment and expand the theoretical reach of social history. This supports his call for an “indivisible analytic totality” between theory and historical sources. (25) To further this aim McCallum purposefully sidesteps much of the historiography in order to focus on his theoretical arguments.

The book is divided into five chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 provide chronological narratives about itinerant lives and spaces within Vancouver between 1929 and 1932. The final three chapters focus on the formation and execution of the relief industry during that same period. Each focuses on a particular aspect of the relief industry and includes significant space devoted to these trends in conversation with McCallum’s theoretical arguments. The tension between the first two and last three chapters is purposeful and captures, in part, the historical conflict between homeless men and Vancouver’s Relief Department.

Chapter 1 follows the rise of Vancouver’s hobo jungles between December 1929 and January 1930. It follows the chaotic opening months of the Depression. Thousands of homeless men flocked to the city and quickly overwhelmed established relief efforts. McCallum follows the various public debates surrounding measures to halt homeless men from overwhelming the city, the scope of relief, and the government’s role in providing

it. These debates ultimately shaped the course of the Depression in Vancouver and set the stage for the conflicts charted later in the book.

Chapter 2 focuses on jungle life and political activism from 1930 through 1932. Here McCallum explores the practices and possibilities of Vancouver’s “hobohemias.” These peripheral spaces fostered itinerant practices like stealing, sharing, and begging, conducted without capitalist logic. Drawing on missionary accounts and government archives McCallum argues hobo jungles were anti-capitalist utopias that proved “wondrous examples of those collectivist values that society lacked” (99). While the utopian reality of hobo jungles is oversold at times, particularly in light of the racial violence within Vancouver’s transient communities explored in Nayan Shah’s *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), it is an interpretation worth considering. McCallum’s third chapter marks the beginning of his detailed analysis of the relief industry and its relationship with the city’s homeless men. Particular attention is paid to the commodification of relief and value attached to the transients. He uses these shifts, coupled with the increased involvement of businesses in relief efforts, to identify the emergence of Fordist practices within the relief industry.

In Chapter 4, McCallum uses meal and bed tickets handed out by the Relief Department to look at the removal of homeless men from the free market. Economic arrangements between the relief department, private restaurants, and hotels relied on profitability and market-based decisions instead of any sense of charitable inclination. Chapter 5 concludes McCallum’s analysis of the relief industry by interrogating the work camps and unfree labour practices imposed

upon homeless men. Seemingly “unemployed” men built roads and runways around the city with all the trappings of wage labour but without the wages.

Together, these chapters produce a complex historical and theoretical portrait of relief, labour, and transience in Vancouver during the early 1930s. Historians of homelessness and hoboing will certainly find his approach a useful case study of the relationship between relief officers and transients. *Hobohemia and the Crucifixion Machine* also offers a new way of interpreting shifts in relief policy for scholars of the Depression. Yet, it is McCallum’s theoretical arguments that stand out. Historians may prove reluctant in adopting “indivisible analytic totality” like McCallum. Nonetheless, it provides a new and interesting way of incorporating Foucault and Adorno into social history analyses.

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François Deschamps, *La « rébellion de 1837 » à travers le prisme du Montreal Herald. La refondation par les armes des institutions politiques canadiennes*, Québec : Presses de l’Université Laval, 2015.

DANS *LA « RÉBELLION DE 1837 » À TRAVERS LE PRISME DU MONTREAL HERALD*, François Deschamps entreprend de reconstituer la ligne éditoriale du journal tory pour la période entre 1835 et 1840. Deschamps insiste sur la complexité de la situation politique dans la province et surtout à Montréal au moment du recours aux armes à l’automne de 1837. Selon l’auteur, les événements de 1837 ne sauraient se résumer à une simple « rébellion » fomentée par des Patriotes radicaux contre le gouvernement colonial. Deschamps propose que dans les années et les mois

qui précèdent la prise d’armes, Montréal aurait été au centre d’une lutte tripartite impliquant Patriotes, Tories et Loyaux canadiens.

Dans un premier chapitre, l’auteur résume les principales positions de la *Constitutional Association of Montreal* (CAM) en analysant ses manifestes, rapports, assemblées et discours. Fondée en 1834, l’association oppose un refus catégorique à la principale revendication constitutionnelle des Patriotes, soit la création d’un Conseil législatif électif. La CAM reconnaît que cette réforme aurait l’effet de consolider la mainmise de la majorité canadienne sur les institutions législatives du pays et ses dirigeants y voient une menace aux intérêts de la population anglo-saxonne. Devant l’impasse politique, ses éléments plus radicaux dénoncent les politiques de conciliation adoptées par le gouvernement impérial et préconisent le recours à une union législative des deux provinces afin de diminuer l’influence de la députation canadienne-française. Les tensions entre les éléments dits « libéraux » de la CAM et les éléments moins progressistes associés aux Tories provoquent un schisme en 1836 qui se serait développé autour des acquis de l’Église anglicane. La défection de la plupart de ses membres affaiblit le poids politique de l’association, mais elle permet à une faction ultra-tory de contrôler le comité exécutif. Dans les manifestes subséquents, la position des radicaux se révèle dans un souci constant pour la sécurité publique à Montréal et particulièrement pour celle de la population britannique que le gouvernement négligerait de protéger. Les radicaux rejettent les tentatives de former une force policière « neutre » dans laquelle les Canadiens loyaux joueraient un rôle important. Ils prônent plutôt la création de corps paramilitaires voués à protéger la population britannique de la ville. Il s’agit ici de la *British rifle club*, de la Légion

britannique et enfin du notoire *Doric Club*.

Dans une analyse fine des textes éditoriaux et des lettres des lecteurs publiés dans le *Herald*, Deschamps déballe l'argumentaire de la faction ultra-*tory* et montre que l'appui « spontané » que le peuple loyal aurait manifesté dans sa défense de Montréal avait été soigneusement préparé par ses rédacteurs. D'une part, le journal revient constamment sur l'idée que la population anglo-saxonne ne saurait se soumettre à la création d'un état canadien-français sur ce territoire gagné à l'Empire par les armes britanniques. Les rédacteurs du journal dénoncent constamment les activités de la « clique » canadienne-française qui contrôle la législature et de son chef Louis-Joseph Papineau. Ils ridiculisent aussi les prétentions du peuple canadien à l'autodétermination, invoquant l'ignorance relative des paysans et la condition arriérée du pays comme justification à l'imposition de la société supérieure que représentait la civilisation britannique. Par contre, si les tensions ethnoculturelles demeurent à la base du discours ultra-*tory* tel qu'il est représenté dans le *Herald*, il se démarque également par une dénonciation soutenue de la « politique de conciliation » adoptée par la métropole.

Après 1836, le *Herald*, comme la CAM, se préoccupe de la sécurité publique à Montréal et conclut que les citoyens britanniques doivent s'armer pour se protéger. La logique des rédacteurs repose essentiellement sur le concept du droit des citoyens de s'armer pour assurer le maintien de leur liberté politique, un droit de dernier recours dans la tradition britannique. L'appui du *Herald* pour les diverses organisations paramilitaires témoigne des rapports serrés entre les membres du comité exécutif de la CAM et la direction du journal. Or, ces liens se confirment par leur participation

commune dans diverses associations, dont les loges maçonniques de Montréal et possiblement l'ordre orange. Le journal et l'association reprennent aussi intégralement un discours de loyauté indéfectible envers l'Empire qui ressemble en tous points à celui des orangistes, et ils manifestent la même préoccupation pour le maintien de son intégrité territoriale. Malgré ces similitudes, « l'orangisme » des Tories montréalais ne posséderait étrangement aucun trait anti-catholique.

Enfin, un dernier chapitre revient sur la situation politique à Montréal au moment de l'éclatement de la violence dans les campagnes, de la demande d'armement des citoyens britanniques de Montréal et ensuite de l'imposition de la loi martiale. Au départ, les Tories prétendent toujours que l'armement des Britanniques devait répondre à un urgent besoin d'assurer la sécurité publique dans la ville en raison de l'échec de la tentative de créer une force policière neutre. Le refus du gouverneur Gosford d'accéder à cette demande provoque un tollé de la part du *Herald*. Dans les semaines suivantes, la conduite du gouverneur, que l'on tient responsable de n'avoir pas su freiner la radicalisation dans les campagnes, attire également les foudres du journal. Selon Deschamps, l'opposition au gouverneur se transforme en mutinerie quand la faction radicale défie les ordres reçus de Québec et prend le contrôle des rues de Montréal. Dans la foulée de la Rébellion et de la répression militaire qu'elle provoque, la faction ultra-*tory* légitime ses actions et cherche à influencer Lord Durham quand ce dernier arrivera dans la colonie pour mener l'enquête décrétée par le gouvernement impérial. Évidemment, ils lui présentent les solutions que le *Herald* prônait depuis des années : l'union législative des provinces et l'assimilation des Canadiens français. Ainsi, selon Deschamps, la refondation des institutions politiques canadiennes se

serait réalisée selon les scénarios imaginés par les rédacteurs du *Herald* et au gré des manœuvres politiques orchestrées par les dirigeants de la CAM et leurs frères maçonniques et orangistes au sein de l'élite anglo-écossaise de Montréal et de l'état-major de la garnison.

L'interprétation de François Deschamps repose sur une analyse rigoureuse des textes du *Montreal Herald*. Il effectue également un travail remarquable de contextualisation sociopolitique qui permet d'identifier certains des liens entre les principaux acteurs qui n'étaient pas toujours évidents aux historiens. Deschamps ne fait pas toujours preuve du même souci de rigueur et d'objectivité dans son traitement de l'historiographie existante, déformant au passage le propos de certains auteurs afin d'insister sur l'originalité de son interprétation. L'auteur fait aussi abstraction de l'exemple de l'Irlande qui sert de modèle à l'ascendance britannique que la faction ultra-*tory* montréalaise souhaite imposer à la colonie. Malgré ces lacunes, le livre de François Deschamps apporte un éclairage nouveau sur les événements et les multiples soulèvements qui secouent le Bas-Canada en 1837.

LOUIS-GEORGES HARVEY
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Alexandre Dumas, *L'abbé Pierre Gravel : Syndicaliste et ultranationaliste*, Québec : les Éditions du Septentrion, 2014.

LIONEL GROULX est certainement l'ecclésiastique qui a exercé la plus grande influence sur l'élite nationaliste canadienne-française du xx^e siècle. Mais il n'est pas le seul. D'autres comme lui ont prêché un nationalisme axé sur la défense des valeurs traditionnelles canadiennes-françaises dont la langue française, la famille, la terre et la religion catholique.

C'est le cas de l'abbé Pierre Gravel, un prêtre réactionnaire, ultranationaliste, anticommuniste et profasciste que l'historien Alexandre Dumas nous dépeint dans ce livre qui comble un vide historiographique.

Sans aller jusqu'à le comparer à Lionel Groulx, l'auteur démontre que Pierre Gravel a eu une influence considérable auprès de ses contemporains. Contrairement à Groulx, Gravel a laissé peu d'écrits. L'essentiel de son œuvre provient des conférences qu'il a prononcées aux quatre coins du Québec essentiellement pendant les décennies 1930 et 1940. Comme Groulx, Gravel se préoccupe de la survivance de la langue française et de la religion catholique. Tous deux combattent les excès du capitalisme, l'infiltration communiste, la démocratie parlementaire et le régime des partis. Malgré les ressemblances entre les deux hommes d'Église, l'auteur démontre que le discours de Gravel, à l'instar de sa vie, se distingue de celui du chanoine Groulx. Il y arrive très bien en présentant en un peu plus de 300 pages le portrait d'un ecclésiastique qui, à première vue, paraît rempli de contradictions. Comment peut-on être à la fois syndicaliste et fasciste, défendre les travailleurs des mines tout en appuyant le gouvernement de Maurice Duplessis ? Loin d'être contradictoire, croit l'auteur, le discours national et le discours social de Gravel se complètent parfaitement.

Dumas pose les limites de son ouvrage. Son mémoire de maîtrise, qui est à la base du livre, ne lui permettait pas de réaliser une biographie exhaustive, reconnaît-il d'emblée. L'œuvre se divise en trois chapitres : le récit de la vie de Gravel, son discours national et son discours social. Nommé vicaire à Thetford Mines en 1924, l'abbé Gravel commence à exercer ses talents d'orateur. En 1925, il invite la population à travailler à la construction d'un État français indépendant. Il défend

les travailleurs et dénonce les gérants des mines. Au cours de la campagne électorale de 1935, Gravel prend position contre le Parti libéral de Louis-Alexandre Taschereau. Cet affront lui vaut d'être rappelé à Québec pour agir comme vicaire à l'église de Saint-Roch. C'est à cette époque que l'abbé Gravel se fait connaître à travers le Québec. Gravel côtoie René Chaloult, Ernest Grégoire, Philippe Hamel et Paul Bouchard qui, comme lui, voient dans les programmes des dictateurs européens des solutions aux problèmes de l'heure.

Dumas soutient que Gravel est bien plus inspiré par les États autoritaires (Franco, Salazar et Pétain) que par les États totalitaires (Hitler et Mussolini). Pourtant, Gravel ne se gêne pas pour faire le salut fasciste dans des assemblées publiques comme lors de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste au parc Durocher à Québec en 1937. Cependant, Gravel n'aurait pas frayed avec les fascistes d'Adrien Arcand. Comme le souligne Dumas, « comment ce prêtre, qui est un indépendantiste de la première heure et a fait un appel textuel à la révolution nationale, aurait-il pu s'associer avec un parti fédéraliste anglophile ? » Comme les fascistes, précise Dumas, Gravel est à la recherche d'une troisième voie qu'il trouve dans le corporatisme, une solution aux maux du capitalisme et à la menace du communisme (196). Mais quelle forme de corporatisme ? Le corporatisme social de l'Église catholique ou le corporatisme d'État qui se rapproche du fascisme italien ? D'une part, écrit Dumas, l'abbé Gravel présente « le corporatisme dans sa forme catholique, c'est-à-dire un régime de collaboration qui ne lèse en rien les droits de la personne humaine et qui évite l'écueil d'étatisme » (254). D'autre part, ajoute l'auteur, « son corporatisme se rapproche davantage ensuite de celui de Salazar et de Mussolini puisqu'il l'associe à un État autoritaire » (254).

L'abbé Gravel partage aussi les opinions de Robert Rumilly en faveur du maréchal Pétain. Comme tous les pétainistes, Gravel s'oppose à la participation du Canada à la guerre aux côtés de la Grande-Bretagne. Engagé dans la lutte contre la conscription, il signe des articles dans *Le Bloc*, organe de presse du Bloc populaire d'André Laurendeau, sous le pseudonyme Jean Massé. Après la guerre, il prend la défense du comte de Bernonville lorsque ce dernier est menacé d'être déporté en France pour être jugé pour crimes de guerre. Par ses discours enflammés et ses écrits incendiaires, Pierre Gravel se fait des ennemis. Le plus notoire est certes Jean-Charles Harvey qui, dans l'hebdomadaire *Le Jour*, ne manque pas une occasion de dénoncer Gravel qu'il qualifie de « clowns national et nationaux ». L'abbé trouve aussi sur son chemin le député communiste Fred Rose qui le surnomme « le père Coughlin de Québec ».

En 1946, Gravel est nommé curé de Boischatel où il officie jusqu'à sa retraite sacerdotale en 1974. L'abbé n'a rien perdu de sa verve et de son militantisme. En 1949, lors de la grève de l'amiante, il condamne l'action ouvrière et prend le parti des patrons et du gouvernement Duplessis contre les travailleurs syndiqués. Curieuse volte-face de l'abbé qui avait pourtant défendu les mineurs de Thetford Mines. Est-ce par opportunisme ou par convictions profondes ? Selon Dumas, Gravel ne reconnaît plus ses valeurs dans le syndicalisme de l'après-guerre. Le curé Gravel aurait même perdu beaucoup de son intérêt pour la question sociale pour se consacrer à la question nationale (275). On peut aussi avancer l'hypothèse que Gravel veut être dans les bonnes grâces de Duplessis qui est alors le chef incontesté de la province de Québec. D'ailleurs, Dumas cite une série de lettres échangées entre les deux hommes qui, dans les années 1940,

deviennent de grands alliés dans leur lutte contre le communisme. L'auteur traite des dernières années de la vie de l'abbé Gravel aux pages 85 à 87. Ces extraits n'auraient-ils pas dû se trouver 200 pages plus loin ? Les deux chapitres qui suivent le récit biographique de Gravel nous éclairent davantage sur les personnages qui ont influencé la pensée de l'abbé dont Lionel Groulx, Henri Bourassa et Charles Maurras. Aux pages 122 et 123, l'auteur soutient que l'Action française de Montréal défend une position analogue à celle de son homonyme européen. Je mettrais un bémol sur ce point car l'Action française de Montréal accorde une plus grande place à la religion catholique que l'Action française de Paris qui, à l'instar de son mentor Charles Maurras, défend un « nationalisme intégral » dans lequel l'État a une prédominance sur l'Église. En 1927, l'Action française de Montréal s'est même sabordée au profit de l'Action canadienne-française en raison de la condamnation de l'Action française de Paris par le Vatican. Hormis ces rares imprécisions, l'ouvrage d'Alexandre Dumas trouve sa place dans l'historiographie québécoise. L'auteur a le mérite de nous fait découvrir un personnage oublié de notre histoire que nous aurions davantage à connaître pour mieux comprendre le contextuel intellectuel du Québec de la première moitié du xx^e siècle, une période faite de zones d'ombres qui mérite un éclairage nouveau.

HUGUES THÉORËT
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Kirk Niergarth, *"The Dignity of Every Human Being": New Brunswick Artists and Canadian Culture between the Great Depression and the Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

IT SHOULD NOT COME as a surprise to observers of 20th-century Canadian art that the Group of Seven and wilderness landscape painting has received, and continues to receive, significant attention. In this well-researched study of New Brunswick artists in the 1930s and 1940s, Kirk Niergarth argues for a re-evaluation of the contributions and accomplishments made by non-Group artists in different parts of Canada. In the process, Niergarth challenges the conventional portrayal of New Brunswick-based artists, such as Miller Brittain and Jack Humphrey, as regional artists who overcame poverty and cultural isolation but who remain largely outside the central Canadian narrative. In what is a lament for a lost opportunity, the author argues instead that these artists should be seen as working, not on the margins, but in opposition to the main thread of artistic development in Canada during this period.

Niergarth finds his evidence through an examination of the ideas and preoccupations of artists, poets, writers, educators, and intellectuals living and working in New Brunswick during the Depression and World War II. Through an analysis of critical writing, private letters, and art production, the author attempts to reclaim the 1930s from subsequent scholarship which has downplayed or ignored the political motivations of these artists. Faced with outright denials by the artists involved, Niergarth looks back in time to this archive to find expressions of political engagement that, in his analysis, could have produced a very different post-war cultural landscape in Canada.

By situating this investigation in the context of both economic depression and war, and examining the intersections of ideas, Niergarth makes a strong case for this re-evaluation. In his analysis, the first-hand experience of poverty, hopelessness, and deprivation in Depression-era Saint John informed both easel painting and the public art murals produced by Brittain and Humphrey, among others. The group of like-minded individuals in the region included Walter Abell, the US-born founder of the arts journal *Maritime Art* (the precursor to *Canadian Art*), potters Erica and Kjeld Deichmann, and poets P.K. Page and Kay Smith. Niergarth demonstrates that this diverse group of artists, from different educational, social, and economic positions, working in various media, shared a common goal of contributing to society and to their community. His careful attention to primary sources, to artists' biographies, and his visual analysis of individual works of art are among the strengths of this study. Niergarth's detailed description of the participation and contributions of the many women artists and cultural leaders in New Brunswick is also noteworthy.

The challenge facing the author is that, as alluded to above, the subsequent record includes many personal disavowals of political engagement. While a look back to the period is critical to this re-evaluation, Niergarth might also have considered the reasons behind such denials in greater depth. The impact of anti-communism, for instance, has been considered by Canadian academics in other disciplines, but remains underdeveloped in the field of visual arts. The received wisdom is that the New Brunswick artists were neglected because they were not part of the nationalist agenda formulated by the premier arts institutions in central Canada. Yet in both form and content, the work produced by these artists in the 1930s and 1940s posed a

challenge to the era of reconstruction and re-establishment following the war. Because representational or realist art in general, and public murals specifically, were associated with propaganda in totalitarian regimes, both Nazi and Soviet, the style quickly lost favour following the war. In addition, the author's description of the post-war popularity of abstraction as a response to the marketplace fails to consider the emphasis on internationalism and western solidarity against Soviet aggression following the war, and ways that shared artistic expression participated in this internationalist discourse. Niergarth suggests that the post-war compromise of labour relations extended to other realms, such as visual arts and culture, but the impetus that fuelled such compromise, and the coercive power of the Canadian state in this project, is not part of this study.

The author might also have considered the work of these artists, produced during an era of social and economic crisis, as expressions of critical enquiry that probed more deeply into the root causes of that crisis. One of the overlooked elements of so-called highbrow criticism in Canada is a call for fundamental change, change that threatens positions of power and privilege. The ambivalence and uncertainty noted in his account of artists from middle-class backgrounds whose economic stability had been undermined by the Depression, combined with the contradictions inherent in the grants and other forms of support proffered by the Carnegie Corporation, suggest that these artists were poised for radical critique. Further, Niergarth's brief reference to middlebrow in the context of the United States does not do justice to the complexities of the category as a cultural formation. His analysis might have benefitted from consideration of how middlebrow values, of unquestioning patriotism, hard work, commitment to family, religion,

and community were manifested in Canada and Canadian post-war culture, particularly with respect to critical reception of these artists at the time and in subsequent studies.

These shortcomings aside, the author has assembled an impressive array of primary sources in a thoughtful analysis of an alternative vision of Canadian cultural production across these critical decades. Niergarth provides a compelling portrait of individuals forced by circumstances to take on new and independent roles during the crisis of both the Depression and World War II, and ways that, with limited resources, artists and intellectuals responded to the crisis. In this account, it appears that the response rested somewhere between acceptance of the socialist worker's cause and support for capitalism, and was grounded in deep concern for humanity. Niergarth raises interesting questions about the formulation of the nationalist narrative and has contributed to our understanding of the period. The author also provides a clear idea of what was lost in the post-war era, in particular the indignities inflicted on discarded public murals left mouldering in attics and basements. As described by Niergarth, the artists at the heart of this important study may have gone on to enjoy individual success, but what was lost was not only the energy and commitment of the years of depression and war, but also the network of like-minded individuals with a compelling vision of how artists might contribute to society.

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Mick Lowe, *The Raids: The Nickel Range Trilogy, Volume 1* (Montréal: Baraka Books 2014)

THE RAIDS is a mystery novel. It has all the ingredients of this genre of fiction – a

few murders and attempted murders, a little bit of sex, snappy dialogue, and a plot line that gets one turning the page. It is also an historical novel. Mick Lowe has set his story among the streets, beverage rooms, and mines of Sudbury. Some of the main characters are easily recognized portrayals of historical figures, and a couple of individuals – who are still living – make cameo appearances in the story.

The novel revolves around the character of Jake McCool, a strapping nineteen year old who, in May 1963 (Mick Lowe has set the time line of his novel several years later than the historical occurrences), starts working as an underground miner at the International Nickel Company of Canada's (INCO) operations in Sudbury, Ontario. Jake comes from an extended family of miners who are all staunch supporters of Local 598 of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers which had organized the mines in Sudbury in the early 1940s. Jake's employment at INCO coincides with the commencement of a raid on Mine Mill's membership by the United Steelworkers of America.

Mine Mill's roots go back to the turn of the century and over its 70 year history it built a reputation for militantly defending the interests of miners in a notoriously brutal industry. Mine Mill also played a leading role in the advance of industrial unions in Canada starting in the mid-thirties and continuing through the years of World War II. But in the Cold War atmosphere that followed the defeat of Hitler, Mine Mill was labelled a "communist-dominated" union, was expelled from the mainstream of the labour movement, and its jurisdiction handed over to the Steelworkers. Local 598 went on strike against INCO in September 1958 and, after over three months on the picket line, agreed to a humiliating settlement which contained no contract gains. This defeat generated dissent and dissatisfaction

among Mine Mill's members which the Steelworkers were able to exploit.

For myself – and I expect for many readers of *Labour/Le Travail* – the main attraction of *The Raids* will not be the intrigue or the character development but rather Mick Lowe's treatment of the setting in which his novel occurs. Sudbury is Mick Lowe's adopted home town and he paints a nuanced picture of the complex social and political dynamics that accounted for its unique character – the confidence of a community built by hard rock miners, the extraordinary cosmopolitan mix of its inhabitants, the tension generated by a small petit bourgeois elite maintaining its dominance over a large and relatively prosperous working class, and the manipulations of organized religion, particularly that of the Catholic Church.

I grew up in Sudbury and lived through the raids. I'm even the same age as Lowe's character Jake McCool – and I play hockey. My father was a miner and was a rank-and-file activist in the organizing campaign which led to Local 598's certification. I can attest to the fact that the picture of Sudbury that Mick Lowe paints – and the dynamics within working-class families that he describes – rings true. Stompin' Tom Connors captured that spirit in "Sudbury Saturday Night". Mick Lowe has made a further contribution.

One also learns a lot about mining in reading *The Raids*. Utilizing the skills he developed over many years as a journalist, Lowe has picked the brains of numerous men who have spent their lives working underground in Sudbury extracting the ore from one of the richest mineral deposits on the planet. As a consequence, he is able to paint an exceedingly realistic picture of the operation of a mine and the people in it. Of particular interest to me was that Lowe situates the commencement of Jake McCool's employment as a miner with the introduction of trackless

mining, jumbo drills, and other technological innovations which would transform the mining industry. These changes would have a profound effect on the skills and independence of miners and the rugged individualism that has been associated with miners throughout the world. As it turns out, the Steelworkers union was not the only player involved in undermining Mine Mill's celebrated traditions.

The most controversial aspect of *The Raids* will be the plot line that Lowe is developing. (I should remind readers that this novel is volume one of a trilogy and none of the murders get solved in the pages of *The Raids*. Thus I don't have to be too concerned about giving away the ending.) I can say, however, that Lowe is suggesting that the US State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency are directly involved in the raids against Mine Mill. Indeed, a shadowy – albeit truly fictitious – character appears to be both linked to the CIA and directly involved in the murders. We will have to await future volumes of the trilogy to see what Lowe does with this plot.

However, as someone who has studied the history of Mine Mill Local 598 in an academic context and who later worked alongside Mine Mill as a union leader, I am intrigued with Lowe's suggestion. In conducting my research on Mine Mill in the late 1960s, I came across a certain amount of circumstantial evidence of US State Department involvement in union affairs in Sudbury. But I could find no hard evidence to support such suggestions and circumstances at the time prevented me from pursuing further research into this area. We have witnessed, over the past year, that the computer graphic illustration of a black hole in the science fiction movie "Interstellar" has led astronomers to refine their methods for detecting exoplanets in the cosmos. In a similar manner, Mick Lowe's imaginative depiction of cold war politics in Sudbury may prompt

some enterprising student of Canada's labour history to delve into the archives of the US State Department. Who knows what she or he might find.

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Elinor Barr, *Swedes in Canada: Invisible Immigrants* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

ELINOR BARR provides an encyclopedic overview of Swedish immigration to Canada in *Swedes in Canada: Invisible Immigrants*. Barr, a researcher at the Lakeland Social History Institute at Lakehead University, is the foremost authority on Swedish immigrants in Canada today. This richly documented volume is the result of the Swedes in Canada Project. For the project, Barr travelled throughout Canada collecting materials on Swedish immigrants. The result is a large collection of materials (now at the University of Manitoba Archives), three databases (one for materials and two for immigrants), and *Swedes in Canada*. Central to the project, Barr seeks to make visible Canada's Swedish immigrant heritage and "detail many aspects of the Swedish presence in Canada." (266) To that end, the book is a veritable encyclopedia that covers people and topics, for example, immigration, settlement, religion, work, the Swedish Canadian press, literature, assimilation, and contributions to Canada. The extensive endnotes provide additional information on people and sources. Indeed, the notes are more than citations and often provide mini-biographies of people. Photographs, maps, appendices (Swedish Canadian place names, Swedish Canadian firsts, the Swedish American Vasa Orders in Canada, Swedish Ambassadors, Swedish Consuls General, Swedish Consuls, Swedish Vice-Consuls,

and a list of pioneers), and an extensive bibliography (Swedish and English sources) enhance the volume. An original article by Charles Wilkins, "The Swedes in Canada's National Game: They Changed the Face of Pro Hockey," is also included in the book.

Barr argues that Swedes in Canada have a "low profile," in part, because of their small numbers. (3) Some 100,000 Swedes (from Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Ukraine, and the United States) made Canada their home, which represents a very small segment of the Canadian population. The small population resulted in intermarriage and a population that did not necessarily live in Swedish communities. Swedish immigrants resided in rural and urban areas, although the only Canadian city that could boast a "Snoose Boulevard" (a street with a significant number of Swedish businesses and an area of Swedish residents) was Winnipeg (Logan Avenue). More distinctly Swedish Canadian communities could be found in rural areas, especially in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Barr also asserts that a compounding factor is "the lack of a comprehensive history" on this immigrant group. (3) Indeed, such volumes exist for Norwegians (slightly larger in number), Finns, and Icelanders, the latter two groups substantially smaller than Swedes.

Barr discusses the immigration processes in the 19th and 20th centuries, the shifting demographics and reasons for migration, the settlement process, the types of jobs Swedes held, religion, and Swedish contributions to Canada. The real strength of this volume is the biographical information on individual Swedes. For someone doing research on Swedes in Canada, this volume will be an important starting point for further study and analysis. Barr and the Swedes in Canada Project have provided a valuable service for scholars seeking to

understand better the Swedish Canadian experience. Scholars not working on immigration topics, however, will also find value in the work. Swedish immigrant men frequently found work on railroads, in logging, mining, fishing, construction, and in agriculture. Because of male employment patterns, Swedish immigrant men did become involved with union activities in Canada. Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will be especially interested in the sections in which Barr discusses work and organizing labour. Information on Swedes and work (men and women) can be found in the chapter devoted to “Earning a Living,” but also interspersed throughout the book. Chapter 8 (“Depression, Strikes, and Unions”) considers Swedish immigrants and union activities. Barr notes that despite the number of Swedes working in industries that organized (and some Swedes immigrated to Canada because they had been punished for labour activities in Sweden), union leadership included few Swedes. Highlighted is Emil Berg of Edmonton. Barr contends that “Scandinavians played a large part in educating the loggers in the idea of union membership” and provides specific names. (143) Women like Hildur Grip supported unionization and strikes. One of the more interesting arguments is that for Swedes in Winnipeg, the January 1919 riot that attacked Logan Avenue (Snoose Boulevard) and targeted immigrants “was the major happening of 1919” and not the General Strike. (114)

For scholars of women and gender, Barr provides insights on the immigrant experiences. Many young Swedish women worked as domestics. Christina Swanson and her brother served as immigrant agents and recruited Swedish and Swedish American women for domestic positions in Canada. In fact, Swanson travelled to Sweden on recruiting trips and returned with women who would work as maids in the early 20th century.

Reading the footnote casts doubt on the nature of the work in which these women would engage. In 1909, someone questioned why only young women received the free tickets and implied the work in Canada may not have been as domestics. Women played key roles in the creation and sustainability of churches (Lutheran, Baptist, Swedish Mission Covenant, and Moravian, among others). The Ladies Aid generated funds crucial to the success of the congregation. In at least one case, the women cut of Ladies Aid funds to the congregation until they received the right to vote in church matters. Women’s organizations also played an important role preserving Swedishness in Canada. Barr contends that women in the Swedish Mission Covenant Church “were instrumental in establishing a church that would act as a safety valve against assimilation.” (183)

Elinor Barr succeeds in beginning to make visible Swedes in Canada and their many contributions to the development of Swedish society. *Swedes in Canada* provides an important foundation upon which scholars can create more interpretive studies on Swedes and Swedishness in Canada. Indeed, this is exactly what Barr hopes will happen: *Swedes in Canada* is a comprehensive history that will be a catalyst for further inquiry.

LORI ANN LAHLUM

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Amélie Bourbeau, *Techniciens de l'organisation sociale. La réorganisation de l'assistance catholique privée à Montréal (1930-1974)*, Montréal et Kingston : McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

DEPUIS UNE VINGTAINE d'années, les chercheurs ont établi solidement que l'État-providence fait ici ses premiers pas avec le vote de la *Loi de l'Assistance*

publique en 1921, et que son fameux « triomphe » dans les années 1960 et 1970 est l'aboutissement du processus de transition, qui s'étale sur une cinquantaine d'années, entre une régulation principalement privée et une autre principalement publique de nombreux champs de la vie sociale.

C'est dans cette perspective que s'inscrit à son tour Amélie Bourbeau. Son travail très fouillé explore un aspect de cette transition en suivant l'activité des deux fédérations financières catholiques de Montréal entre le début des années 1930, moment de leur fondation, et le milieu des années 1970 alors que, avec leurs pendants protestant et juif, elles disparaissent pour donner naissance à Centraide (Montréal). Ces organismes privés, fondés par des hommes d'affaires, ont une double mission : d'une part, recueillir des fonds pour les redistribuer à leurs œuvres membres et, d'autre part, coordonner la charité privée afin d'épargner aux éventuels donateurs des sollicitations trop fréquentes, éviter les dédoublements dans les missions des œuvres et favoriser l'implantation de nouvelles agences ou de nouveaux services. À terme, l'État sera le financier, le planificateur et le coordonnateur non plus d'œuvres mais d'un véritable système de bien-être social et de services sociaux, tandis que Centraide ne jouera qu'un rôle complémentaire. Dans ce processus, État, Églises (catholique et autres), fédérations financières et œuvres elles-mêmes, tout comme les bienfaiteurs et les professionnels, sont des acteurs historiques en relations. Amélie Bourbeau explore celles-ci, en se concentrant sur deux des quatre fédérations montréalaises, la *Federation of Catholic Charities (FCC)* et la Fédération œuvres catholiques canadiennes-françaises (FOCCF). Elle nous offre un livre solide, tiré de sa thèse de doctorat. À ce propos, il faut d'emblée

souligner l'effort considérable qu'elle a consenti pour trouver les sources nécessaires à son étude ou compenser, surtout du côté anglophone, l'absence de fonds ou leurs graves lacunes. La rigueur de la méthodologie et la prudence d'un propos qui ne dépasse jamais ce que peuvent livrer les sources font que l'argumentation déployée par Bourbeau emporte constamment la conviction.

L'auteure suit l'évolution des quatre processus qui travaillent les deux fédérations financières durant toute leur existence : la bureaucratiation, la professionnalisation, la sécularisation et l'étatisation. L'ouvrage est divisé en six chapitres (l'épilogue est davantage un chapitre qu'une conclusion) à la fois chronologiques et thématiques.

Alors que dès les années 1910, les institutions d'hébergement connaissent des difficultés financières grandissantes à cause de la croissance du nombre des indigents mais aussi des chômeurs, alors que la Saint-Vincent-de-Paul demeure la plus importante organisation de secours aux pauvres non institutionnalisés et qu'elle tient à conserver ses principes de charité discrète et anonyme et de bénévolat sanctifiant, et alors qu'augmentent dans les années 1920 le nombre d'agences sociales actives à Montréal pour soulager la pauvreté et offrir du service social personnel (*casework*), la nécessité de réorganiser l'assistance et surtout de trouver les moyens de mieux financer celle-ci s'impose à l'attention des élites religieuses et laïques. Après quelques années de tâtonnements sont créées, respectivement en 1930 et 1932, la FCC puis la FOCCF, qui ne dépendent pas de l'Église diocésaine mais bénéficient de l'appui de l'archevêque. Les hommes d'affaires canadiens-français entendent dès le départ faire de la FOCCF une fédération financière en phase avec les fédérations les plus modernes en Amérique du Nord. Plus repliés dans

une communauté irlandaise minoritaire, qui prend assise sur ses paroisses ethniques, les catholiques anglophones refusent le dialogue avec les catholiques francophones et se sent menacés par l'augmentation constante du nombre d'immigrants italiens anglicisés. Ils se tournent vers Charlotte Whitton, figure bien connue des milieux canadiens du bien-être pour les enfants, afin qu'elle les aide à mettre sur pied leur fédération.

Les caractéristiques de la naissance de chacune des fédérations coloreront leur histoire jusqu'à leur disparition. La fédération canadienne-française apparaît ainsi tout au long des années 1930-1974 en prise sur la société montréalaise dans laquelle elle agit, décidée à saisir les occasions de modernisation, préoccupée de trouver des solutions pratiques et efficaces aux problèmes que rencontrent ses agences membres, engagée dans un dialogue avec les autorités religieuses et étatiques, et tout compte fait assez conquérante. Ses difficultés proviennent essentiellement du fait que les dons qu'elle recueille, quoique en augmentation constante jusqu'aux années 1960, sont insuffisants pour les œuvres qu'elle a à soutenir et surtout énormément moindres que la proportion de Canadiens français à Montréal pourrait le laisser espérer ; l'explication réside dans le fait que la bourgeoisie d'affaires montréalaise, qui est essentiellement anglo-protestante et juive, réserve sa philanthropie à ces deux communautés. La fédération catholique anglophone, pendant ce temps, reste une entreprise moins structurée. Elle réussit à assez bien financer ses agences membres et s'en contente sans trop chercher un rôle de planification ou de coordination; malgré une certaine bureaucratisation et professionnalisation, elle reste à la merci des relations personnelles entre conseil d'administration et direction générale, d'un mode de sélection et de contrôle des agences moins formalisé, et

globalement elle se fait le défenseur d'une conception traditionnelle de la charité. Surtout, il est frappant de constater qu'elle ne cherche jamais les solutions à ses problèmes chroniques en regardant du côté de l'autre fédération catholique montréalaise, la canadienne-française, qui fonctionne bien ; elle préfère toujours s'en remettre à une expertise extérieure, celle d'organismes pancanadiens voire d'un organisme américain, quitte à ce que ceux-ci soit neutres ou protestants.

Dans les chapitres 2 et 3 qui portent sur la bureaucratisation et la professionnalisation, l'auteure rapporte de manière fluide l'expérience complexe, qu'elle suit pas à pas, des transformations des façons de faire et des relations entre les acteurs. D'une part, la charité devient « organisée ». Elle repose désormais, surtout du côté canadien-français, sur des enquêtes et une sélection formelle quoique souple des œuvres, sur des campagnes de financement très structurées qui mobilisent des milliers de bénévoles et de donateurs, sur un processus de coordination efficace et sur des techniques de service social reposant sur le *casework*. Par ailleurs, les femmes et les hommes d'œuvres ainsi que les curés et autres abbés sont, dans les années 1930 et 1940, remplacés aux postes de décision par les hommes d'affaires porteurs de ce projet de bureaucratie d'entreprise appliquée à la charité. À leur tour, ceux-ci doivent progressivement s'effacer à partir des années 1950 devant les comptables et les travailleurs sociaux, deux types de professionnels dont la légitimité s'accroît au cours de la période. Les travailleurs sociaux sont engagés dans la gestion des agences et dans la pratique de l'assistance, les comptables se chargent de la planification et de la vérification budgétaires. Évidemment, des tensions résultent de ce brasse-camarade: Bourbeau insiste notamment sur la dévalorisation du travail des femmes, y

compris celles qui sont des travailleuses sociales professionnelles, et sur la menace que représente à terme, pour les clercs travailleurs sociaux professionnels, la présence et l'ambition de leurs confrères laïques. Par ailleurs, la comparaison des deux fédérations catholiques permet de constater, selon Bourbeau, la forme inachevée que prend la bureaucratie chez les anglophones, chez qui demeure une personnalisation parfois efficace mais parfois excessive des relations entre les acteurs (individus et institutions).

Le chapitre 4 est entièrement consacré au processus d'étatisation de l'assistance et des services sociaux. Et là encore, par manque d'archives, l'auteure ne peut pousser également son analyse pour les deux fédérations, malgré un effort constant et méritoire pour reconstituer l'histoire de la FCC. Tout au mieux peut-elle remarquer d'une part une « méfiance tenace » (126) de la communauté anglophone vis-à-vis de l'État provincial, qui fait en sorte que les catholiques anglophones persistent tant qu'ils peuvent à se soustraire aux services et à l'autorité de celui-ci; ainsi que, d'autre part, la résistance des dirigeants de la FCC à tout le mouvement de démocratie participative des années 1960 par lequel les œuvres et les personnes passent théoriquement du statut d'assistés au statut d'interlocuteurs prenant part aux décisions. Pour le reste, l'auteure suit avec beaucoup de finesse l'évolution de la conception que l'État se fait du rôle des agences privées et des fédérations. Alors que le rapport Boucher, au début des années 1960, est encore prêt à partager entre l'État et le secteur privé la responsabilité des services sociaux et à composer avec les très profonds clivages ethnolinguistiques caractéristiques de Montréal, le rapport de la Commission Castonguay, à peine quelques années plus tard, étiendra une critique sévère de l'assistance privée au Québec et voudra remettre à l'État

l'ensemble des responsabilités dans le domaine. Un seul système d'assistance intégré et public, tout en favorisant la démocratie participative et l'engagement des citoyens au sein des agences publiques : c'est le projet technocratique des années 1970. Même si concrètement, le système des services sociaux n'a pas été entièrement rendu public, que nombre d'agences privées se sont transformées en organismes communautaires ou ont été remplacées par ceux-ci et que les fédérations financières n'ont pas complètement disparu du paysage mais sont plutôt devenues les Centraide, y compris à Montréal, ce chapitre montre que le secteur privé n'était pas prêt, dans les années 1960 et 1970, à subir une aussi décisive transformation, et ce malgré ses liens de longue date avec les pouvoirs publics, tant municipaux que gouvernementaux (du moins du côté francophone). L'assistance privée, dans les années 1960 et 1970, est en déclin rapide. Bourbeau avance que l'hégémonie de la régulation étatique n'a pas été véritablement contestée par l'Église : depuis au moins les années 1950, le financement des agences privées reposait de plus en plus sur du financement public; dans les années 1960, plusieurs prêtres, détroqués ou non, quittent leurs fonctions de gestionnaires ou de travailleurs sociaux professionnels dans les agences catholiques pour en occuper de semblables dans l'appareil public; les évêques eux-mêmes n'ont pas mis plus d'énergie qu'il faut dans ce combat, occupés qu'ils sont alors sur le front religieux lui-même (effets du concile) et sur celui de l'éducation. Cette position de l'auteure pourrait appeler des nuances selon les régions, mais elle l'établit de manière crédible pour Montréal.

Au chapitre 5, Amélie Bourbeau analyse l'impact de la transformation des approches en travail social sur l'image publique des deux fédérations. Dans

les années 1960, on le sait notamment par les nombreux travaux d'Yves Vaillancourt et ceux de Lionel H. Groulx, le *casework*, une approche de traitement fondé sur le diagnostic individuel, est complété par l'animation sociale, qui traite les problèmes sociaux comme autant de manifestations de rapports de domination sociale à combattre. Des travailleurs sociaux, y compris des prêtres, deviennent parfois des militants au grand dam des fédérations financières et de l'État lui-même. Encore une fois, ce mouvement est moins net du côté anglophone, plus traditionnel, mais il est désormais une donnée de l'équation du côté des Canadiens français. Des approches nouvelles, une culture de plus en plus sécularisée et un consensus social autour de la pertinence du rôle hégémonique de l'État dans la régulation du bien-être social et des services sociaux : on approche là du point de rupture.

Ce basculement est bien saisi par Bourbeau dans l'épilogue où elle conduit les lecteurs vers la naissance de Centraide (Montréal). Elle montre bien à quel point les quatre fédérations financières montréalaises, ayant évolué jusque-là sans lien les unes avec les autres, sont mal préparées à une éventuelle fusion. Elle montre aussi comment les impératifs religieux et communautaires du puissant groupe anglo-protestant et de la communauté juive ont empêché l'établissement d'une fédération unifiée qui aurait pu rendre meilleure justice aux montréalais francophones par un partage plus équitable des dons recueillis. Il fallait vraiment l'intervention de l'État pour mettre un peu plus de justice distributive à Montréal.

Au total, Amélie Bourbeau apporte une contribution très significative à l'historiographie. Un livre qui va laisser sa marque.

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Stefano Agnoletto, *The Italians Who Built Toronto: Italian Workers and Contractors in the City's Housebuilding Industry, 1950-1980* (Bern: Peter Lang 2014)

IN *THE ITALIANS Who Built Toronto: Italian Workers and Contractors in the City's Housebuilding Industry 1950-1980*, Stefano Agnoletto takes readers into Toronto's construction trades during the post-war economic boom. His focus is the role of Italians in that boom and their "building of Toronto." Agnoletto seeks to build on the work of other pioneers in this field such as Robert Harney, Franca Iacovetta, and Roberto Perin by creating a book that focuses explicitly on the labour and business history of Italians and their "ethnic niche," (189) as he puts it, as tens of thousands of Italians in post-war Toronto became employed in numerous construction trades from bricklayers, carpenters, labourers, and cement finishers. His focus is primarily on the "structural and cultural factors" (16) that were central to Italians in the construction industry and he also debunks the idea that Italians were not supportive or indifferent to unionization in this period.

The book centers on how the creation of ethnicity, such as Italians becoming Italians in Toronto, was connected to macro-economic conjunctures, like a construction boom. Italians discovered themselves, he argues, as members of a larger exploited ethnic group and this was a factor in their developing class consciousness. The book's focus on economics and structural economic forces as well as its plethora of statistical information are its greatest strengths, reflecting Agnoletto's expertise and training as a holder of a PhD in Economic History. While the book tries to detail the cultural

elements behind the Italians in the construction trades, it falls slightly short of the mark. Greater exploration of the social history of the historical actors, including gender analysis, is missing here. Yet his in-depth coverage of economic forces and prevalent use of statistics will prove essential reading for those academics involved in or interested in the business history of the construction trades and Italians in post-war Toronto.

Agnoletto begins his inquiry by examining immigration policy and the gradual shift in how the predominately British city of Toronto evolved into a multicultural centre. In these early chapters he pays homage to earlier works on immigration history, almost to a fault, because we are not introduced to the Italians until Chapter 3 and their involvement in the construction industry, the main focus of the book, doesn't get discussed until Chapter 5. While the opening chapters are incredibly detailed and filled with troves of statistical data (with seventeen graphs at the conclusion of just Chapter 2) it still feels like a familiar trip. Where the book really takes off is when Agnoletto takes us into the messy world of the construction industry and the Italians involvement in it. He convincingly demonstrates how they filled a labour need in the city and subsequently entered an "ethnic niche." He argues that the majority of Italian immigrants didn't choose the construction industry; it was the only choice available. Agnoletto's structural economic data makes this case rather easily and convincingly.

In Chapter 5 we are introduced to more of the social history of the workers. He draws on oral histories and interviews with Italians in the post-war Toronto community and the reader does get a good opportunity to hear from these workers, often with the use of large block quotations. These workers give us a sense of the often dangerous and precarious working

conditions that they faced. Especially revealing is what Agnoletto refers to as the "jungle" of the industry where labour was in such high demand that unsafe working environments were common. Many Italian workers were left with disabling construction related injuries. The intensely competitive industry also produced interesting class dynamics with workers sometimes becoming contractors overnight and then turning around to hire their former fellow workers. While hearing from the workers themselves is beneficial to the overall study, at times the book fails to develop the interesting revelations that these workers provide. We never really get a sense of how workers managed to deal with their fellow workers who became contractors and began employing them in the same harsh working conditions as their former bosses. The issue is discussed but not fully explored. These oral accounts are not as fleshed out as they could have been, which would have given these accounts, and the historical actors who provided them, more of a three-dimensional feeling. Almost entirely missing is the subject of gender. While Agnoletto points out not many women were involved in the construction industry, there were certainly many men, and no discussion of masculinity ever arises in the book. Robert Harney, who Agnoletto frequently cites, put out the call over a decade ago for more research on male Italian workers and their psychological state in his article "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930." With so many Italians involved in the male-dominated construction industry, and access to living historical actors, for Agnoletto to avoid discussing the role of gender and its relationship to ethnicity and class, feels like a missed opportunity.

Agnoletto discusses the role of Italians in unionization and successfully debunks the notion that the Italians were

not active participants in the organized labour movement. He discusses Bruno Zanini's battles to organize his fellow Italians in Toronto into such unions as the Plasterers and Cement Masons' Union and the Canadian Bricklayers Association and also how they obtained a charter as Local 811 of the International Hod Carriers, Building, and Common Labourers' Union while still under Zanini's leadership. After a series of catastrophic and fatal work accidents, Agnoletto discusses how Italians organized themselves into the radical Brandon Union Group, an organization that united Italians across union locals. The group even garnered support from more conservative minded Italians revealing how, in this instance, the plight of Italian workers could inspire unity across class lines. By far these chapters are the most engaging of the book and reveal much to readers about Italians and their role in unionization though again Agnoletto cuts short a discussion that would have proven interesting. He highlights how organized crime penetrated the industry heading into the 1970s but does not fully flesh this out. A further and more fully developed discussion on this would have added to the complexity of the labour situation and the dynamics of the time as it pertained to Italians.

Stefano Agnoletto's *The Italians Who Built Toronto* is a solid contribution to the business history literature on Italian workers in the 20th century, and in particular to the construction trades, while also offering a glimpse into their lives as workers and as Italians. A notable omission was the lack of an in-depth discussion on masculinity in the construction industry and how it pertained to Italians. While the book does give readers a chance to hear from workers in the period, the characters and analysis are cut too short, and interesting avenues of research are brought up and mentioned, but never

chased up and explored in full. Still, the book is a worthy read for those seeking to know more about the economic and business history of a people that not only helped build an industry and its unions, but that also helped build a city.

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Joel Belliveau, *Le « moment 68 » et la réinvention de l'Acadie*, Ottawa : Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2014.

L'HISTOIRE DES revendications des étudiants acadiens à la fin des années 1960 avait été principalement contée jusqu'ici, d'une part, en termes nationalistes et, d'autre part, en insistant sur la rupture qu'elle consommait avec la période qui l'avait précédée. Joel Belliveau vient corriger le tir en proposant une lecture qui se nourrit du contexte international et s'appuie sur le dépouillement de documents négligés, dont les très riches archives du cinéaste Pierre Perreault. Les jeunes qui se rebellaient autour du campus de Moncton de l'Université de Moncton participaient en effet d'une mouvance mondiale qui embrassait au même moment le Mexique, le Japon, l'Italie, l'Allemagne et, bien entendu, les États-Unis et la France. Il est donc un peu court de tout ramener au contexte local ou, au mieux, d'imputer principalement le bouillonnement politique à l'influence de quelques Français de passage à titre de coopérants et de la Révolution québécoise.

Joel Belliveau entend convaincre le lecteur de la grande similitude des périodisations à l'échelle nord-américaine, ce qui témoignerait de la force de la « culture jeune » pendant les années de boom économique de l'après-guerre. La synchronie du développement des divers mouvements étudiants ne me semble

personnellement pas aussi claire que pour Joel Belliveau, dans la mesure où l'incroyable hétérogénéité des centaines de campus disséminés sur l'immensité du territoire américain ne permet pas de tisser un récit aussi univoque que celui qu'il présente dans son livre (même chose pour le Québec où les mouvements étudiants sont tous ravalés à ce qui se déroulait dans les départements de sciences sociales de l'Université de Montréal), mais je lui concède que quelque chose se passait qui mérite d'être analysé à partir d'une perspective transnationale. Autre innovation, il tend à minorer la dimension nationale du combat étudiant, préférant insister sur d'autres aspects peu fouillés dans l'étude des minorités nationales, lesquelles ne semblent trop souvent intéressantes que du point de vue de leur différence culturelle et/ou linguistique. Enfin, Belliveau remonte jusqu'en 1957 pour saisir l'évolution des revendications des étudiants de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Memramcook (devenu, en 1963, le campus de Moncton de l'Université de Moncton), ce qui est un choix judicieux afin de saisir la généalogie des idées et des pratiques dans le temps long.

Ce que Belliveau découvre, c'est que les mouvements étudiants de Moncton se divisaient en trois périodes : la période formative, la période libérale et la période radicale. Il aurait aussi bien pu associer ces trois périodes avec trois champs disciplinaires plus ou moins dominants au sein des institutions d'enseignement supérieur : les techniciens et les philosophes, les professions libérales (dont, au premier chef, la médecine et le droit) et les sciences sociales. Lors de la grande grève de 1969, personne n'est surpris d'apprendre que le foyer de la contestation fut le Département de sociologie, une discipline qui entretient des frontières floues avec la politique et a très peu de légitimité scientifique,

ce qui accentue chez ses praticiens son côté révolutionnaire afin d'asseoir leur « magistère ». L'ouvrage de Belliveau retrace de manière convaincante le paradoxe de ces étudiants qui, après avoir critiqué vertement le mouvement nationaliste dans la première moitié des années 1960, en vinrent à en reprendre certains thèmes en les apprêtant à la sauce gauchiste.

L'ouvrage de Belliveau entend replacer l'Acadie sur la carte politique de l'Amérique du Nord. Tout en faisant l'impasse sur des épisodes importants qui secouèrent d'autres institutions (par exemple, l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick où, en mai 1968, les forces policières seront appelées en renfort afin de procéder à l'expulsion de sept personnes ayant initié un sit-in dans le bureau d'un professeur remercié de ses services, l'Université Dalhousie ou l'Université Regina qui a fait l'objet d'un livre non cité de James M. Pitsula, *The Sixties at Regina Campus*), Belliveau nous rappelle que l'Acadie ne vit pas en vase clos, mais que les étudiants acadiens ne faisaient pas pour autant que reproduire ce qui se faisait ailleurs dans un souci de mimétisme juvénile. Le « moment 68 » a ses couleurs propres. Il constitue un pivot, une charnière de l'histoire des francophones de l'Atlantique. Différent par ses résultats de ce qui se passait au Québec, à Kent University, à Columbia, à Berkeley, à York, il permet de relancer l'identité acadienne dans la continuité de certains thèmes qui lui résistent.

En consacrant une monographie originale aux événements étudiants des années 1960, il ne fait pas de doute que Joel Belliveau ajoute une pierre importante à notre compréhension de l'histoire acadienne contemporaine.

JEAN-PHILIPPE WARREN
Université Concordia

Kathleen Rodgers, *Welcome to Resisterville: American Dissidents in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

WELCOME TO RESISTERVILLE contributes to the growing sociological and historical literature about the legacies of “the long sixties.” Using interviews, alternative and mainstream local newspapers, and archival records, sociologist Kathleen Rodgers seeks to understand how the migration of thousands of American who moved to the West Kootenays transformed these rural communities. Raised in the region, Rodgers is – by her own admission – more interested in why the West Kootenays has become a unique countercultural haven than she is in historical and cultural transformations in rural British Columbia in the 1960s and 1970s. Focusing exclusively on American immigrants who identified as young New Left activists when they moved to the region, her goal is to explain why and how the idealism born in sixties New Left movements endures today.

The book begins with a discussion of the 2004 controversies about the proposal to build a monument to Vietnam War resisters who sought refuge in the region and two reunions of war resisters held in the Slocan Valley in 2006 and 2007. These events attracted deserters from the Iraq War and incited outrage from American supporters of the war who called for a boycott of the region. Local politicians and elites withdrew their endorsement for the monument because they were concerned that it would have a negative impact on tourism, one of the area’s most important industries. The debate upset those who were part of this migration and who have been engaged in political, economic, and cultural activities since their arrival. The rejection of the commemoration of their role in recent historical developments seemed to be a

revival of the anti-Americanism, which they hoped had disappeared. This controversy sets up Rodgers’ central question: “how and why did the trajectories of individual immigrants ... become transformed into an enduring collective and political project?” (14) The book is primarily concerned with the formation of a group identity by the region’s American exiles and how this collective identity produced countercultural political mobilization that was distinct from existing Canadian movements.

Informed by key sociological theorists of identity formation, especially Wini Breines’ conceptualization of New Left prefigurative politics and Manuel Castells’ social movement theories of collective identity, Rodgers explains how the influx of Americans to the West Kootenays created countercultural political movements and institutions in the region. The first two chapters explore the relationship between identity, immigration, and activism. A disproportionately large group of immigrants in this rural region are American-born: 25 per cent compared to 5 per cent in British Columbia as a whole according to 2006 statistics. Heightened anti-Americanism in the 1960s and 1970s, which was the reason for at times violent confrontations between newcomers and long-term residents, compelled many to conceal their identity as war resisters and Americans. Despite the reluctance of some interviewees to foreground their American identity as the reason for their political activism, Rodgers contends that nationality and ethnicity are core identities that are redefined through the process of migration. The close proximity to other exiled Americans in the sparsely populated and isolated region helped them to recognize their shared experience as immigrants. Participation in voluntary agencies and political protests in the region forged their common identity as

New Left activists who had honed their political skills in American social justice movements. While some downplayed the influence of American identity on their politics, others explained that their political dissent was based on a long tradition of American political engagement and to resistance to state decisions that did not meet their needs. For them, American and Canadian forms of political engagement are inherently different. New Left disillusionment with social, racial, and economic inequalities in the United States informed their decision to leave and shaped their approach to politics in their adopted home.

The West Kootenay counterculture was not merely an "American 'branch plant' of the California counterculture." (89) Subsequent chapters explore how countercultural politics were produced through brokering alliances with communities who shared their values and through conflict with those who opposed the introduction of alternative lifestyles, values, and political views into the region. Chapter 3 focuses on their arrival stories. Doukhobors and Quakers, established pacifist communities in the region, welcomed and provided haven for draft resisters. Although they did not always condone countercultural values and lifestyles, anti-militarism was a shared value and elders from these communities offered material and moral support for Americans as they adapted to rural life. These friendships between individuals could be transformed into alliances that allowed American exiles to act as brokers between newcomers and older cultural groups in specific political campaigns. Chapter 4 builds on the theorization of group identity formation by explaining how American counterculturalists worked together to build community-based economic ventures, formalized barter systems, alternative education, and holistic health services.

These community-based projects not only reflected countercultural values, but were also necessary for survival. Counterculturalists and their children often faced rejection when they tried to integrate into mainstream institutions and this compelled them to build their own community centres, schools, and businesses. Chapter 5 examines resistance to the introduction of countercultural lifestyles and politics, which was often infused with anti-Americanism.

The final chapters focus on the role of American-born residents in recent local politics. Chapter 6 is about environmental politics and finds the roots of current demands for local control over resources and the protection of watersheds in the back-to-the-land values of self-sufficiency and sustainability embraced by American counterculturalists who moved to rural Canada. Tracing their involvement in local campaigns, Rodger explains how many of the immigrants rose to be internationally prominent environmental activists and writers. Chapter 7 examines the political careers of Corky Evans, Gary Wright, and Jim Holland, American exiles who moved into successful careers in electoral politics, and Suzie Hamilton, Carolyn Schramm, and Nelson Becker, "old-guard counterculturalists" who developed innovative programs to address community needs. This small sample illustrates how immigrants successfully integrated into formal political structures so that they could defend the countercultural goal of localized control over resources and services. It also underscores the importance of individual agency in making change as well as in the formation of collective identity.

Fifty-two interviews that Rodgers conducted primarily with American-born migrants who identify with the counterculture are at the core of the analysis. Five key informers are Canadian-born and long-term residents of the area; three

Canadians identified with the counter-culture. A central contention of *Welcome to Resisterville* is that Americans introduced New Left politics to the region and that this distinctly American form of political engagement instigated progressive environmental, cultural, and economic movements that make Nelson and the surrounding communities unique rural communities. Canadian-born back-to-the-landers whom I've interviewed as part of my research in the region might dispute this interpretation of events. Nevertheless, Rodgers provides valuable insights into how American immigrants made sense of their experiences of migration and how they transformed their identities from "dissidents in exile" to political actors in their adopted home.

NANCY JANOVICEK
University of Calgary

Larry Gambone, *No Regrets: Counter-Culture and Anarchism in Vancouver*
(Edmonton: Black Cat Press 2015)

GIVEN THE RECENT growth of scholarship on the New Left, on contemporary social movements, and anarchist histories in Canada and beyond, Larry Gambone's *No Regrets: Counter-Culture and Anarchism in Vancouver* is a timely production. Offering insider reflections on a half century of anarchist and counter-cultural activity, this memoir focuses largely on the period from the late 1960s through the early 1980s, a time some argue was characterized by a declension on the left as factionalism grew, "identity politics" eclipsed the New Left, and revolutionary adventurism alienated the general public. Gambone paints a different picture, one of a vivid protest era enlivened by ideological debate, gaining momentum until the early 1980s when workers and social movements came under government attack and the British

Columbia left entered a dry spell from which it has only recently begun to recover. Drawing on this revisionist history, he argues for the importance of anarchist organizing methods, namely diversity of tactics, broad-based mobilization, and direct democracy and action, in movements past and present.

Gambone was introduced to direct action and civil disobedience through the 1965 Comox Project, an alliance of locals and urbanites agitating against the storage of nuclear war heads on a Vancouver Island military base. This led him to the city and a Beatnik milieu which put him on the scene for the development of Vancouver Yippie!, and later, punk. He contends that these counter-cultures were a connective tissue for the proliferating 1970s left-wing tendencies and activisms, from anarchism to the back-to-the-land movement. Gambone's discussion reveals that despite divides over strategy, focus, and theory, a fluidity marked the extra-parliamentary left and social movements of the late sixties whose members shared homes and radical spaces, classrooms, study groups, arts and entertainment, lifestyle politics, and an opposition to oppression and exploitation.

Gambone argues that counter-culture did more than bridge divides – it was itself a politicizing force, bringing the practice of politics into everyday life. Co-op living, the alternative press, free schooling, and the fostering of a notion that art and music could be made by anyone, anywhere, for example, emphasized communitarian values and entailed new forms of exposure. These efforts came with hurdles. This fairly open culture, Gambone notes, was a haven for runaway youth and other marginalized individuals, a target for "anti-freak" violence from the outside, and occasionally violence from the inside and unhealthy levels of drug use. Members sought to combat and heal these issues, he

shows, through self-defence, working with affected peers in community programs, and politicizing alienated youth. While some counter-culture types invariably “went straight,” others bled into emerging movements, contrary to some stereotypes which see generational opposition between, for example, hippies and punks. Gambone demonstrates, as Eryk Martin has done (“The Blurred Boundaries of Anarchism and Punk in Vancouver, 1970-1983, *Labour/Le Travail*, 75, Spring 2015), that former Yippies became an important force in Vancouver’s punk scene, which itself brought a new energy to anarchism in the city.

Gambone’s contact with anarchism began when he discovered the Vancouver Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) while involved with Students for a Democratic University (SDU) at Simon Fraser University (SFU). His discussion of the SDU’s 1968 occupation of the school’s Administration buildings, the later Political Science, Sociology, and Anthropology dispute, and the censure of teaching assistants and faculty that ignited those actions are of interest to scholars of this period’s student organizing, as well as those currently involved in union activity at SFU and other post-secondary settings. While involved in these agitations Gambone began an SFU branch of student Wobblies, arguing that university-educated white collar workers would form the new working class. After leaving SFU, Gambone continued with the non-academic study of classic and contemporary anarchist and socialist texts and histories.

As one decade turned over to another, Gambone became involved in the theatrical Vancouver Yippie! which reached its height with a string of protests in 1970. The BC strain of Yippie! had some distinctions from that begun in the US three years earlier, most notably, Gambone comments, a lack of charismatic

leaders such as the American Yippies Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. This, combined with its tendency for spontaneity, its unrelenting challenge to authority, and its opposition to the state and capitalism, formed the anarchistic nature of Yippie! As the protests dwindled, Gambone and a small group endeavoured to funnel energies into a nascent anarchist movement. The major activity of the latter, apart from providing an openly anarchist presence in social spaces such as rallies and events, was self-publishing. This eventually led to the creation of the anti-authoritarian newsjournal *Open Road* which ran one to four issues yearly for almost two-decades, providing global news and anti-authoritarian analysis to an international readership.

The energy of opposition movements continued to grow until, Gambone argues, the 1983 dissolution of the Solidarity movement marked a point of downturn for grassroots action and the BC left. Early that year, Social Credit introduced a “restraint” budget meant to break public sector unions and pare away social programs and tenants’ and human rights. Solidarity, a responding coalition of social movements and labour unions, threatened a general strike in late fall. Gambone asserts that the unions and the BC Federation of Labour sold out Solidarity with the “Kelowna Accord,” effectively smashing the movement and ushering in much of the protested legislation. Using the comparisons of France’s May ‘68 and, more recently, of Occupy Oakland, Gambone argues that a larger anarchist presence could have influenced Solidarity in a more militant direction. Instead, a broadly united left receded, he contends, though counter-cultures and single-issue activism continued on. According to Gambone this shift has reversed in the last fifteen years beginning with the rise of anti-globalization activism, and gaining momentum with

the Arab Spring, Idle No More, and the Occupy movement. Specifically, Gambone applauds what he sees as anarchistic strategy in the horizontal organizing and direct action of the present.

Throughout this text, Gambone demonstrates how he put his “rule” of organizing “where you are” to work. (95) In his case, this varied from student to worker, youth, anarchist, and counter-cultural. This formula offers a motivating vision of broad-based solidarity and movement building. As this is his memoir, one cannot fault Gambone for failing to discuss what this looked like in the larger picture; however, the reader will have to look elsewhere to find out how this played out in terms of solidarity with contemporaries such as Red Power, the women’s, gay, and mental patients liberation or other movements. This absence prompts another question, easily elicited from Gambone’s own assertions in regards to Solidarity: why did anarchism fail to spread widely and counter institutional forces within the left?

Far from the left and social movements being swallowed alive by internal tactical, ideological, and personal squabbles and fissures in the 1970s, *No Regrets* portrays a history in which the hegemonic institutionalization of workers’ struggles and a new era of state and economic policy ushered in a period of general malaise on the left. As anarchism undergoes another resurgence at the grassroots level, and continues to grow as an area of historical interest, Gambone’s memoirs offer a rich first-hand account whose insights are useful to scholars and activists alike.

ABBY ROLSTON

Simon Fraser University

Shawn Katz, *Generation Rising: The Time of the Québec Student Spring* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2015)

THE 2012 QUÉBEC student strike acquired global exposure. It was also the first student strike in the province that saw massive participation by Anglophone students. Unlike previous student strikes in Québec, this last one also caught the interest of English-speaking Canada. Shawn Katz’s presentation and analysis of this historical mobilization is a testimony, and will hopefully be a further stimulant, of this newfound interest.

Katz offers a thorough and rich description of the unfolding of the different steps of the student strike and of the broader popular movement – the “maple spring” – that shook Québec in 2012. The book proposes a well-informed and necessary contextualization of the student spring, discussing the neoliberal restructuring of post-secondary education undertaken by a government embroiled in mounting corruption scandals. Katz, as did many striking students in 2012, understands and eloquently explains how the tuition hike that sparked the strike was part of a broader series of reforms that undermined the democratization of Québec’s education system in the wake of the “quiet revolution” of the 1960s. This restructuring is an attempt to turn access to education into a personal responsibility and an investment in one’s “human capital.”

The student and popular mobilization encountered severe repression. Katz offers a vivid description of the paternalistic way in which Jean Charest’s Liberal government reacted to the student strike by refusing to bargain for a long period, before engaging in bad faith bargaining, all the while resorting to severe police violence that left some activists injured for life. The repressive strategy deployed by

the Liberals was actually remarkably in tune with their broader post-secondary education reforms, as Katz aptly demonstrates. The injunctions granted by judges restraining picket lines in front of classrooms, as well as the adoption of Bill 78 threatening, among other things, participants in street and campus demonstrations with astronomical fines – all of this was wrapped within a discourse bringing forward an individualized right to education. The strike, reduced to an aggregation of individual “boycotts,” had to be stopped, so that students that had paid for them could get access to their courses.

In stark opposition to this conception of an atomized society of self-entrepreneurs, the myriad of often highly creative protest activities that punctuated the six months of Québec’s longest spring contributed to replenishing the social fabric. And this might be where Katz is at its best. His descriptions of the numerous defiant night marches or of the casserole banging sessions that gathered thousands at a time in the streets of Montréal’s neighbourhoods and in many other cities and towns are rich and vivid. Katz beautifully depicts the emotional load of these actions in a way that allows the reader to understand – in a way felt by actual participants – that, through them, solidarity had ceased to simply be a means to build a balance of power, and was becoming an end in itself.

Maybe less convincing is the way in which Katz depicts this historical social mobilization as a war of generations that pitted privileged baby boomers against a youth left with precariousness and an eroding welfare state. The author is right, of course, to point out that different polls taken during the strike showed that younger people supported the students while elderly citizens tended to oppose them. These poll results are of course not in themselves very surprising, and at least in part reflected active efforts by the government and several columnists

to consolidate this generational divide by insisting that young people should pay their “fair share.” Opposing the reduction of the whole issue to a clash of generations, the Coalition large de l’Association pour une solidarité syndicale étudiante (CLASSE), the left-leaning and main student organization behind the student strike, made sustained efforts – as did the Association pour une solidarité syndicale (ASSÉ) since its creation in 2001 – to explain that what appeared as a generational conflict was in fact fundamentally a *class* conflict. Thus, while younger folks and students oppose tuition hikes and while baby boomers happen to dominate the Liberal cabinet, many senior citizens are also facing harsh austerity policies that affect their livelihood, are part of the same broader neoliberal logic from which the “commercialization of education” (so aptly described by Katz) also stems, and can serve as the basis from a broader class solidarity built across generational divides. Put another way, generational divides are malleable in a way that the fundamental class antagonism is not.

Katz also mobilizes generational concepts in situating the maple spring in an emerging “network society” and depicting it as the fight of a “social media generation.” Referring to political scientist Henry Milner, Katz explains that the “network generation”, which led the 2012 student strike, but also the movement of the Indignados and the Occupy movement, adopts a form of “social media politics” that erodes its deference and implies a “rejection of representative democracy.” (154) This hypothesis, attributing a strong explanatory power to the usage of social media by activists, raises important theoretical issues that cannot be addressed here, apart maybe from mentioning the risk of falling into a form of technological determinism.

What can be said, however, is that it seems reasonable to assume that many

other student movements in North America and across the world have access to social media technologies at least to the same extent as the Québec student movement does. Yet, only few of these movements and student organizations were able to mobilize their membership and broader student population on the scale and with the democratic dynamism witnessed in Québec in 2012, but also, before the appearance of Facebook and Twitter, in 2005 (on a comparable scale in terms of striking students), and on several occasions before that. This points to the fact that the main characteristic of the Québec student movement is first and foremost its democratic and activist model of organizing.

Katz provides a good overview of the history of the Québec student movement allowing the reader to grasp its evolving divisions. Likewise, he rightly explains the current opposition between the more conciliatory, less belligerent, and less democratic *Fédération étudiante universitaire du Québec* and the *Fédération étudiante collégiale du Québec*, and the one hand, and on the other, the militant and democratic ASSÉ that actively mobilized students and engaged in escalating actions for two years before the 2012 strike. Yet, Katz devotes only little space to discussing the actual organizational functioning of the ASSÉ's democratic structure (local general membership meetings, national congresses, and executive and mobilizing committees). This would have helped readers to understand that the successful mobilization of 2012, at least in its initial and crucially important phase, was called into life not by a tweet or a Facebook event, but by months of intense mobilizing efforts on the ground (in classrooms, in cafeterias, etc.) by networks of elected officials and rank-and-file activists – a fact that tends to be mentioned only in passing by Katz.

Contrary to the latter's assertion, the ASSÉ is not a 'horizontalist' organization in the way that the Occupy movement was. While the democratic sensibilities of the anti-globalization movement of the turn of the millennium were internalized by the ASSÉ, this organization was also built on a *syndicaliste* (i.e. trade-unionist) model. This model is highly democratic in that it implies the self-organization of a formal membership through general membership meetings. Yet, this same model also allows for the centralization of decision making in national congresses where democratically elected and monitored representatives meet, formulate demands, and plan campaigns.

A more detailed discussion of these aspects of the Québec student movement and general student strike of 2012 would have been a great addition to a very stimulating book that will hopefully inspire student (and other) activists outside of Québec.

XAVIER LAFRANCE

Université du Québec à Montréal

Bryan M. Evans and Charles W. Smith, eds., *Transforming Provincial Politics: The Political Economy of Canada's Provinces and Territories in the Neoliberal Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

AFTER A LONG ABSENCE, an explosion of scholarly books on provincial politics in Canada is suddenly upon us. This is welcome news for the obvious reason that the provinces are such important factors in Canadian political and economic life. *Transforming Provincial Politics* consists of thirteen chapters on individual provinces and territories, along with the editors' introduction and epilogue. The chapters are written by academics with local expertise and thus display rich

detail on the distinctive features of each political sub-system.

The editors begin with a well-constructed framework of neoliberalism and the “neoliberal era.” These are primarily characterized by reducing the role of government through tax cuts, expenditure and service cuts, privatization, deregulation, and trade agreements, and by attacks on labour. Whether the additional features mentioned – balanced budgets and excessive executive power – are confined to such an era or ideology, however, might be questioned. The editors and many of the contributors approach the subject through a normative lens, and make the point that neoliberalism is not so much about diminishing the role of the state as to reorient it to serve the interests of capital. But in the process, they may overstate their case on occasion, such as not distinguishing sufficiently between neoliberalism and “Third Way,” and several seem eager to pin the neoliberal label on Parti Québécois (PQ) and New Democratic Party (NDP) governments. While each chapter includes a solid discussion of political developments since about 1980, not all of them concentrate on neoliberalism, as such; some are written in a more general fashion. It should be said for readers of this journal that most chapters deal extensively with government-labour relations during the period under review.

That is particularly true of the chapter on Newfoundland and Labrador, which gives much attention to labour relations, especially in the Danny Williams era. The chapter shows how increased provincial revenues from offshore oil sometimes softened the neoliberal assault on labour and government operations in general. The chapter on Prince Edward Island is a more general treatment of politics in that province, including its socio-economic context. After discussing several forays

into neoliberalism, starting in the early 1990s, it concentrates on the gaming industry as a distinctive aspect of neoliberalism – raising revenues without raising taxes. The Nova Scotia chapter presents a catalogue of the province’s many economic problems and deficit crises, but as in some other chapters, may be too ready to classify the NDP government as “neoliberal” when it faced such an array of challenges. The chapter on New Brunswick also details a long history of economic problems and debts. In these circumstances, it admits that not all governments in the province could be simply called “neoliberal.” But that term is applied to the chapter’s primary focus – the aborted sale of NB Power to Hydro-Québec, as a unique application of privatization.

The Québec chapter deals comprehensively with the many themes in that province’s recent history, of which neoliberalism is only one. For example, it makes the illuminating argument that neoliberalism ran counter to the social democratic and nationalistic streams in the political culture, so that the state could not be so easily dismantled. Nevertheless, the chapter makes it clear that neoliberalism has been evident in the province from the second Robert Bourassa regime onward, including both PQ and Liberal governments. When it comes to Ontario, the chapter written by the editors, we get a condemnation of the Bob Rae government’s social contract legislation and other measures adopted in the difficult economic circumstances of the early 1990s, and, of course, a detailed discussion of the Mike Harris government’s neoliberal “Common Sense Revolution.” Dalton McGuinty’s Liberals are categorized as practicing a “Third Way” variant of neoliberalism, which is termed more rational and legitimate.

The Manitoba NDP is said to practice a “Third Way” neoliberalization of social

democratic ideology or a moderate neo-liberal approach. The author of that chapter acknowledges that neoliberalism is now so predominant in the western world that it is hard for social democratic parties to do anything else, especially if they govern in times of economic downturn. Still, the Manitoba NDP is criticized for not undertaking any transformative redistribution policies. The Saskatchewan chapter is particularly normative and therefore very critical of the Grant Devine government's embrace of neoliberalism. The authors then condemn the Roy Romanow NDP government, which inherited a \$15 billion debt, for its "neoliberal ideological offensive" (236) and for "deepening the neoliberal agenda." (239) It is interesting to compare this chapter to the recent book by David McGrane, *Remaining Loyal: Social Democracy in Quebec and Saskatchewan* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014) in which he takes the position that the Saskatchewan NDP, like the PQ governments in Québec, never abandoned social democracy.

The Alberta chapter is particularly strong, but not so much because it focuses on the series of Progressive Conservative governments from Don Getty onwards that led the neoliberal charge. Instead, the chapter provides an impressive analysis of the Alberta "one-party state," which actually predated neoliberalism and was related to the cultural hegemony of the province that equated the welfare of the government and people with that of the energy sector. Although the chapter was written prior to the surprising 2015 election that brought the NDP to power in the province, the author almost anticipates the end of the PC regime. The British Columbia chapter also includes a full account of recent political evolution in the province, and reveals how neoliberalism there came in two phases, the Bill Bennett "rollback" phase in the 1980s

and then the Gordon Campbell "rollout" phase after 2001. But the author claims that, in between, the NDP never broke with the neoliberal consensus.

In addition to the immense value of the provincial part of the book, readers will be delighted to discover the chapters on the three territories, which are so often ignored. These chapters fill an enormous void in our knowledge of the North, dealing exhaustively with politics, economics, Aboriginal land claims and self-government, and the socio-economic welfare of the residents. They provide quite a contrast between the optimistic view of developments in the Yukon and the more troubling, but still hopeful, accounts of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Neoliberalism may be less relevant to the territories than the provinces, or may be the result of policies imposed from outside.

In short, readers of this book will learn a great deal about provincial politics over the past 35 years; their eyes will be opened to the "mystery" of territorial politics; and they will obtain a fuller appreciation of the pervasiveness of neoliberalism at the provincial level.

RAND DYCK

Carleton University

Rodney Haddow, *Comparing Quebec and Ontario: Political Economy and Public Policy at the Turn of the Millennium* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015)

POLITICAL SCIENTIST Rodney Haddow sets out to examine whether sub-state jurisdictions within liberal democracies can "pursue fundamentally different social and economic policies" amid the pressures of globalization and post-industrialism. (3) His "goal ... is to determine whether distinctive policymaking processes and outcomes emerged or

persisted in Ontario and Quebec in spite of these shared pressures.” (15)

Haddow describes “the theoretical ambition” of this book as “establish[ing] the suitability of insights from comparative political economy scholarship for a study of inter-provincial differences in Canada.” (265) In doing so, Haddow applies the concepts of institutionalist political economy to the study of contemporary public policy in Québec and Ontario from 1990 until the end of 2010. In particular, Haddow focuses on four policy fields: budgeting, social assistance and income supports, childcare and family benefits, and economic development policies.

Haddow’s theoretical approach is informed by the “varieties of capitalism” literature and welfare state typologies which he presents in Chapter 1. Proponents of the varieties of capitalism approach argue that states retain the authority and ability to sustain different choices in economic and social policy. In other words, there is no inexorable race-to-the-bottom in the face of neoliberal globalization. However, the room to manoeuvre may vary among different policy fields.

As introduced in Chapter 1 and developed more fully in Chapter 2, Haddow views Québec as a “coordinated market economy” and Ontario as a “liberal market economy.” Haddow identifies three key differences between Ontario and Québec: the extent of collaboration (or concertation, as it is termed in Québec) between the state and social forces, the degree of polarization between the major political parties, and the ability and willingness of the state to intervene in economic development. “Quebec’s political economy is far more collaborative and statist than Ontario’s, while the later approximates its liberal and market-oriented alternative.” (37) This second chapter provides a very solid introduction to the political economy of Québec, Ontario, and Canadian federalism.

Students of federalism, provincial politics, social policy, and political economy will find much that is valuable here. Chapters 3 to 6 provide excellent comparative overviews of the specific policy fields since approximately 1990. They can be read as richly informative stand-alone comparative chapters on provincial fiscal policy, social assistance, day care, and economic development policies in the two provinces through successive provincial governments. In Ontario’s case, this includes the Bob Rae NDP government, the Mike Harris Conservative years, and the Liberal government of Dalton McGuinty. In Québec, the Liberals were replaced by the Parti Québécois in 1994, but returned to office in 2003.

These narrative chapters shed light on important topics like taxation and income redistribution. Haddow points to the existing comparative political economy literature to argue that the gap between high and low-tax jurisdictions is likely to persist, but that all jurisdictions face downward pressure on taxing corporations and mobile capital. Thus, higher spending jurisdictions tend to rely heavily on taxing immobile labour and consumers. In other words, “generous and redistributive welfare states are financed more regressively than liberal ones.” (19)

In terms of social policy, there has been a remarkable resurgence in the distinction between the “deserving” and “undeserving” poor. Social assistance rates for individuals have stagnated at best. Social supports are increasingly directed at children (and their families) rather than “employable” individuals. Both provinces expanded income-tested child benefits for parents. The period under examination also includes the development of Québec’s daycare system and Ontario’s extension of full-day kindergarten to four and five year olds.

Chapters 6 and 7 which provide the regression analysis are less accessible.

Advocates of quantitative methods will appreciate this work and applaud the rigorous nature of the study. This is definitely a political science book. It is certainly not directed at the general reader or a wider audience. This is clearly reflected in its writing style, methodology, and presentation. Even its title and cover seem almost defiantly uninviting. The general reader and one suspects many labour historians would likely find this book uneven and occasionally impenetrable.

Assessing the impact of globalization upon provincial government and politics in Canada is an important task and Haddow makes a notable contribution. Yet, the conclusions are not exactly earth-shattering. Haddow concludes that sub-national units like provinces and, by implication, sovereign states retain policy autonomy amid the pressures of globalization and post-industrialism. Québec maintains a higher tax, higher spending regime than Ontario. Québec has a more extensive daycare system than Ontario. There has been greater consultation and collaboration among state and non-state actors in Québec compared to pluralist Ontario. The narrative of a neoliberal race-to-the-bottom in terms of taxation levels and state spending is too simplistic. Undoubtedly, there is an element of truth here. However, almost despite his inclinations, Haddow seems to provide evidence that neoliberalism has pushed public policy in Québec and Ontario in the same direction. Economic development policy has become more *laissez-faire*. Social assistance rates stagnate.

Contrary to one of his hypotheses, Québec relies on progressive income taxes as well as more regressive taxes such as consumption and payroll taxes. Québec is able to tax middle and higher-income individuals at a higher rate. Overall, Québec has retained a comparatively high tax regime while improving economically relative to Ontario.

Haddow's explanatory framework is informative but ultimately somewhat unsatisfying. Québec maintains different policies because of its collaborative system, its alleged lack of a neoliberal party and its statist impulses. Haddow also points out that when Québec governments attempt to impose austerity they are forced to retreat in the face of a popular mobilization and backlash. But why does Québec have these characteristics?

Critics of the varieties of capitalism approach will surely accept that some significant policy differentiation continues to exist among capitalist states (Sweden is not the USA and Québec is not Ontario) but that this fact should not be used to cloud the reality that all welfare state models and political economies have been shifting in a neoliberal direction over the last three or four decades. With his valid emphasis on the viability of different policy choices, Haddow tends to gloss over the erosion of the Québec welfare state, the interventionist economic model, and the social forces and structures that facilitated it.

The Québec model may not be so secure. In places, I was struck by the overly sanguine descriptions of Québec's major political parties, both the Parti Québécois and the Liberals. While it is undoubtedly true that Québec hasn't experienced the aggressively neoliberal equivalent of the Mike Harris "Common Sense Revolution," Haddow's claim that "Québec has not witnessed the emergence of a successful party firmly committed to a market-oriented, neoliberal agenda" will likely raise some eyebrows. (40) His own narrative shows that even the erstwhile Left parties, the NDP in Ontario and the PQ in Québec, introduced restraint programs and came into conflict with their traditional allies.

One is also left wondering about the lessons to be learned for Ontario and other liberal economies. As Haddow warns,

institutions that facilitate cooperation and more interventionist policies cannot be built overnight. In the meantime, labour and other social forces in Ontario need to strengthen their own capacity and power rather than seeking venues of cooperation with neoliberal provincial governments.

MURRAY COOKE
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David Laycock and Lynda Erickson, eds., *Reviving Social Democracy: The Near Death and Surprising Rise of the Federal NDP* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2015)

REVIVING SOCIAL DEMOCRACY is an unusual and welcome addition to the study of Canada's New Democratic Party. It doesn't go where you expect it to and is curiously and refreshingly neutral on some of the key questions facing the party. This is surprising because books on the left tend to be one of a few types: self-serving insider accounts where reforming party elites triumph over backward party members and activists, moralistic condemnations from (typically) non-party social activists complaining the party is not radical or anti-capitalist enough, or rather bloodless accounts from academics who do not appear to understand why anyone on the left would not simply join the Liberal Party. By comparison, *Reviving Social Democracy* has a relatively open mind about where the NDP should go and the ongoing importance of its unique ideological position in Canada's party system.

The point of the book is to answer a perennial question about left politics – does an electoral party on the left succeed by giving up its leftism or sticking to it? This is explored by examining the revival of NDP fortunes since the federal party's near demise electorally in 1993.

The book's answers are rather unclear and sometimes contradictory. But on the journey we discover a number of interesting and surprising things about the party, its behaviour, its supporters, and the larger context it has been operating within.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One comprises four chapters, all written by the volume's editors, that set out the broad history of the party (1961–2003), developments under Layton's leadership (2003–11), a review of the party's long efforts to break into Québec, and an assessment of the ways in which the party has struggled to modernize its appeal and internal structures as part of its electoral recovery since 1993. The historical chapters provide effective background for the rest of the book but the key contribution here is the chapter on modernization. Too often used as a short-hand for "selling out" or "facing reality," Laycock and Erickson draw from comparative work on social democracy to argue that processes of "modernization" can be more selective and focused in their impact, affecting a party's political discourse, core values, policy objectives, and/or policy instruments to varying degrees. Depending on which things are changed and which are kept the same, social democratic parties can be distinguished between those that remain traditional (ends and means stay the same) and those that become modernized (ends stay the same but means change) or liberalized (both ends and means change). This three-fold distinction is similar to Gøsta Esping-Andersen's breakdown of different kinds of welfare states and serves a similar purpose, to grasp the substantive differences that exist between them. After reviewing changes to the NDP's leadership style, institutions (e.g. party finance), communications strategies, and organization, Laycock and Erickson argue that the party should be considered a modernizing rather than liberalized social democracy

party (87) because, despite changes in all four areas, the party has retained much of its traditional policy profile. (88)

Part Two focuses on the ideological evolution of the party, attempting to grapple with the key question for many observers: i.e. to what extent has the NDP become more centrist over time? Here too the book tries to advance the discussion by expanding our understanding of what ideology is and how it works. Drawing on Michael Freeden's breakdown of party ideology as involving core, adjacent, and perimeter concepts, Laycock examines a host of NDP documents and public statements to assess to what extent the party's value commitments really have changed. Specifically, he explores how the party has taken up what he characterizes as their core ideas like equality, democracy, an active state, and solidarity over time. He argues that while the party has shifted ground on the "how" (or perimeter concepts) of getting what it wants (e.g. nationalization), it has not given up on its core ideological commitments. (134) The second chapter in this section also attempts to gauge ideological change by examining some NDP and Liberal party election manifestos from 1988 on, counting the number of times different concepts or issues are mentioned. In this case author Francois Petry argues that the NDP has moved to the right.

Part Three draws on survey methods to drill down into just who the party members and supporters are, what they believe, and how they respond to politics. One chapter compares survey responses from NDP members taken in 1997 and 2009. Despite the passage of time, it found that party members have remained consistent in their views and very much to the left of the party leadership, strongly supporting issues downplayed by party leaders (like state direction of economy). It also found that the NDP's membership base was not that distinct from other parties in terms

of age and wealth but did differ in terms of gender. Three other chapters draw on Canadian Election Study data to assess how NDP supporters respond to leaders and issues, finding that both are influential, and that people who vote for the party have a distinct policy profile.

Part Four takes up the strategic aspects of the NDP's position in the post-2011 party system, assessing various possible challenges to advancing the party's electoral standing. One chapter takes up the question of a merger between the Liberal and New Democratic parties, finding that such a proposal would not work because the Québec Liberal and NDP supporters do not agree on the national question and party elites and supporters across the country are simply not interested. Another chapter examined Canadian Election Study data to assess the possible range of potential NDP support, finding that there is room to grow, but also that the party's core support is small, with a significant amount of its 2011 support comprising switchers from other parties. In the last chapter the book's editors review a number of possible future scenarios for the party, informed by the analysis developed in the book, noting in particular democratic challenges for the party given the centralization of power under Layton's leadership, the party's future in Québec, and the age-old trade off between taking principled positions and strategically moving toward the political centre.

Reviving Social Democracy succeeds admirably when it encourages us to think more critically about concepts we take for granted. Here the chapters on modernization and ideological change are clearly the heart of the book, offering innovative and important insights about how to take up these divisive issues, both conceptually and through research. In both cases, the research offers exciting and tantalizing insights about such processes but

clearly marks just a beginning to the work with each topic worthy of more in-depth treatment. The quantitative survey work is less ground-breaking and often appears to go to a lot of trouble to tell us things we were pretty confident we already knew. Still, there are interesting asides, as when various contributors tell us that NDP members and voters stand to the left of the party's leadership, raising (unanswered) questions about why party leaders position themselves this way. At points, the book seems to move in contradictory directions, as when Laycock set out a nuanced and sophisticated approach to examining ideological change that was followed by a chapter that took up ideology in just the narrow way Laycock had been critiquing.

In the end, the contributors to *Reviving Social Democracy* do not agree on just what contributed to the NDP breakthrough in 2011, with a few underlining the party's new centrism and policy moderation while Laycock himself focused on ideological continuity, albeit with new messaging and policy instruments, as key. Needless to say, the setback for the party in the 2015 federal election, which saw it ousted from the Official Opposition and fall back to third place in seat totals, tends to weaken support for the "centrism equals electoral success" formula, given that most commentators agree that Layton's successor, Thomas Mulcair, ran an undeniably centrist campaign. One factor ignored by commercial pollsters and academic behavioralists alike is the impact of non-voters. Though 2015 saw a rise in voter turnout, in part due to the return of disaffected Liberal voters, the long-term trend has been one of declining participation, particularly from those we might characterize as the poor or working class. The flip side of attracting voters is repelling them as Adam Przeworski noted long ago with his concept of the "dilemma of electoral socialism." One

key challenge for the left may be how it no longer speaks with a working class accent, and thus fails to attract that group of potential voters. Or how mobilization strategies based on communications technology fail to connect with those not already primed to participate, whereas direct personal contact was and may have to be once again the left's most effective tool to bring the less privileged into the electoral arena. While answers to such questions will not be found here, the critical approach fostered in this book can certainly be designed to address them.

DENNIS PILON
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Adele Perry, Elylit W. Jones, and Leah Morton, eds., *Place and Replace: Essays on Western Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2013)

SCHOLARS WHO STUDY western Canada have long used "place" as a primary category of analysis, although without a strict definition of boundaries (should British Columbia be included?) or clear sense of a coherent West beyond the imagined. The "replace" in this collection's title serves to signal the changeability of regional definitions and senses of place over time and according to ethnic, religious, racial, political, and gender perspectives. This collection joins an informal series of similar interdisciplinary volumes issued periodically from 1969 to the present connected to conferences aimed at broadcasting and inspiring work on the Canadian West. The authors of the sixteen articles included first presented at a joint meeting of the Western Canadian Studies and St. John's College (University of Manitoba) Prairies Conferences. A valuable contribution of the editorial introduction is a mini-history of these conferences and their ensuing publications. Four sections awkwardly organize topics

around agriculture, migration, ideas, and politics. The Canadian National Film Board, Ukrainian and French literature, Indigenous agriculture, prairie town architecture, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Heritage Centre, Alberta's Dinosaur Provincial Park, and Prairie political codes suggest the collection's topical breadth.

Finding place on the prairies of Canada has frequently meant rooting studies in the settler colonial agricultural transformation of the grasslands. Several articles engage with this classic topic in new ways. Sarah Carter explores Indigenous agriculture and land ownership, from the decade before Confederation through the early 20th century. Dominion of Canada founders welcomed the evidence of "many generations-old Aboriginal agricultural sites" (16) reported by explorers, such as H.Y. Hind in 1857, because it helped make the case for a settler colonialism that could hold the western territories for Canada. The settler colonial project, however, soon required a shift from acknowledging Indigenous agriculture to stressing an economy of hunting. Nevertheless, Carter found numerous records of Indigenous land ownership based on agricultural production and ongoing individual Indigenous requests for land and homesteading rights off reserves. The legacy of the attempted erasure of Indigenous agriculture from the northern grasslands can be seen 50 years later in the rise and fall from 1975 to 1993 of the Manitoba Indian Agricultural Program (MIAP), described by Bret Nickels. An early 1970s inventory found only 52 "self-supporting" Indigenous farmers, using "little modern equipment," earning less than 25 per cent of the average Manitoba farmer. (60) The MIAP increased the number of Indigenous farmers and their access to credit, until funding waned. Emma Laroque contributes a thoughtful piece aimed to counter

the myth of the landless Métis. She argues Métis have always embraced the grasslands as homelands without necessary regard to property ownership. These articles emphasize the persistence of Indigenous culture, including agriculture and wider perceptions of space, despite colonial processes designed to erase their presence.

Several articles in the collection are more conversant with rural and urban spaces rather than regional places. Lisa Chilton illuminates the coercive tactics of Canadian immigration officials often assigned to railways to oversee new immigrants to their final rural destinations. Urban employers resented programs designed to promote agricultural labour immigration and newly arrived immigrants, regardless of why they had been recruited, sometimes desired to find work in urban ethnic communities. Pernille Jakobsen contributes an essay on matrimonial property rights that highlights the contributions of urban and rural, conservative, middle-class Alberta women to the Canadian women's movement of the 1970s. Using oral histories and articles in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Heather Stanley analyzes baby-boom era heterosexuality through the intersection of women, rural medicine, and farm life. Joyce M. Chadya examines the 1990s Zimbabwean diaspora to urban Canada, with a focus on Winnipeg, in the context of changing funeral customs. These articles suggest an interesting avenue of further study where insight may be found at the intersection of rural and urban networks and regional space.

Distinctly an advantage of conference collections, they frequently include thought pieces on interpretative methods and state of the field commentary. Royden Loewen explores Mennonite train migrations from Canada in the 1920s and 1940s to Mexico and Paraguay through

a discussion of how different documents – diary, letter, memoir, or oral history – affected the stories told; each source type created meaning at a unique intersection of space, time, lifecycle, and culture. Loewen concludes, “Train travel was never merely a matter of crossing space, but of reordering time.” (135) Allison Marshall also referenced the space and time element of train travel in her piece, but highlights the social networking possibilities of this transportation for Chinese Canadians, who – having built the railroad – then used it to expand communities across the prairies and to link Chinese commoners to travelling dignitaries representing a larger Chinese heritage. Beverly A. Sandalack discusses time and space in a similar way by exploring the shift from the “inside-out” prairie town (the railway at the centre) to the “outside-in” prairie town (organized by the automobile). The 1950s Trans-Canada Highway became “its own place ... an asphalt conduit,” while the rest of the grasslands remained “a place where space and time are measured in quarter sections and grid roads.” (278) The directions of these articles suggest scholars of western Canada have absorbed geographic theories of place involving scale, space, and social networks.

Alison Calder provides a brief history of the field of “prairie literature,” highlighting its challenges to suggest new directions. Calder argues against an emerging “post-prairie” (read urban) conception. Instead, placing the (settler) colonialism of the agriculturally rooted first wave of prairie literature at the centre of analysis should allow a view of colonization and its undergirding structures as they reproduce in unexpected modern and post-modern places. Indeed, the prairie towns described by Sandalack that connected increasingly to a global community and Larocque’s evocation that sense of place often transcends land ownership suggest pathways

to the “present prairie” from the past that Calder finds key to the field’s future.

There is little emphasis on Canadian-US comparative history in the collection, but Sterling Evans suggests new transnational directions through an exploration of Alberta’s badlands in the context of a North American West and a transnational culture in which park officials from Alberta, South Dakota, and Colorado consulted in the 1970s about best practices to promote tourism and protect badlands and their fossil deposits. The exploration of more recent historical sites commemorating the North West Mounted Police by Amanda Nettlebeck and Robert Foster, suggest older conceptions of the mythic “law and order” of Canada posed against the “explicitly violent frontier” (89) of the US remain current at many regional heritage sites, including trails, murals, historic buildings, and museums: the same spaces that create sense of place and regional identity as forces in popular culture. Perhaps it is time to do some replacing.

MOLLY P. ROZUM

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Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (Regina: University of Regina Press 2015)

IT IS NOT an exaggeration to assert that Michel Hogue’s *Metis and the Medicine Line* is now one of the best studies written about the western Canadian – US borderlands. It is thoroughly researched from a variety of different archival sources from both sides of the 49th parallel, it is very well organized and written, and will be a standard for North American borderlands history for many years to come. Likewise it is a fine addition to the already robust scholarship on Metis history (and note, it was Hogue’s choice to

use the word “Metis” without an accent on the “e”). Thus, this combination of themes works to do exactly as the book’s subtitle suggests, relating the history of how creating a border divided a people.

To do so, Hogue argues that the goal of *Metis and the Medicine Line* is to reveal “how the process of nation-building and race-making were intertwined and how ... the Metis shaped both.” (8) “The experiences of these borderland Metis communities,” he continues, “therefore offer a fresh perspective on the political, economic, and environmental transformations that re-worked the Northern Plains across the nineteenth century.” (9) And finally, he states how the book “offers a (partial) corrective to those who would focus solely on race by drawing attention to the historical circumstances that gave rise to the Metis emergence as an autonomous people ... and to the resilience and persistence of such notions.” (19) Those are noble objectives, but it is fair to assess how well they are achieved in this study. Along the way, Hogue gives special attention to how the Metis developed “mobile communities” (7) in the borderlands, how they negotiated “racialized markers of belonging,” and how they created a “hybrid borderland world” (10) and “an interethnic landscape.” (20) And more than theoretical labels here, these kinds of terms help to define Hogue’s message of Metis resilience and agency and set up the book’s themes well in the Introduction.

At that point *Metis and the Medicine Line* is divided into five chapters, all with cleverly developed action noun signposts as main title markers. The first chapter, “Emergence: Creating a Metis Borderland” discusses the importance of the Metis bison economy and trade and how the Metis used that for border marking. Chapter 2, “Exchange: Trade, Sovereignty, and the Forty-Ninth Parallel,” explores the Metis role in the “growing salience of the 49th parallel”

(55) and how they came to negotiate it for their benefit. Chapter 2, “Exchange: Trade, Sovereignty, and the 49th Parallel,” explores the Metis role in the “growing salience of the 49th parallel” (55) and how they came to negotiate it for their benefit. Chapter 3, “Belonging: Land, Treaties, and the Boundaries of Race,” gets into the more difficult business of trying to explain the complexity of Metis racial identity (and especially with the concept of “racial marking”) and continues to address the bison economy (especially as that came to change with the different degrees of bison decline on opposite sides of the US-Canadian border. In what I consider to be one of the book’s greatest strengths, Hogue provides excellent analyses of the Metis role in Plains geopolitics – not only in their dealings with the US and Canadian governments, but also with other Indigenous groups throughout the Northern Plains. The fourth chapter, “Resistance: Dismantling Plains Borderlands Settlements, 1879-1885,” gets into some comparative discussion of US and Canadian policies on Native peoples, offers more on border diplomacy, and reiterates the role of Louis Riel in all of this history. Likewise, for the Metis on the Canadian side of the line, it provides excellent analysis on “symbols of economic re-orientation.” (172) And finally, Chapter 5, “Exile: Scrip and Enrollment Commissions and the Shifting of Boundaries and Belongings,” is a bit more complicated and perhaps unnecessarily too detailed (the only place in the book I thought so) on the history of the scrip use by Metis peoples in Canada. This chapter seems like more of a stand-alone article that might have been added on to the end of the book as an afterthought and maybe not as creatively converted from Hogue’s dissertation as the rest of the book was. Nonetheless, it provides more information and analysis on Metis trade and exchanges pushing towards the 20th

century. But it also shows how throughout the chapters there is overlap and repetition of themes – a matter that could have been avoided with better editing. The book ends, however, with an excellent analytical Conclusion that ties all of these themes together very nicely.

What stands out most among these themes are two important parts. The first, as a borderlands history, *Metis and the Medicine Line* is second to none. Readers will see in every chapter the relevance of the US-Canadian border to the Metis people and how they negotiated it for their benefit from both sides. And second, Hogue shows very well how the history of the borderland Metis exemplifies our understanding of how “colonial rule often depends in equal parts on incorporating and on distancing colonized peoples.” (137) The role of reservations in the United States especially illustrates this vital point for Metis history. The book’s excellent maps also help illustrate this. However it was unfortunate that both Hogue and editors at the press consistently missed the misspelled “Devil’s Lake” in North Dakota (on page 45, four times on page 63, and on page 64; it should be “Devils Lake” without the apostrophe).

But while the book is borderlands history writ large, there are many places that readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will find of interest in terms of the labour history of the borderland Metis. In fact, the book starts right out with interesting information about the role of Metis workers for the boundary survey. There were various stages of early and then later boundary surveying, and especially of the hard labour of placing stone cairns along the line. That whole process, Hogue argues, “shows how the British and Canadian officials were surprisingly dependent on the Metis and other Indigenous peoples, particularly for the labour and knowledge required for conducting the survey.” (97)

Most of the labour history here, however, revolves around the role of Metis bison hunters and traders. This was important work, of course. In fact, in the large sense, as Hogue writes, “market expansion bound borderlands Metis communities and the hunters, processors, and traders more tightly into the orbit of commercial capitalists in such places as Winnipeg, St. Paul, and St. Louis.” (51) The Metis were indeed highly instrumental and “enmeshed in a competitive transnational commercial network in buffalo products.” (60) This was made possible only via the work of Metis women and their bison processing skills, as Hogue so nicely relates on page 62. This entire commercial transnational trade venture helped to lure Metis peoples away from being hired hands and into independent traders, representing a significant labour shift for them at this point in time. Other borderland Metis engaged in the work of trafficking controlled goods across the 49th. There was smuggling of munitions, whiskey, and guns and ammunition that Metis people played a central role in (see page 81 especially on this).

All of these characteristics make *Metis and the Medicine Line* an excellent study of Metis and US-Canadian borderlands history. It should be required reading for any class or seminar on North American transnational or borderlands history, as it will be for mine.

STERLING EVANS

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Mark A. Lause, *Free Labor: The Civil War and the Making of an American Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2015)

MARK LAUSE BEGINS his study of the mid-19th-century American labour movement by identifying a serious gap in the historiographical literature. Lause

observes that most historians of the Civil War have ignored labour history in developing accounts of the era, while, at the same time, few labour historians have sought to delve into the history of the war years. As a result, scholars have been left with an incomplete picture of the era's importance in American history. Lause's study attempts to fill that gap by placing labour at the center of the Civil War experience. He concludes that the war shaped the labour movement in fundamental ways. "The Civil War," he argues, "proved central to the making of an American working class." (ix)

Lause argues that workers responded to the war by organizing aggressively. The growing trade union movement took advantage of wartime production demands by lobbying for better wages, hours, and working conditions. To be sure, the war years also strained the movement at times. Secession and the slavery question divided some trades. Thousands of workers joined the US Army, and heavy combat deaths decimated rank-and-file trade-union leadership. Editors and employers criticized strikes and protests in time of war as unpatriotic and "socialistic." Indeed, Lause points out, even some secessionists "warned of imminent plebian revolution across the North." (117)

Still, workers persisted in the face of challenges. "From the fall of 1863 through the following winter," Lause writes, "unprecedented numbers of workers across the Union realized that their wages would never catch up with the rising wartime cost of living without some action on their part. So they organized, even in those trades and industries that developed so rapidly because of the war." (104) Northern workers especially benefited from the perceived ideological congruence between the cause of the Union and the cause of the trade unions. Before and during the war, Lause argues, trade unionists embraced the Republican

Party's free labour ideology. The fight against slavery and for free soil in the West allowed workers to push politicians to also critique the "wages slavery" they felt had befallen many white workers. Though politicians, especially in the Republican Party, were not always sympathetic to workers' demands, Lause argues that the fight for emancipation, human dignity, and upward mobility for free labourers helped to legitimize labour's right to advocate and organize. "The experience of the Civil War and Reconstruction," Lause writes, "shaped the idea of an acceptably respectable and responsible labor organization, which became the cornerstone of modern American trade unionism." (157-158).

The most novel aspect of Lause's work is that he takes a comprehensive view of the 19th-century labour movement, including slaves, women, and Southern white workers in his consideration of working-class politics. He argues that slaves, like white workers, took advantage of the war in order to organize, joining W.E.B. DuBois in describing a great wartime general strike. "Several million slaves, with various degrees of militancy, walked off their jobs," Lause writes. (56) Women, meanwhile, struggled to challenge gendered definitions of the working class. During the war, women workers faced increased exploitation but, like their male counterparts, took steps to organize. Still, they tended to appeal to patriarchal values, which stressed the protection of women, making it difficult to win true solidarity as workers.

Immigrants also faced mixed results. Lause explains that during the mid-19th century, an aggressive ethnic trade unionism developed, especially in Northern cities. Indeed, conservative editorialists began blaming most strikes on immigrants and foreign-born ethnics. During the war, Lause argues, "ethnically 'dangerous classes'" became

a “substitute for the working class.” (76) Lause contends that many contemporary historians have made similar mistakes in their treatment of the New York City draft riots, which have typically been attributed to the explosion of resentments harboured by foreign-born workers. He argues that the draft riots had their source in Democratic Party politics, not trade unionism, pointing out that many ethnic trade unions had denounced slavery and secession. Still, conservative commentators used the riots to denounce labor disturbances as “un-American.”

In this way, Lause concludes, the war helped create an identity for an “American” working class. This American working-class identity stressed the pursuit of social mobility and freedom for labour with the use of responsible and patriotic organizing. Aggressive strikes and radical political demands were dismissed as alien to proper American workers. The post-Civil War labour movement also defined the working class as primarily white and male, in part because of tensions over the issues of race and gender that became apparent during the war.

Lause amassed the evidentiary base for his study over the course of decades of archival visits. As a result, he is able to provide the reader with incredible detail. He identifies scores of obscure individuals who had participated in the labour movement, sometimes following them between battlefield and home front. He discusses such well-known labour disputes as the New York City draft riots, as well as many lesser-known strikes and demonstrations. The information he presents on an impressive range of unions active at the time will prove immensely valuable to future researchers.

This vast scope and detail is the work’s great strength. At times, however, the details can get in the way of the narrative. The book certainly has an overarching argument, but it is sometimes difficult to

see how each specific individual, movement, and organization contributed to the shaping of an “American working-class identity,” which is the work’s stated goal. Lause could also do more to discuss the relationship between workers and the Democratic Party. Lause generally sees the Democratic Party’s appeal as a negative one, which focused on using racism to appeal to white workers. While he convincingly shows that more workers supported the Republicans’ free-labour positions than scholars might have expected, an analysis of the ideology of the many workers who remained committed to the Democrats’ vision would have added depth to the study.

Still, Lause’s book presents an impressive array of original scholarship. The immense detail he provides on little-known aspects of the Civil War-era labour movement will prove especially valuable as a resource to future researchers. Most importantly, by joining the history of the labour movement and the history of the war, Lause has filled a long-neglected gap in the literature on the mid-19th-century United States.

ANDRE M. FLECHE
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Cedric de Leon, *The Origins of Right to Work: Antilabor Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Chicago* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2015)

THE TOPIC OF ANTI-LABOUR unionism in the United States has received a considerable amount of attention in recent years. In particular, numerous scholars have explored the development of “right-to-work” laws – state rules designed to weaken unions by protecting the individual rights of non-members – in the decades after organized labour won its most significant workplace and legislative battles in the 1930s. The political historians

responsible for producing these studies generally focus on the influential roles played by post-New Deal conservative organizations and individuals: Republican politicians, powerful managers, corporate lawyers, cold-hearted economists, and provocative journalists. This scholarship has taught us much, but few writers have properly come to terms with the nation's long, bipartisan traditions of anti-union ideas and actions.

Refreshingly, Cedric de Leon's *The Origins of Right to Work: Antilabor Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Chicago* is neither historically shallow nor politically imbalanced. In five original and forcefully argued chapters, de Leon, a Toronto-native, explores both national and local politics, demonstrating how elites and ordinary people related to the century's dominant issues: the mounting sectional tensions that led to the Civil War, questions concerning slave and free labour, the conflicts between individualism and collectivism in the labour market, and the relationships between political parties and workers. He believes we must investigate the interactions between unionized craft workers and political parties to understand the origins of laws designed to protect the rights of non-unionists against organized labour's solidarity-building activities.

First, he introduces us to the critical, pre-Civil War political and ideological battles, highlighting how sizable numbers of northern Democrats and the Whigs praised self-sufficiency while denouncing forms of labour dependency, including slavery and wage work. Chicago's wage earners shared these critiques, and campaigned against slavery by supporting the Free Soil cause, which sought to prevent slavery's westward spread in the 1850s. Fearing the growing power of the slave owning class, many supported the new Republican Party, which promoted "free labour" over slavery. Shortly afterward,

they rallied around Abraham Lincoln, enthusiastically championing the Union cause in the Civil War.

But, as de Leon explains, many "felt robbed of the promise of the Civil War." (78) The Republicans, he explains, had praised those who took up arms against the Confederacy, but sharply criticized the same people for their involvement in the labour movement during and after the war. Both the Republicans and the Democrats viewed collective bargaining "as a new form of slavery" because, in their collective view, it undermined "the wage bargain" and enslaved "one or both side(s) of the agreement." (97) And both established anti-union conspiracy laws while recurrently promoting what de Leon calls "individualistic liberalism." He points out that these political elites did not see meaningful class divisions, believing that "workers and their employers were equal and free." (106) Above all, he argues that "America's transition out of slavery was not toward just any kind of democracy, but rather toward a specifically anti-labor democracy." (98) This is nicely put, and in making this case, he reintroduces us to several anti-union developments in Illinois, including the Republican-sponsored 1863 LaSalle Black Law and two Democratic Party-initiated laws passed in 1887, the Merritt Conspiracy Law and the Cole Anti-Boycott Law.

The Origins of Right to Work is especially useful in demonstrating the ways anti-union individuals, through their ownership of newspapers, disseminated the central idea that workers and employers enjoyed a genuine harmony of interests, and that post-Civil War America offered its citizens the promise of upward mobility, which contrasted sharply to conditions under slavery and in Europe. Anti-union spokespersons condemned independent working-class activism for threatening those relationships and for challenging classical economic

principles. Writing about an 1867 strike, de Leon cites a *Chicago Times* article condemning labour unrest for damaging “the natural law of supply and demand” and for “creating an artificial scarcity where a national scarcity is not found.” (104)

De Leon’s analysis of the conflicts between labour activists and political parties throughout the 19th century’s second half will undoubtedly help historians of the Progressive Era make sense of several influential anti-union individuals and organizations in new ways. Take the fascinating case of Melville Fuller, the US Supreme Court jurist infamous for his involvement in the Danbury Hatters Case of 1908, when he and his colleagues imposed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act on protesting workers at Loewe and Company, a Connecticut-based hat manufacturer. Fuller, we learn, was once a disciple of prominent antebellum Democrat Stephen Douglas and had played a critical role in shaping that Party’s “antilabor posture after the Civil War.” (100) And students of the turn-of-the-century’s open-shop movement will appreciate de Leon’s discussion of a big strike at the P. W. Gates Company in 1867. Interestingly, the second head of the National Founders’ Association, a union-fighting organization established in 1898, represented this workplace.

While de Leon deserves considerable praise for revealing deep connections, his analysis is underdeveloped in a few places. Some of his evidence suggests that right-to-work proponents were hardly consistent in their embrace of liberal individualism and the principle of free contracts. For example, how should we make sense of the Republicans who publically claimed to defend the individual’s right-to-work while also endorsing coercive vagrancy laws in the context of industrial disputes and economic downturns? Vagrancy laws had little, if anything, to do with free contracts, the right to work,

or more generally what de Leon calls “a non-coercive environment.” (107) And the language Chicago’s elites employed during the massive 1877 strike illustrates that, in fact, they *did* recognize class divisions, demanding that authorities punish “the dangerous classes.” (114)

More significantly, I am not convinced that politicians were the primary force behind 19th century anti-union movements and laws – or that they represented the core group behind such activities in any historical period. That honour must go to employers, individuals with the clearest financial and managerial motivations to both battle labour and justify their actions in the public sphere. Simply put, bosses experienced labour-related problems well before politicians sought to solve the so-called “labour question.” And employers have traditionally enjoyed an extraordinarily close relationship with officeholders – and have usually gotten what they wanted. To be fair, de Leon mentions employers throughout his study, and we learn that some politicians wore both hats. But, for the most part, employers remain mostly peripheral in this account.

Yet overall, de Leon has made an important contribution, one that all future scholars of anti-unionism must read. Thanks to him, we know more about the deep roots of this subject. Union-fighting was a bipartisan effort in the 19th century, and in his epilogue, he demonstrates that both political parties continue to bedevil the labour movement. He has drawn a critical lesson from this history: “The potential for rebirth in the U.S. labor movement will hinge on its ability to forge a path of political independence, rejecting both the hostility of the Republican Party and its status as a captured constituency in the Democratic Party.” (23) Labour activists and union sympathizers must take this sensible message seriously.

CHAD PEARSON
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Leilah Danielson, *American Gandhi: A. J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2014)

THOSE FAMILIAR with the history of the anti-Vietnam War movement would know the name Abraham Johannes (A.J.) Muste. So too would scholars of the civil rights movement, the pre-Vietnam peace movement, pacifism in America, and American Protestantism. Muste lived a long and active life. At the time of his death in 1967 he led America's largest antiwar coalition. But from 1919 to 1936 Muste committed himself to the labour movement. Yet, asserts historian Leilah Danielson, "there is virtually no historical memory of [Muste] as a labor leader." (336–337) Her biography of him, *American Gandhi: A. J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the Twentieth Century* has corrected this sin of omission.

Danielson places Muste's life within the context of his religious convictions. "Muste was a prophet," argues Danielson; "he drew upon his Christian faith and the example of the Hebrew prophetic tradition to call the American people to righteousness, to repent of their sins and build a new world where," according to the prophet Micah, "every man would sit under his own vine and fig tree and none should make them afraid." (1)

Born in Zierikzee, Netherlands, in 1885, Muste immigrated with his working-class family to the United States at the age of six where he was raised and educated in the Dutch Reform tradition. Valedictorian of his high school class, he took degrees from New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New York University, Columbia, and Union Theological Seminary. Early, he rejected fundamental Reform theology and embraced pacifism. In 1916 he joined the newly-established Fellowship of

Reconciliation (FOR). Once America entered the war, rather than modify his pacifist preaching as requested by his church, he resigned as minister, assisted those evading the draft, and played a leading role in the establishment of the American Civil Liberties Union. In 1919 he assumed the leadership of a textile workers strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts. He organized the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America and was appointed chair of Brookwood Labor College. Under his leadership, Brookwood "anticipated" Antonio Gramsci's ideas of culture and hegemony a decade prior to the emergence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the cultural front. (67)

In the late 1920s Muste organized the Conference for Progressive Labour Action (CPLA). Independent of the Communists on the left, and the American Federation of Labor on the right, the CPLA originally described itself as "flexible and democratic." But as Muste exchanged his Christian and pacifist ideals for those of Marx and Lenin, the CPLA came to define itself as a "permanent, revolutionary, vanguard organization," under Muste's control. (154) In 1934 he merged the organization, now the American Workers Party, with the Trotskyist Communist League of America to become the Workers Party of the United States (WPUS). Danielson describes the organization as "Bolshevik." Trotskyist leader James Cannon described the merger as an attempt to "remove a centrist obstacle from our path." (192) In February 1936, the WPUS executed what it called a "French Turn," disbanding the organization, ordering its members to join the Socialist Party (SP) where, as a faction, they would capture it. Muste strongly opposed the idea, saying it violated "working-class ethics," but when he lost the vote he dutifully joined the SP and faithfully attended his faction meetings. (194) By the spring, "surrounded by comrades he viewed as

untrustworthy and cruel,” and a member of the SP, a party he had always loathed, Muste, in the tradition of the Hebrew prophets, heard the voice of God. He returned to the church. (198)

Curiously, given that the period 1936–1940 was America’s golden age of labour and the left, Danielson tells us very little of Muste’s life during this period other than him being reinstated as a minister and teaching at Union Theological. In 1940 the FOR hired him as National Secretary, where he in turn hired James Farmer and Bayard Rustin – two of the pioneers of the modern civil rights movement. In 1957 he helped establish the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy as well as the Committee for Nonviolent Action. By late 1964 he was increasingly involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement, ultimately becoming chairman of the Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In January 1967 he travelled to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam where he met with President Ho Chi Minh and witnessed first-hand the carnage wrought by his own country. While there he turned 82. Muste died within two weeks of returning home, many believing that the exhaustive travel had finally finished him.

Danielson presents a life of activism that spanned six decades. *American Gandhi* is at its best where Muste the man was at his worst – an unprincipled, authoritarian, conspirator – in the chapters covering the CPLA and its merger with the Trotskyists. During this time he exchanged the role of prophet for that of revolutionary. Here the reader sees his faults, his imperfections, and his humanness most clearly. Notably, his abandonment of “working-class ethics” preceded his embrace of Trotskyism. References to “his” movement suggest a personality cult, as does “Musteite,” (6) a term used to describe his supporters, but which Danielson never elaborates

on. Did it begin as a sectarian insult, later embraced, or was it self-imposed? The use of surnames to label ideological camps within the American left is not unknown, but not common. Gomperism, Lovestoneites, Browderism, were all terms coined by opponents of these ideological namesakes. There is, however, no sense of ideology that goes with the term Musteite, simply Muste.

American Gandhi presents some minor challenges. Danielson tends to drop names into the narrative which are assumed to be recognized by the reader without any introduction or context. The most egregious example is pacifist Dave Dellinger who suddenly appears in chapter eight without even the benefit of a first name. (253) There is also an issue of geography. When referring to the great wave of strikes that swept “throughout the country” (61) following the First World War, Danielson cites Seattle and Winnipeg as the two most dramatic examples, an error she repeats. (71)

In crafting *American Gandhi*, Danielson has accessed over thirty archival collections, making particularly effective use of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, which includes Muste’s papers as well as those of many of the organizations he led. She has also used oral history interviews and numerous secondary sources. Missing is a bibliography. While this information can be prised from the book’s notes, this can be painstaking. Comprising almost 100 pages in a book containing 339 pages of text, the notes make up almost a quarter of the book. Commonly a paragraph in length, notes often extend to over half a page.

American Gandhi is not the first biography of Muste. It is preceded by jazz critic Nat Hentoff’s *Peace Agitator: The Story of A.J. Muste* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), and historian Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson’s *Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A.J. Muste* (Philadelphia: Temple University

Press, 1981). While acknowledging these works in her notes, and freely borrowing from them, Danielson never articulates what distinguishes her work from earlier efforts. Hentoff's work, published four years prior to Muste's death, is incomplete. Robinson's more scholarly work quickly skips over Muste's early life, focusing on his post-war activism, in particular the antiwar movement. Danielson devotes almost two thirds of *American Gandhi* to the period between 1919 and 1936, leaving a single, final chapter to Vietnam. It is only in her epilogue that Danielson clearly states her desire to give an account of Muste the labour leader. Albeit in a somewhat awkward way, in this she has been entirely successful.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL
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Lara Vapnik, *Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: Modern American Revolutionary*
(Boulder: Westview Press 2015)

THE MISSION OF the Lives of American Women Series from Westview Press is to create accessible biographies of women for the undergraduate classroom. As such, the biography of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn by Lara Vapnik is by no means an exhaustive investigation into Flynn's life, nor does it claim to be. It is a comprehensive look at a woman whose entire life was wholly devoted to working people and especially to working women's lives. The text includes a small handful of primary sources, a glossary of terms, an annotated bibliography, and a short list of study questions making it an appropriate text for undergraduate classrooms. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is an especially appropriate person to be included in the series since she lived through momentous changes in the modern United States; her life straddles both the Old and New Left. However, her myopic devotion to communism and

anti-capitalism made her a relic of sorts in the New Left. She also came under attack during the red scare and McCarthyism. Flynn's life is most remarkable because she was involved in decades of radical politics against the greatest of odds.

Flynn is also unique because her radical career started at a young age. Born to parents who had both been involved in the Knights of Labor, and who were supporters of Irish independence, Flynn's early years were forged in radical socialism and anti-imperialism. By the age of sixteen Flynn was making street speeches against capitalist exploitation. Even as a teenager Flynn's focus was on women's particular exploitation under capitalism. Her early speeches advocated communal laundries, kitchens, and nurseries and an end to women's enslavement to household drudgery. Flynn supported women's access to birth control, but was lukewarm on the vote; though she supported it in theory she felt that women's economic independence would be more liberating than the political right to vote.

Flynn followed her father's enthusiasm for socialism, but became frustrated with the Socialist Party's conservatism. She joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). It was a natural fit for her. She, like the IWW, saw the state as an instrument of capitalism and thus exploitation. She was especially drawn to the IWW's organization of the most exploited and most downtrodden workers, particularly women and minorities.

Though labour organization was essential to Flynn, she remained focused on women's rights. Vapnik highlights a crucial distinction between Flynn's brand of women's rights activism and the work of some of her better known Progressive contemporaries. Progressives sought to use the power of the state to transform society; Flynn saw the state as part of the problem. As a firebrand speaker and organizer for the IWW, Flynn travelled the

country and witnessed the state's power being used to suppress working people and labour organizers. The state was the nexus of capitalist power and an instrument in preventing workers' organization.

Flynn's anti-capitalism did often blind her to the efficacy of cross-class alliances. She praised the "Uprising of the 20,000" and the Women's Trade Union League's organization of the strike; however, she rejected the involvement of middle-class women arguing instead that workers had to organize as a class. She also scorned the puritanical sexual values of some reformers; Flynn advocated birth control and voluntary motherhood as well as women's sexual expression.

Flynn's life is also remarkable because she was often involved in some of the more important moments in labour and women's history – sometimes tangentially and sometimes directly. She was an important organizer for the Lawrence Strike in 1912, and the Patterson silk cloth workers strike. She also worked with or knew some of the more notable *rw*w organizers and leaders including Big Bill Haywood, Joe Ettor, and Carlo Tresca. She was involved in the women's group *Heterodoxy* whose purpose was to debate different approaches towards women's rights and included notables like Mary Heaton Vorse and Crystal Eastman.

The most important contribution of this text for gender and working-class history is that Flynn represents a generation of women who were vehemently devoted to women's rights but rejected feminism as bourgeois. Scholars devoted to the waves metaphor have ignored women's activism after 1920 until the so-called second wave; this has led to a dismissal of women like Flynn who saw class-based organizing as essential to women's emancipation. Flynn never wavered from the belief that women would be liberated under socialism and that capitalism was the primary instrument

of women's oppression. She was part of a generation of women who sought class-based remedies to women's oppression. Flynn described herself as a "mortal enemy of capitalism," and this would define her work until the end of her life. (55) She also rejected "woman" as a universal category noting that racism was a particular handicap to Black workers. This nuance is essential in understanding the generation of women's activists at midcentury who have so often been written out of history.

Flynn's political work remains centre stage throughout the text; however, Vapnek does offer insight into her personal life. Though briefly married at a young age and left with a young son, marriage and family would not define Flynn. Leaving her son to be raised primarily by her sister and mother, Flynn's family obligations never got in the way of her speaking and writing career. Her romantic life was an expression of her political commitments. After her failed marriage she became involved with the famed anarchist Carlo Tresca. Tresca was unfaithful, having an affair with Flynn's sister and other women. The heartbreak coupled with the stresses of the first red scare left Flynn physically ill; she went into a retirement of sorts living with a woman for ten years. Whether they were romantic is unclear. However when Flynn finally left she would never marry again. Instead she had short term affairs that would not derail her political commitments.

After her ten-year hiatus Flynn returned to political work during the Popular Front and joined the Communist Party (CP), much to the chagrin of some of her friends. Flynn's commitment to the CP remained remarkably unfazed while the Party came under attack during the Cold War and she herself spent more than two years in prison because of her involvement and leadership in the CP. Despite the defeats of the *rw*w in the first red scare and then the CP during the Cold

War, Flynn's anti-capitalism and communism remained strong.

Though the text is comprehensive, Vapnek does fail to adequately flesh out some of the contradictions within Flynn's beliefs and personal actions that could be dealt with in an exhaustive treatment of her political career. For example, Flynn rejected cross-class alliances, yet enjoyed cross-class friendships and political partnerships and often employed these alliances in strikes. She rejected the rigid organizational structures that led to the diminishment of the IWW and the CP, but her devotion remained unflagging. Despite repeated revelations about the abuses within the Soviet Union, Flynn blamed Stalin and not the Soviet system. The strength of this text, however, is its ability to highlight an incredible life and the history Flynn was a participant in and that is what makes it appropriate for undergraduates.

DENISE LYNN

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Harvey Schwartz, *Building the Golden Gate Bridge* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 2015)

AS WE SAIL OVER the Golden Gate Bridge between San Francisco and Marin County, too many of us never wonder who built that famous structure.

"See, all the big shots were the ones that were doing all the hand-shaking. In fact, they should of come out and hand-shaked us. We were the ones doing the work." (3) That is veteran ironworker and Golden Gate Bridge builder Al Zampa's comment when he was interviewed in 1986. How rarely we hear from those doing the labour! It is only in the last few years that the plain fact that slaves built the White House – as well as the plantations where the first presidents lived – has become widely known. The iconic

Golden Gate Bridge has a song about it – yet until now no one has published full life oral history interviews with the men who actually built it in the middle of the Great Depression.

We are fortunate that Lynn Bonfield, who founded the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University, hired Harvey Schwartz to interview some of these workers when the bridge celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1987. Schwartz, one of the premier practitioners of oral history in Northern California, learned from Sherna Gluck's pioneering work *Rosie the Riveter: Women, The War, and Social Change*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), based on interviews with World War II workers. Gluck cautioned that each individual's speaking style and syntax should be preserved. Schwartz has taken her instructions to heart here with admirable success.

The Golden Gate Bridge workers were the first to wear hard hats at all times. Only one man died building the bridge between the start of construction in 1933 and early 1937. Yet ten workers died on 17 February 1937, when a scaffold broke their safety net, which at the time was another safety innovation. Twelve men plunged 200 feet from the bridge's partly completed roadway into the sea that day, just three months before the bridge was finished. A gripping interview with one of the two survivors is included in this book. By way of contrast, the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, built at the same time without a safety net, cost the lives of twenty-four men.

Along the way, Schwartz provides an instructive history of the bridge itself and its origins in the early 20th century. For 27 years, it was the longest single-span suspension bridge in the world. Although military leaders wanted the bridge painted with stripes for visibility (the Navy wanted black and yellow while the Army

Air Corps wanted orange and white), the color settled on, international orange, helped make the bridge an artistic world heritage marvel.

The workers Schwartz interviewed included a paint scraper, an elevator builder, several iron workers, an electrician, and a truck driver. Schwartz adds profoundly to their narratives by including interviews with two of the nurses who cared for injured workers, one ironworker's wife, and an African American woman ironworker who worked on the bridge twenty years ago. From the nurses, we get a fascinating glimpse of the men: "They looked so manly and yet were just like little kids. They loved to have attention. I think that poor men didn't get much attention, you see. But I found them to be just softies" (131) said Sister Mary Zita Feliciano, who added "In the 1930's you never thought of your nursing duties as something that would be written up in history. ... In those days the sisters weren't permitted to go out like we do now, so I didn't see the bridge for a while." (133) Patricia Dewese recalled that "Their families would bring along bread, a long thing of salami, and a bottle of red wine. ... And they never stopped bringing food to us. That was the highlight in our life." (135) She also described the bridge opening day: "My roommate and I went out in our white shoes. ... We walked right down the bridge before the cars came across." (135)

Each of the interviews begins with a brief biography. For most of these men, their employment during the Great Depression was a godsend, as in this quote from ironworker Fred Devita, "I had a hard hat on with a light, a pair of overalls, and regular shoes. I don't think they had shoes with hard toes then. I couldn't afford 'em at that time anyway." (18) His fellow ironworker Glenn McIntrye recalled: "The forge was full of hot rivets. They'd had 'em stacked around the rim of the coals, preheated. They was heated to a

cherry red. You'd take one off just like you was serving hamburgers." (50)

One of the advantages of the interviews 50 years afterward is the benefit of introspection. Labourers' foreman Slim Lambert told Schwartz, "I'm sure any man that ever had anything to do with that bridge thought of it as his bridge. I've heard that said so many times when I worked there. Of course, none of us ever dreamed we'd be around when they celebrated the fiftieth anniversary. That wouldn't even have occurred to us." (116)

For a complete ethnographic portrait of the building of the bridge, it would have been wonderful to hear more from the wives or from the children of the workers. Schwartz does include the one wife's comments, but due to the specific scope of the 1980's oral history project, more comprehensive interviews proved impossible. Although the book is generously illustrated and many of the men are pictured, I would have liked seeing all of them as they were in 1937 and when they were interviewed in 1987. Photographs of the working class are generally not well preserved, nor was photography accessible to everyone through the use of phones as it is today.

There are few other histories of bridges in the US which include lengthy and in-depth interviews with workers. How we could use another New Deal project that would employ people such as Schwartz to train the next generation to record the stories of those creating structures in the 21st century! Schwartz has given us a great gift with a careful transcription of these interviews. As the curator of the Oral History Collection at the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Library in San Francisco, he was the perfect author for this work. This book reminds us of all the histories still unwritten: of the buildings, streets, parks, and roads for which we have no interviews of their creators. We need many

more Harvey Schwartzes to tell the true story of that which surrounds us.

LAUREN COODLEY
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Elizabeth Fones-Wolf and Ken Fones-Wolf, *Struggle for the Soul of the Postwar South: White Evangelical Protestants and Operation Dixie* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2015)

ELIZABETH AND KEN FONES-WOLF have written an engaging book that explores the post-World War II labour movement in the US south through the lens of religious culture. *Struggle for the Soul of the Postwar South: White Evangelical Protestants and Operation Dixie* examines the competing and changing Protestant creeds in the South and how the white working class navigated them. With the sacred as its backdrop, the book offers a new evaluation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations' (CIO) Southern Organizing Campaign.

The authors provide a nuanced description of the religious landscape of the US south from the 1930s through the early 1950s, overturning the myth of a monolithic, ahistorical "southern religion." The first two chapters examine the religious, political, and social turmoil during the Great Depression and World War II years, which set the stage for the CIO's organizing campaign in the 1940s. The authors argue that a "religious depression" in the 1930s "reshuffled the spiritual makeup of the South." (37) Charismatic religious activity and restorationist denominations developed and began to transform the religious landscape, appealing especially to working-class southerners, and mainline denominations adopted fundamentalism. Alongside these premillennial religious cultures, post-millennial traditions persisted, especially as southern Methodists moved toward

unification with the northern branch of the church and as young radical prophets organized throughout the South. Chapter 3 examines the faith of southern workers. By culling the oral history interviews of dozens of workers, the authors glean how they navigated and enacted spiritual belief. These rich sources underscore the importance of popular religiosity in the lives of working people. As the authors explain, popular religiosity "provided the framework within which working people assessed unions, employers, politics, and conflict." (6)

Chapters 4 and 5 examine how, as evangelical Christianity surged in the South in the 1940s, two wings of evangelical Protestants – promoters of Christian free enterprise and pro-labour Christians – fought for the devotion of the white working class. Perhaps the most important organization for pro-business Christians was the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), which spread a conservative evangelical, free enterprise message in newspapers, over the radio, and through lobbying efforts. While the NAE formed in New England, its messages—including the idea that unions were anti-Christian and communistic—appealed to southern boosters who reaped the benefits when manufacturers relocated in the nonunion South. Yet, pro-business Christianity was not "an uncomplicated tool manipulated by business." (96) For many conservative evangelicals, liberalism and modernism seemed to threaten religious freedom. If the government could regulate business, the argument went, it could also control religion, leading to a totalitarian, Godless state. For others, models of unionism did not resonate with and sometimes even contradicted religious beliefs that forbid membership in political and social groups. The majority of southern evangelicals agreed that liberalism and modernism – represented by

a bureaucratic government and unions – threatened religious liberty or were signs of approaching end times. Pro-labour Christians were a diverse group made up of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Highlander Folk School, and the industrial department of the YWCA. Most important for the CIO, their own Christian ambassadors sought to build relationships with southern ministers, who could share pro-labour messages from the pulpit. Although the CIO understood the importance of religion in the Southern Organizing Campaign, it faltered in two fundamental ways: first, responding to anticommunism, the CIO distanced radical prophets on the left, even though they had the most knowledge about southern religious traditions; second, the CIO did not build support among African American ministers (or workers), whose theology was more amenable to collective action. Nonetheless, as the authors show, anti-unionism among individual ministers, churches, and workers was not a foregone conclusion, and the CIO's organizers saw building support among southern ministers as vital to success.

The final two chapters trace the "struggle for the soul of the postwar South" by examining the CIO's sacred message during Operation Dixie and evaluating the relative successes and limitations of that message. The Community Relations Department led the charge in securing support from southern clergy. While they had significant successes, building support among individual ministers who were committed to social justice, they faced an uphill battle over all. Employers and conservative religious groups had many resources at their disposal, such as radio programming hosted by popular religious (and virulently anti-union) personalities who countered pro-labour messages whenever the CIO arrived in a

community. Moreover, many of the CIO organizers were tone deaf to the religious values of southern ministers and workers. For example, one organizer touted his membership in the Federal Council of Churches, an ecumenical group, with little understanding that the affiliation undermined his success in southern communities, where ecumenicism often went against religious traditions. The authors also emphasize the complex circumstances in which southern ministers weighed the value of unions: Would unions promote or hurt congregational harmony? Did the labour movement promote materialism, consumerism, and bureaucratization, which contradicted individual agency and undermined belief in the Spirit? Was personal salvation or collective action more important for church members? Ministers also lived and worked in communities where employers held the purse strings and controlled law enforcement, making a pro-union message from the pulpit a risky one indeed. Lastly, the ease at which proponents could draw connections between the CIO and communism or socialism, as well as the CIO's rejection of Jim Crow segregation undermined the CIO's efforts among white working people. The authors argue that "Communism, racial advancement, the CIO, and modernist religion" could be "easily linked in the minds of many evangelicals," proving a major hurdle to success. (179)

This book takes up two debates in southern labour history. First, the authors offer a new perspective on the question of southern exceptionalism. They argue convincingly that, at least during the labour movement of the 1940s, "evangelical Protestantism was a critical factor" that intersected with race and class and "distinguished the southern white working class from the northern industrial workers who built the CIO." (209) That does not mean, however, that the white,

southern working class was predisposed to anti-unionism, but that religion should be fully considered in any evaluation of Operation Dixie. Second, the authors argue that evangelical Protestantism is important for understanding the CIO's anticommunist stance. Historians have argued that anticommunism cut off civil rights unionism, ultimately weakening the organizing campaign before it even began. The authors offer a different angle, showing how a difficult campaign would have become impossible among the white working class without a professed anti-communism. Moreover, anticommunism cannot be separated from another key flaw in Operation Dixie: the CIO's failure to fully grasp and develop a movement that spoke to the religious values of the white, southern working class. A major intervention in southern and labour history, this book promises to influence how historians understand and analyze the intersections of religion and class in social justice movements and in the lives of working people.

JESSICA WILKERSON
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***Trumbo*, Directed by Jay Roach, Written by John McNamara, ShivHans Pictures, Everyman Pictures, Groundswell Productions, 2015**

IT IS A RARE OCCASION when the film industry produces a historically-based movie in which the protagonist is a Communist. Of course Warren Beatty set the mark in 1981 with *Reds*, which received a dozen Oscar nominations, three of which won. Denzel Washington's 2007 *The Great Debaters* did not do as well. Often, films that explore left history obscure the role of Communists. A recent example is *Pride* (2014), in which the screenwriter failed to mention that the hero of the story was in fact the Secretary

General of the Young Communist League of Great Britain. Jay Roach's *Trumbo* is a welcome addition to this genre. Although highly fictionalized, it tells the story of a Communist novelist and screenwriter who survived McCarthyism, bloodied, and perhaps unbowed, and reclaimed his place in Hollywood.

The film begins with an exposition explaining that in response to the Great Depression at home, and the rise of fascism abroad, many Americans joined the Communist Party. Dalton Trumbo joined in 1943. With the end of the war, however, and with the Soviet Union no longer an ally, the Cold War "cast a new light on Communists." The camera first takes us to a room in Trumbo's farmhouse north of Los Angeles in 1947, where it pans over a collection of his achievements up to that time, including a poster for his 1940 Oscar-nominated *Kitty Hawk*, and a copy of his National Book Award-winning *Johnny Got His Gun*.

As Red Scare hysteria rises, we are introduced to Hedda Hopper (Helen Mirren). She is a hard-nosed, high society Hollywood columnist whose scurrilous and virulent anticommunism permeates the press and film industry. She is joined in her mission by the anticommunist Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals and its President John Wayne (David James Elliot). If there are evil villains in this film, they are Hopper and Wayne. Unfortunately, they lean more towards caricature, giving the impression that at the heart of anticommunism were right-wing eccentrics, rather than much larger political forces.

The conflict begins when Trumbo and nine of his colleagues are subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, often known as HUAC. Trumbo leads the Hollywood Ten in a spirited, but unsuccessful, defense of their First Amendment rights, resulting

in federal prison terms for all of them. Upon release, Trumbo faces the blacklist. Unable to work, at least using his real name, he continues to write under front names and pseudonyms. In 1954, his screenplay *Roman Holiday*, fronted by Ian McLellan Hunter (Alan Tudyk) won an Oscar. In 1957, writing for producer Frank King (John Goodman) under the pseudonym Robert Rich, Trumbo's work won another Oscar, this time for *The Brave One*. King produces low budget films that proudly pander to the illiterate. *The Brave One* is an anomaly. When Roy Brewer (Dan Bakkedah), the anticommunist President of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators visits King, demanding he fire Trumbo, the producer, baseball bat swinging, shows Brewer the door. Later, confronted by reporters wanting to know if he is in fact the author of *The Brave One*, Cranston gives his most dramatic performance. "That small, worthless, golden statue," declares Trumbo, "is covered with the blood of my friends." Trumbo is finally outed almost simultaneously by Otto Preminger (Christian Berkel) and Kirk Douglas (Dean O'Gorman) while working on their films *Exodus* and *Spartacus* respectively. With the release of *Spartacus* in 1960, with Trumbo's name in the credits for the first time in over a decade, and with President John F. Kennedy's positive reception of the film, the black list comes to an end.

Trumbo is an important film. It reminds the audience that in postwar America to have certain opinions endangered one's career, or worse. But moviegoers are advised that the film is highly fictionalized and selective in its history. For instance, omitted from the film is President Kennedy crossing an American Legion picket line to see *Spartacus*. Another example is Trumbo providing leadership to the Ten, when in actuality

this role was played by director Herbert Biberman, best known for his 1954 *Salt of the Earth*.

Another area of fictionalization involves Trumbo's daughter, Nikola. Cook has cast Madison Wolf and Elle Fanning as the younger and older Nikola respectively. Both are fair-skinned, blonde-haired, and blue-eyed. But in an autobiographical piece published by the younger Trumbo in 2006 she describes her childhood appearance as "distinctly Native American or Mexican." Apparently Roach has felt the need to whiten this character. Also on the topic of race, the film portrays the older Nikola as a civil rights activist during the period preceding the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Nikola would have been fifteen. This was at a time when few African Americans and far fewer whites were involved in the civil rights movement. Ironically, of the few whites who were, most were associated with the Communist Party.

While there is a wealth of literature on the Hollywood Ten, including autobiographies, memoirs, biographies, and works by journalists (the film itself is based on Bruce Cook's 1977 biography *Trumbo*), surprisingly there are few scholarly books on the subject. Bernard Dick's *Radical Innocence: A Critical Study of the Hollywood Ten* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1989) is an excellent resource. A film critic and English professor, Dick focuses on the screenplays and films created by ten individual writers and directors before HUAC and the press created the Hollywood Ten. Of particular value are the biographical appendices at the back of the book. Recent scholarly histories are somewhat polarized. Communist Party apostate and social conservative Ronald Radosh's *Red Star Over Hollywood*, (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2005) co-authored with his wife Alis, represents

the anticommunist interpretation, while Larry Ceplar and Steven Englund's *The Inquisition in Hollywood* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2003) is more sympathetic to the Ten. Ellen Schrecker's *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) provides an excellent chapter on the Ten.

Largely missing from *Trumbo* are the other nine members of the Ten. While space does not allow for their stories, they are equally important. Spanish Civil War veteran Alvah Bessie, along with Adrian Scott, and Samuel Ornitz, never worked in Hollywood again. Lester Cole wrote under an assumed name, as did Albert Maltz until his last film in 1970. John Howard Lawson, the "Hollywood Commissar," wrote the screenplay for *Cry the Beloved Country* (1951), but was originally omitted from the credits. Ironically, Edward Dmytryk, the only one of the Ten who later testified on "un-American activities" was a Canadian. He went on to direct four films for Stanley Kramer, including *The Caine Mutiny* (1954). Ring Lardner Jr. reclaimed his reputation in 1971 when he won the Oscar for best adapted screenplay for the film *MASH*.

Also missing from the film is the Communist Party itself. Although central to the conflict, it is barely mentioned. In real life Trumbo was an enthusiastic Party member. Although he left the Party in 1948, he maintained to his death that his reasons for leaving were non-ideological. He briefly re-joined in 1955 to protest the conviction of fourteen California Communist Party members under the Smith Act, but again, on this the film is silent. Regarding Trumbo's and the other nine's conviction for contempt of Congress, again the Party is invisible. The Ten's disastrous strategy of attempting to put HUAC on trial through their testimony largely stemmed from the Party's insistence that their membership be kept

secret. Testimony degenerated into undignified shouting matches. According to Schrecker, "instead of appearing as virtuous defenders of the First Amendment, they came across as disruptive ideologues." Worse, in the public eye they appeared dishonest. As each of the Ten was escorted from the witness stand, a HUAC staffer would produce a copy of their membership card and enter it into the record. Public support for the Ten evaporated (Schrecker, 325).

Curiously, while the film makes clear Trumbo's remarkable work ethic, it fails to convey how prodigious his accomplishments were. Between 1949 and 1960 he wrote or collaborated on thirty screenplays, two dozen of which went to film – an impressive record.

The film ends by giving the impression that with the back-to-back box office successes of *Spartacus* and *Exodus*, the blacklist ended and Trumbo was redeemed both in the public eye and by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. *Trumbo* is kind to the Academy, failing to mention that in 1956 it passed a resolution deeming blacklisted writers ineligible for Oscar consideration. The Academy made amends with Trumbo in 1975 by awarding him the Oscar for *The Brave One*, and again in 1993, shortly after his death, by awarding him the Oscar for *Roman Holiday*. The blacklist may have long since ended, but it took the Academy a long time to forgive Trumbo for its humiliation. Despite a Golden Globe nomination in 1969 for *The Fixer*, and three nominations at Cannes in 1971 for *Johnny Got His Gun*, two of which were successful, the Academy never nominated Trumbo for another award. The only Oscar nomination Trumbo ever received under his own name at the awards following a film's release was in 1940 for *Kittyhawk*.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL
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Bonnie J. Dow, *Watching Women's Liberation 1970: Feminism's Pivotal Year on the Network News* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2014)

MEDIA HISTORIAN Bonnie J. Dow chose to examine the year 1970 in her study of the media coverage of American feminism because, she writes, the three major television networks of the day – CBS, NBC and ABC – never gave it as much concentrated attention as a social movement before that year, or since. Dow approaches her case studies from a rhetorical perspective as she carefully examines both the verbal and visual media messages as well as the feminists' responding strategies during key events. Her overall findings, she writes, are more contradictory and complex than previous studies on feminism in the media would indicate.

The television networks, Dow notes, were already attuned to the social movements of the era and generally onside with equality or liberal feminism, especially regarding employment and education. They had much more difficulty grasping radical feminism, with its emphasis on revolutionary theory and process, not to speak of the activists' unruly behavior at a time when women were still expected to be well-behaved and moderate in their demands.

The first chapter analyses previous print media coverage of the second wave, identifying some of the rhetorical tropes that surfaced in the 1970 TV coverage and their impact on the feminists' responses to journalists. Specifically Dow dissects the major newspapers' coverage of the feminist protest at the Miss America Pageant in 1968 as a precedent to the kind of TV coverage that would follow the movement later, including the few available archived TV news clips of the pageant. She notes how even well-meaning journalists compared this all-white event to the staging of the Miss Black America

Pageant in the same neighbourhood on the same day, pitting feminism versus moderate civil rights activism, women against men, and feminists against traditionalists. She writes that the feminist protestors were framed as self-indulgent, maladjusted, unattractive women intent on burning their bras (a myth – they threw them in a trash can) rather than as seasoned political actors who had justifiable grievances against systemic sexism. The follow chapters further explore these misconceptions and stereotypes, most of them about events that occurred in 1970.

These essays cover the activists' attempts to disrupt the Senate's hearings on the birth control pill – the women objected that the pill was unsafe – as well as nine mostly (but not all) negative reports on the nascent feminist movement on the CBS and NBC networks. The Media Women's large sit-in at the *Ladies' Home Journal* over both the lack of equal opportunities there and the magazine's traditionalist content forms the basis of a chapter that is mainly a study of the organizers' tactics and the print coverage of the event and its aftermath. There was actually little TV exposure as only Marlene Sanders of ABC was there to provide a news report in which she emphasized the liberal, equal opportunity angle to the protest. The next study examines a well-meaning but limited Sanders documentary that, Dow argues, ignored women of colour, working-class women and lesbians, as well as undercut the more radical insights of the women's liberation movement in favour of a predominantly liberal rationale for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). She next analyses the pivotal Women's Strike for Equality that was initially organized for all women by the liberal National Organization for Women (NOW). NOW, led by Betty Friedan, wanted to undercut the media's recent focus on sexual politics rather than equality rights, daycare,

and abortion, but the three TV networks generally cast the strike as a radical event anyway. These chapters on the Sanders documentary and the Strike for Equality were partly published elsewhere a number of years ago and updated here. Her final chapter examines the consequences of the contradictory 1970 TV coverage on the fortunes of the women's movement, which attracted thousands of new members but also prompted the anti-feminist backlash from traditionalist women's groups opposed to the ERA. As part of this chapter, Dow then discusses the post-1970 rise of Gloria Steinem, the new leader of NOW, through an HBO retrospective documentary, produced in 2011, that embraced many of the same tropes about equality feminism that were apparent in the early TV network coverage.

In her analyses, Dow tries to put the record straight regarding racial relations among feminists of that era. She argues that while second wave feminism is generally regarded as a white middle-class woman's movement, there were prominent women of colour who participated in both the liberal and radical branches of it. The white leaders, many of them former activists in the civil rights struggle, did try to include their issues but, in a bid for public understanding, they and the media often made the mistake of equating sexism with racism. That strategy diminished Black women's unique experiences of both forms of prejudice and also added to journalists' tendency to ignore them in their overall coverage of women's issues.

She also effectively demonstrates how women's movement rhetoric and activism generated "gender anxiety" in the media, mainly because these women were framed as challenging their largest news audiences, white men. This was especially true when male broadcasters such as David Culhane of CBS were in charge of the narrative. Female journalists, including Marlene Sanders of ABC and one

woman of colour, Norma Quarles of NBC, did a better job overall, but were also limited in their interpretations of feminism. The TV journalists pretty much ignored lesbians, which Dow attributes partly to the initial reluctance of both liberal and radical feminists to draw attention to their presence because they wanted the movement to be taken seriously, not dismissed as Kate Millett was when she was outed as bisexual in *Time* magazine that year.

Dow is particularly skilled at drawing together theory, historical context, primary media content, and examples of other scholarly work on the news media and the women's movement in accessible ways, and that is the great strength of this collection of essays. Nevertheless, this book is not just about TV, or the year 1970, for that matter, which muddles the focus somewhat, even though she tries to tie the various elements together. The chapter on the *Ladies' Home Journal* sit-in deals mostly with print media, while the section in the final chapter on print and TV coverage of Gloria Steinem after 1970 does not really fit the book's purported timeline. It would have been better to have left the first half of that chapter as an effective, uniting conclusion to the various case studies. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, they provide an interesting introduction for students who know little about the early media coverage of the American women's movement, giving them an opportunity to discuss current cultural myths about feminism in historical context.

BARBARA M. FREEMAN
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Thomas Geoghegan, *Only One Thing Can Save Us: Why America Needs a New Kind of Labor Movement* (New York: The New Press 2014)

THESE ARE BLEAK TIMES for the middle and working classes in the United States. The story is a familiar one. Wages remain stagnant, having been far outpaced by productivity gains. Work is increasingly precarious. Upward mobility appears to have stalled for many. And unions continue to shrink. Union density in the United States, currently hovering around 11 per cent of the workforce, is just over a third of that in neighbouring Canada. Scholars debate just how this new economic landscape shapes our political and civic life, but the early results do not look promising. Not all of these features are unique to the US, of course. But it is here that inequality and middle class stagnation have been especially pronounced and attempts to address these problems have mostly fallen flat.

What is to be done? The answer offered by Thomas Geoghegan in his recent book, *Only One Thing Can Save Us*, is to revive the labour movement. It is only labour that can give us a raise, get us out of debt, make education pay, and bring back democratic participation in everyday life. But it isn't today's labour movement that is going to do this. Indeed, the kind of movement this book prescribes sounds quite different than any of the current union revitalization projects. Exactly what it will look like and how contemporary unions can transform themselves to get there is not always clear, but it will require significant legal reform to take shape. And here Geoghegan is never short of ideas.

The rationale for a new kind of labour movement to restore purchasing power, meaningful work, and political participation is grounded in an eclectic group of thinkers ranging from Keynes to

John Dewey and Martin Luther King Jr., headlined by witty chapters like "What Keynes Would Do" and "What Would Dewey Do?" A main thrust of the book, however, comes with the spate of legal reforms needed for this new kind of labour movement to come about. There are small and seemingly easy moves like changing governmental procurement policies to favour pro-worker firms, something that can be done (and taken away) with an executive order. Then there are seismic changes like reforming corporate law to introduce co-determination along the lines of German work councils and altering civil rights law to include union activity as a protected category from discrimination like race and gender. All of these require changing the way the Democratic Party thinks and talks about labour. Getting a Democratic majority in Congress seems hard enough in today's climate, but getting them to pass reforms that make it easier for workers to organize and which given workers more power in corporate decision-making seems nearly impossible. Indeed, when confronted with the inequality problem, Democrats only consistent answer is more education. Geoghegan's critique of the Democrats heavy reliance on education, and college in particular, as the solution to all economic ills when the vast majority of workers are high school graduates underscores the muted state of the labour movement. "Why beat up on your base for not having BAs? ...That means, in effect, for 68 percent of your constituents, you're saying there's no hope, give up: pound sand, it's over." (112) Even when most do not have college degrees, and when there is no strong empirical backing for more college as the solution to inequality, labour has not been able to significantly alter Democratic Party positions or even their language.

So, what would it take to get Democrats to push for labour reform? Geoghegan's

answer is sustained disruption to force a crisis within the Democratic Party much the way the civil rights movement did some 50 years ago. Enough disruption to split liberal and neo-liberal Democrats. The current Fight For 15 movement offers some guidance. In about three years, a quixotic campaign by low wage fast-food workers has taken off and achieved the unthinkable by raising awareness about food workers, waging quick regional and nationwide walkouts, and pushing municipal and now state politicians to act where fast-food franchises have not. New York state recently approved a fifteen dollar an hour minimum wage for fast-food workers and is considering extending this to all sectors. But this is not enough, according to Geoghegan. After all, politicians can jump on the minimum wage bandwagon and still not be pro-labour. It is not exactly threatening. Instead, lots and lots of disruptive actions, including strikes, which are aimed, at least in part, at Democratic Party elites, are what is needed to force such a crisis. This, of course, is a tall order. And, as Geoghegan admits, fostering such a crisis may not have the intended effect. But the larger point is clear enough. More of the same is not going to work. Even the most exciting innovations in labour organizing today are not producing big gains. With small potential bargaining units and limited dues coming in, unions will eventually go broke funding these efforts. More than two decades' worth of progressive experimentation coming from the top of the American labour movement, both from its lead federation, the AFL-CIO, and from a few of the more aggressive organizing unions like the Service Employees International Union, has not slowed the tide of union decline. The funds for such experimentation continue to dwindle as several once heavily unionized states have recently passed Right-to-Work laws,

forbidding unions from requiring dues or a similar services fee from workers they represent, and the Supreme Court is now considering a case which could make this the law of the land in all public sector employment.

In terms of actual reforms, changes in corporate law that would bring in co-determination are a tough sell in the near future. Though Geoghegan does identify some interesting piecemeal strategies, such as starting with state charters for nonprofit corporations like hospitals, which are unlikely to move, and requiring them to include a certain amount of workers on their boards. If union rights were added as a protected category to existing civil rights law, also a tough sell, individual workers would be able to sue their employer without the assistance of the National Labor Relations Board or even union-funded attorneys. The potential for compensatory and punitive damages under civil rights law would likely diminish a potent union avoidance strategy by employers. It could also change the look of the labour movement by allowing anyone, whether formally in a union or not, to initiate the process. Finally, Geoghegan identifies underutilized organizing opportunities under current labour law, such as the ability to organize and bargain for workers without the burden of exclusive representation. For legal scholars and strategists, this section towards the end of Chapter 11 is worth a closer look.

In the end, Geoghegan offers a punchy, sustained critique of the US political economy and a compelling case for something new. While many of his policy prescriptions seem wishful, they are all innovative and interesting. As with his previous works, the free-wheeling style of this book is appealing and makes for a good read, while there is enough in-the-weeds discussion of labour law and

strategy to give scholars something to chew on and debate going forward. It's worth your time.

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Judith Rainhorn, dir., *Santé et travail à la mine, XIX^e-XXI^e siècle*, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, France : Presses de Septentrion, 2014.

HISTORIENNE DE l'Université de Valenciennes et du Hainaut-Cambrésis, Judith Rainhorn nous offre un second ouvrage sur ce thème peu défriché de l'histoire du travail, soit celui de la santé et des maladies industrielles dans le monde minier. Après avoir dirigé, en 2013, avec Lars Bluma du musée allemand de la mine de Bochum, un numéro spécial de l'*European Review of History- Revue européenne d'histoire* intitulé *History of the Workplace : Environment and Health at Stake* qui portait essentiellement sur l'Allemagne et la France, elle récidive avec un autre ouvrage collectif, en français celui-là.

Son sujet doctoral, soutenu avec succès à l'université de Tours en 2001, traitait d'un sujet qui ne laissait en rien présager ce champ de l'histoire minière qu'elle défriche depuis 2007, puisqu'elle y comparait les migrants italiens installés à New York et à Paris (voir sa thèse publiée sous le titre *Paris, New York : des migrants italiens, années 1880-années 1930*). S'il y a eu rupture dans ses champs de recherche, elle a toutefois conservé ce goût d'examiner le même objet dans différents lieux puisque cet ouvrage des Presses de Septentrion aligne onze articles de fond abordant sous divers aspects cette question sanitaire dans plus de treize pays, soit la France, l'Allemagne, la Belgique, l'Espagne, l'Écosse, la Grande-Bretagne, le Chili, les États-Unis, la Chine, le Japon, le Gabon, l'Afrique du Sud et Madagascar.

Comme l'ensemble se présente dans la langue de Molière, il a fallu traduire — et cela n'est pas sans mérite— la moitié des articles nous donnant ainsi accès à certaines recherches difficilement accessibles autrement. De plus, les articles sont tous émaillés de belles notes de bas de page qui sont autant d'invitation à d'autres lectures.

Deux écrits introductifs permettent au lecteur de trouver un fil d'Ariane à ces recherches nécessairement hétérogènes. Tout d'abord la préface de Paul-André Rosenthal rappelle avec justesse que «l'histoire de la santé des mineurs est une histoire proprement et authentiquement mondiale» (11). L'importance d'étudier la maladie et l'accident en tant que condition de tous les mineurs est ainsi soulignée avec force, malgré les longs silences des travailleurs eux-mêmes et des syndicats. Dans son texte de présentation, Rainhorn —qui signe également un article de fond sur les mines de cuivre de l'Arizona—, nous invite à examiner «Les maux de la mine» qui doivent être perçus comme un défi contemporain. En effet, la mine peut paraître appartenir largement au passé dans certaines régions du monde, elle n'en demeure pas moins bien actuelle dans les pays émergents qui ont soif de charbon et de minerai. Par ailleurs, n'oublions pas qu'en Europe, sans doute plus qu'ici, le mineur de fond demeure «la figure emblématique du héros prolétarien» (25). On trouvera également, dans son bref tour d'horizon historiographique de l'histoire minière française, quelques classiques dont la lecture permettra d'enrichir et d'harmoniser le vocabulaire minier des historiens du Canada français.

De l'aveu même de Rainhorn, l'objectif de fournir des perspectives comparatives les plus variées possible est resté encore perfectible puisqu'elle n'est pas parvenue à susciter des collaborations d'historiens œuvrant dans trois autres

zones minières, soit les Appalaches américaines et canadiennes, la Russie et l'Afrique centrale (21). Pour peu qu'on accepte que les Appalaches et l'Arizona puissent illustrer l'histoire minière nord-américaine, cette liste serait peut-être plus complète si on incluait l'Australie.

Les onze textes offerts, qu'il est impossible d'aborder dans le cadre d'un bref compte rendu, se répartissent autour de trois axes présentés successivement, soit 1) les réseaux et la mobilisation socio-politiques autour de la santé à la mine, 2) l'invisibilité du champ sanitaire dans l'industrie minière et 3) l'observation des corps des mineurs au travail. Certes, on pouvait s'attendre à ce que, dans le premier axe, les préoccupations économiques soient présentes dans l'inquiétude sanitaire du patronat, des syndicats et des pouvoirs publics, mais cette inquiétude se décline de mille façons selon les particularités socio-politiques et nationales, et les traditions médicales, comme le montrent d'ailleurs le cas belge d'Éric Geerkens et le cas chilien d'Angela Vergara.

Cela dit, nous avons davantage pris plaisir à parcourir les contributions des deux autres segments. Ainsi, dans celui de l'oblitération des risques sanitaires, l'article d'Alfredo Menéndez-Navaro («Du déni à la flatterie : la reconnaissance de la pneumoconiose du mineur de charbon comme maladie professionnelles en Espagne (1930-1944)» et celui d'Irène Huang («La Chine et ses mineurs de fond : chronique d'un désastre sanitaire») nous ont particulièrement marqué.

En prenant la peine de situer l'évolution de la pensée médicale occidentale sur la silice (silicose) et sur la poussière de charbon (pneumoconiose) —la première étant considérée, à l'époque de la Première Guerre mondiale, comme un facteur majeur des maladies pulmonaires tandis que l'autre semblait jouer un rôle négligeable—, Menéndez-Navaro permet

de mieux comprendre les préoccupations des entreprises aurifères canadiennes de cette époque alors que s'amorce le développement minier du Nord ontarien. Ce retard n'est pas seulement attribuable à la science médicale qui prend du temps à reconnaître l'impact dévastateur de l'inhalation des poussières de charbon, il résulte aussi d'une construction sociale, comme l'indique Rainhorn dans ses propos introductifs à cette deuxième partie (130).

Dans son étude du cas chinois, Huang fait prendre conscience de la criante actualité des mines de charbon, poumon énergétique d'une Chine industrielle déjà presque dominante. «Le secteur minier chinois, nous dit-elle, est ... le secteur le plus mortifère au monde. À l'échelle mondiale, la Chine produit 35 % du charbon, mais représente 80 % des accidents survenus.»(210) En outre, 90% des cas de maladies industrielles en Chine sont dus à la pneumoconiose. On estime à 20 000 le nombre de mineurs qui meurent chaque année d'un accident de travail (212). Des chiffres qui font frémir!

Un dernier texte, issu de la troisième partie, a également avivé notre intérêt, soit celui d'Angela Turner; il s'intitule «Corps meurtri. Genre et invalidité dans les mines de charbon d'Écosse au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle». Outre le fait que ce soit le seul article qui fasse référence à des recherches canadiennes, soit celles de Nancy Forestell, il pose la question des rapports homme-femme dans l'univers minier. Trop longtemps les historiens ont eu tendance à exclure les femmes de l'histoire minière sauf au cours de la période où elles peinaient au fond. Pourtant tous les mineurs du monde ont des femmes ou des mères qui, assumant les tâches domestiques, rendent possible et complètent leur travail. Avec raison, elle mentionne que le mineur accidenté ou malade, qui est reclus à la maison, se trouve en fait émasculé puisque son

rôle de gagne-pain s'est brutalement interrompu. Le fait que plus de la moitié des textes de ce livre soit signée par des femmes annonce sûrement des changements durables à cette inclusion des femmes dans l'histoire minière.

Il convient de souligner, en terminant, que cet inspirant ouvrage comporte le même travers que celui observé dans la plupart des ouvrages miniers : il se concentre exclusivement sur les mineurs de fond, comme si les travailleurs de jour des mêmes sociétés minières examinées n'avaient jamais existé et n'avaient jamais souffert de maladies industrielles. Pourtant, selon le type de minerai extrait et la taille des entreprises, ils représentent entre 20 % et 30 % de la main-d'œuvre. Cela dit, l'ouvrage constitue une formidable invitation à découvrir des auteurs méconnus du public nord-américain. Et force nous est de reconnaître, à la lumière de leur contribution, la grande modernité de la question minière.

GUY GAUDREAU

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Moon-Ho Jung, ed., *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements across the Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 2014)

THE TIDE OF SCHOLARSHIP on the Pacific Ocean has been rising of late. Matt Matsuda's impressive survey in *Pacific Worlds*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Bruce Cumings' Westward reorientation of US history in *Dominion from Sea to Sea*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), Jodi Kim's Pacific-oriented decentering of the cold war construct in *Ends of Empire*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), Rudy Guevarra's transpacifically contextualized study of race and community formation in *Becoming Mexipino*, (New Brunswick:

Rutgers University Press, 2012), Seema Sohi's rich tracings of anticolonial radicalism from Asia to North America and back again in *Echoes of Mutiny*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), and John Price's paradigm-shifting study of Canadian foreign relations in *Oriental Canada*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), to take just a few titles from a growing list, collectively remind us of what we might gain by, from an American standpoint, facing west. Moon-Ho Jung's new edited volume, *The Rising Tide of Color*, therefore arrives at a good time and in good company, but it also makes several unique contributions of its own.

Beyond setting one Lothrop Stoddard aturn in his grave, *Rising Tide's* full title announces these contributions well. The chapters in this collection do have something new to teach us about race, state violence, and radical movements in a US-centred, Pacific analysis. But in addition to demonstrating why these subjects are important, the authors also reveal their interconnection, how each of these three themes has been shaped by the other two. Herein lies the book's overarching argument: that the elements introduced in the title to this collection are important, and that their importance can be best grasped when considered together.

Rising Tide really has two introductions, both of which are insightful and inspiring. The first, by editor Moon-Ho Jung, and the second, by George Lipsitz, nicely complement each other, in the first instance by offering an outline of US-Pacific imperial history, and in the second by providing an argument for the necessity and the potential pitfalls of studying the relationships between race, state violence, and radical movements. The remaining chapters, which hold to an evenness of high quality, take up more specific issues within the collection's broad themes. It is tempting to

try to examine the topic and thesis of every chapter here, because it's not easy to leave aside *Rising Tide's* astute work on conflicting constructions of manhood between South Asian revolutionaries and syndicalist radicals in the Pacific Northwest, on how multiracial proletarian audiences in Hawai'i used the cinema to stage worker grievances and aspirations despite the projected ideologies of the amusements on offer, on the complex relationship between anarchist immigrant whiteness and US citizenship, on the entanglement of race and sexuality in the policing of postwar Los Angeles, on the presence of rural Southern radicalism in prison protests in 1970s California, or on transpacific anti-imperialist organizing within labour and the US military during and after the US war against Vietnam. But let me resist that temptation in order to give a little more space to two representative contributions.

Christina Heatherton's article focuses on Depression-era working-class struggles for relief before and during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in California. In the process of learning about the employed and the unemployed in factory and field who sought to improve their circumstances, we can take lessons, it turns out, in many things. First, Heatherton convincingly demonstrates that relief was multivalent. It functioned as a tool that owners and the state might provide or suspend in order to maintain control. Meanwhile, relief was theorized among Unemployed Councils and agricultural workers not as a moderate stop-gap measure that might merely ameliorate racial capitalism's direst propensities, but as a prerequisite for revolution that provided the rudiments of enabling sustenance for antisystemic movement. From here, varied thematic threads emerge: violent repression at the hands of the Border Patrol, the Los Angeles Police Department's Red Squad, and unchecked vigilantes; Mexican

radicalism within California that drew upon subaltern traditions and collective memories of the Mexican Revolution; and campaigns against Jim Crow and Japanese imperialism and for Japanese and Japanese American workers. Finally, the threads tie together: "With their diverse composition, the farm worker strikes and Unemployed Councils in southern California enabled a critical conceptualization of geographies of capitalism. By organizing simultaneously in spaces such as the agricultural fields and among the urban unemployed, they offer a view of how capitalism was developing across regions and across the globe." (181) In the Pacific-facing state of California, there were radical movements, there was state repression, and race was central to both. But as Heatherton and the historical actors she writes about teach us, any analytical separation between these three factors would weaken our grasp of any of them.

Such interconnection is also in conspicuous evidence in Judy Tzu-Chun Wu's chapter on what she calls "radical orientalism," though in this essay the transpacific dimension receives greater emphasis. Wu's account begins on the Pacific Ocean's western side, with the Hanoi-based Viet Nam women's unions (vwus), which sought to cultivate international feminist solidarity against US empire and its South Vietnamese lieutenants. vwu efforts engendered solidarity between Asian and Asian American women, among others, and led some US-based activists to travel to Vietnam. Motivated by subversive ideologies that elevated the "Third World" and maligned the First, these journeys nonetheless reproduced vested binaries in which notions of the East provided the West with definition. Hence, "radical orientalism," in which romanticization, misunderstanding, and genuine sisterhood were all present in a "radical politics of engagement" that led to two 1971 Indochinese

Women's Conferences in Vancouver and Toronto. These gatherings brought together Asian and North American activists in ways that clarified the irreducibly gendered aspect of the war, that exhibited Vietnamese agency, and that highlighted the women's oppression that was present on both sides of the Pacific, though not along an isolated or unintersected axis. As in Heatherton's chapter, all of the book's main themes, and their assured interaction, are present in Wu's fascinating story.

Rising Tide, then, makes important contributions to what we know in both its overarching concerns and in the more detailed portraits it relates. The piece that's most obviously missing from the puzzle that this book assembles is that of Indigenous contestations of settler colonialism in a Pacific context, and some readers might find unsatisfying Moon-Ho Jung's brief acknowledgement of this fact at the end of his introductory essay. Of course Indigenous-settler relations are fundamental, not incidental, to the historical and political dynamics that this book explores, as classics like Richard Drinnon's *Facing West* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980) or the more recent work of, for example, Stuart Banner, Danika Medak-Saltzman, and Alice Te Punga Somerville make clear. But *Rising Tide* is not definitive and does not claim to be. To the contrary, it reads like an entreaty, or as Jung puts it, "a resounding call" to its readers, that we join in the work to be done. *The Rising Tide of Color* thus deserves not only a wide readership, but also a wide writer-ship of those who will RSVP to its generative invitation.

JOHN MUNRO

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Aviva Chomsky, *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal* (Boston, Beacon Press, 2015)

TWO THOUSAND AND FIFTEEN is the year Donald Trump, a leading Republican Presidential candidate, infamously calls Latinos "violent criminals," "drug runners," "rapists," and diseased. He promises to build an impenetrable wall if elected to the US presidency and as late as December 2015, seems to have won the approval of many American voters. Anti-immigrant and specifically anti-Latino sentiment is not only prevalent, but overt and vitriolic racism is a mainstay in US media and politics. In the past decade, a growth of scholarship and immigrant rights activism in the United States has raised attention to systemic racism, harassment, and the specter of deportation that marks the daily lives of millions of undocumented immigrants. In this context, Chomsky's book offers a timely and comprehensive view into the economic and legal instruments that produce undocumented immigration in the United States.

Chomsky offers a broad perspective of the historical linkages between colonization, immigration, labour, and race-thinking in the United States. She presents this book as a counternarrative to deeply entrenched myths that characterize Mexican and Central American immigrants as "illegal" and thus outside the American story. The book effectively argues how "changes in the law deliberately created illegality and did so for the purpose of keeping Mexican workers available, cheap, and deportable." (22) Chomsky poses the question, "Where did illegality come from?" to illustrate the role that race-thinking plays in the social construction of "illegality," specifically with regard to US dependence on migrant labour.

The book is divided into eight chapters which address histories of migration

to the United States, specifically from Mexico and countries in Central America. In her discussion of “True Refugees of the Border Wars,” (3) Chomsky counters the anti-immigrant rhetoric in the United States by showing the efforts made by grassroots organizations on both sides of the US-Mexico border. Non-profit organizations, the Catholic Church, and even the Mexican government offer basic necessities for survival for people who are deported by US authorities. This section reveals the social costs of the deportation, which is often obscured by laws that construct people as illegal. The remainder of the introduction and Chapter 1 address the role that immigrants have played in the creation of the United States as white settler nation. Chomsky argues that inclusion of migrants into the body politic produced a dual labour market linked to racial order. Industrialized labour, which involved immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe, enabled upward mobility, especially during the strengthening of labour organizing and unionized work forces in the early 20th century. In contrast, racialized labour has been organized through racial logics, justifying chattel slavery up until the mid-19th century, then Jim Crow laws across the American south, and the influx of Mexican labourers through the Bracero program, through which Mexicans were permitted to work seasonally but were unable to become permanent residents of the United States. This dual labour market disenfranchises racialized workers and structures their labour through relations of inequality that undermine labour organizing for basic rights.

In Chapters 2 and 3, Chomsky draws our attention to the legal instruments that render hundreds of thousands of migrants from Mexico and Central America as “illegal,” “criminal,” and thus deportable. To illustrate, Chomsky revisits the impact of immigration policies in 1965, which

marked the end of overt racial bias in immigration law and which is attributed to dramatically shifting the demographics of who could immigrate to the United States. Certainly, the removal of racial exclusions and introduction of a new national quota system meant that new waves of immigrants from countries in Asia, Africa, and South America would be permitted to immigrate to the United States in ways that was impossible before. The impact of national quotas for immigrants from Mexico coupled with the end of the Bracero Program, however, meant that thousands of Mexicans lost their legal right to work in the United States. The need for their labour, however, did not abate giving rise to a new era of “undocumented” work.

Chomsky compares the criminalization of immigrants with the role of Jim Crow laws in the America south, which enabled the state to maintain ruling relations over “freed” Blacks following emancipation. Chomsky aptly draws links with Michelle Alexander’s analysis of how criminalization follows Black people into everyday life in similar ways as the spectre of deportation for undocumented immigrants (Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, New York: New Press, 2010).

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 look closely at the everyday living conditions of undocumented immigrants and migrants who have a precarious status. Chomsky illustrates how racial profiling, denial of services, and exploitative work conditions blur lines between legal and undocumented status for people of Mexican and Central American origin. She also describes who benefits from the criminalization of immigrants, such that employing, policing, and detaining undocumented immigrants creates wealth for small communities and large corporations alike. Chomsky provides in-depth attention to major industries

that rely disproportionately on undocumented labour – agriculture, housing, meat-packing, and food service. That multinational corporations actively lobby local governments to increase penalties on undocumented immigrants is well documented. More surprising is the accompanying economic surpluses and job growth for small towns in southern states that have passed the most draconian anti-immigration laws (e.g. Arizona, Georgia). Despite anti-immigrant sentiment from public officials in these regions, the incarceration of undocumented immigrants (which requires them to be present) produces wealth for these same regions in troubling ways.

Chapter 7 illustrates the consequence on families, with some promising insights from undocumented youth who are mobilizing to advocate for their rights and challenging the public's notion of who belongs.

In conclusion, this book offers a comprehensive view on social processes that construct states of "illegality." The straightforward writing style and use of illustrative stories makes this book suitable to different types of audiences including the general public, upper-level high school and undergraduate students, and researchers. Chapters that include more technical legal information, however, may lose some readers. The book crosses disciplinary boundaries including history, political science, criminology, critical ethnic studies, and social work. All in all, this book provides an adept critique of the "criminalization of migrants" and how, in Chomsky's words, the "complex, inconsistent, and sometimes perverse nature of US immigration law ... makes some people illegal." (x)

RUPALEEM BHUYAN AND
ADRIANA VARGAS
University of Toronto

Chuck Collins, Jennifer Ladd, Maynard Seider, and Felice Yeskel, eds, *Class Lives: Stories from Across the Economic Divide* (Ithaca: Cornell Press 2014)

THIS ACCESSIBLE AND emotionally affecting anthology, consisting of personal reflections by 40 writers situated at various points along the socioeconomic spectrum, provides testament to the ongoing relevance of class as a dynamic element in the ostensibly "classless" milieu of North American society. In spite of the increasingly stark inequalities that mark our world, Felice Yeskel asserts in her introduction, class largely remains a taboo topic – one given surprisingly little consideration in activist and academic circles, and one shrouded in a cloak of ignorance and denial in our personal lives. Collectively, she suggests, we have generally grown more attentive to race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and other markers of identity and inequality, but we continue to lack any "shared language about class" (6) to even acknowledge, let alone examine, this crucial dimension of contemporary social life.

While insisting upon the need for a systemic understanding of class that goes beyond individualized explanations for economic inequality, this volume is very much centred upon individuals and how their felt experience of class is intimately entwined with their identities, relationships, aspirations, and everyday lives. While objective measures such as income, wealth, occupation, and educational level can help to map out the broad outlines of inequality today, they often fail to capture what Yeskel calls "the complexity and multifaceted nature of class and classism." (4) This is brought into poignant relief in the first section of the book, which is centred on the stories of people from "poor and low income" backgrounds. As these stories underline,

poverty is characterized not simply by the physical experience of being cold, hungry, or in some other state of deprivation, or by the practical fact of being at the mercy of landlords, employers, and unsympathetic bureaucrats. Indeed, it is equally defined by the painful psychological experience of being symbolically marked as inferior in countless subtle ways, of fighting off debilitating shame and envy, and of feeling the pressure to continually mask key aspects of one's own life and history.

The second section of the book, focused upon those from an array of "working class" backgrounds, extends the first section's concern with how internalized classism can exert a powerful undertow throughout the course of one's life. The early lives of these writers were materially constrained and full of legitimate anxieties and grievances, to be sure, but afforded them a basic level of economic security, a foothold in the mainstream culture, and a certain amount of outward respectability. While lacking in the cultural capital needed to discuss great art in a museum or to properly eat an artichoke in foodie circles, their backgrounds lent them some sense of positive class identity based on values such as hard work, discipline, thrift, and competence, all of which affirmed their sense of being superior to the shiftless and dissolute underclass. The sense of nostalgic attachment they feel for some aspects of their early lives is undercut and shorn of romantic idealizations by the awareness that working-class family life can often be stifling, brutal, and replete with reactionary values.

For the upwardly mobile in this group, this conflicted relationship to working-class culture is amplified when their drive to succeed carries them into social, educational, and occupational settings dominated by more privileged groups. Uneasily balanced between the norms

of their plebian upbringing and those of their more patrician peers and colleagues, they often feel like "straddlers" without any sense of stable identity or belonging. The education system, ostensibly a meritocracy designed to enable class mobility and curtail fixed social distinctions, features heavily in these stories as a place where deeply rooted class differences become painfully conspicuous. Higher education in particular is experienced as what Geneva Reynga-Abiko calls "training in class socialization," (33) with working-class students struggling to crack the class-specific codes required to "pass" in the academic community. Even those who emerge successfully from this system and go on to professional careers in the academy and beyond, can – as K. Stricker puts it – feel their heads "planted firmly against the class ceiling," (107) experiencing themselves as outsiders to both their newfound professional world and their family of origin.

The final three sections of the book turn to the life histories of people who have, to varying degrees, enjoyed a certain amount of status and material comfort. In so doing, they succeed in compassionately addressing the unique internal struggles, doubts, and tensions that underpin the consciousness of those who might otherwise be simply written-off in some progressive circles as generic bearers of privilege. The stories here highlight the fact that class privilege in itself cannot fully shield people from racism or sexism, supply them with protection from "well-off families" who are (as Anne Ellinger writes) often "violent, abusive, alcoholic, or just plain mean," (48) or provide them with a sense of purpose or self-worth. The third section captures the precariousness, restlessness, self-loathing and status anxiety that often lurk under the seeming normalcy and conformity of "middle-class" life. The following section focuses upon people from "owning class"

backgrounds – those who, as Chuck Collins phrases it, “won the ovarian roulette game” and now ride “a multigenerational wave of privilege.” (171) The writers here grapple with a sense of uneasiness toward their unearned advantages, with their complicity in an unjust economic system, and with the difficult task of unlearning what Catherine Orland calls “the elitist and warped attitudes of a life surrounded by wealth.” (173) The final section of the book deals with the “mixed class” experiences of those who – because of their disparate family background, or abrupt changes in wealth and status – cannot be tidily slotted into a single class category. To the extent that they “hold the dynamics of class division within their own families ... and often within their own psyches,” the editors argue, mixed class people can experience acute forms of emotional friction, but they also “can be especially good bridge people across class cultures.” (191)

While this anthology, in its structure and content, does not allow for much reflection on how to address class inequality politically, and often risks veering into a quasi-therapeutic focus on individual pain and healing, its effort to develop a “shared language about class” (6) represents an important first step in placing class back on the political agenda. While it does not foreground the voices of people who are currently poor or working class, it does a good job of highlighting the implicit class biases and prejudices that often infect progressive movements and institutions, limiting their popular appeal and undercutting their stated commitment to inclusion and diversity. The book’s compassionate and inclusive ethos, and its detailed consideration of the complex ways that class inflects the whole spectrum of identity and everyday experience, offers a welcome respite from the sanctimonious hothouse of much contemporary liberal identity politics.

That said, its ecumenical vision of the healing powers of “cross-class dialogue” (7) sometimes clouds the political and ethical vision of the anthology as a whole, which veers between denouncing “classism” as a form of prejudice and insisting on the possibility of a world in which class inequality itself is radically curtailed.

DENNIS SORON
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Lynda Nead (curator), *The Fallen Woman*, (London: The Foundling Museum 2015)

THE LONDON FOUNDLING Hospital, established in 1739, provided a home to over 20,000 children during its 215 years of operation. Now the site of the Foundling Museum at 40 Brunswick Square in London, England and opened in 2004, it is home to numerous exhibitions of art, music, poetry, and manuscripts dealing with historical and contemporary themes interrelated with the hospital’s history. *The Fallen Woman*, a recent mixed media exhibition at the museum (25 September 2015 – 3 January 2016), accompanied by an interesting catalogue, reveals a wealth of research now being pursued by scholars into the individual stories and social history of the women and children connected to the Foundling Hospital.

The Fallen Woman exhibition catalogue consists of three essays by Victoria Mills, Margaret Reynolds, and Steve Lewinson, examining the emergence of the “fallen” woman in the narratives of the hospital records. The hospital originated as a charitable institution with the philanthropy of Captain Thomas Coram, the artist William Hogarth, and the composer George Frideric Handel, to provide a home for children without “preference to any person.” Following a vast influx of children, the hospital shortly thereafter adjusted its admissions policy to a

randomized ballot system. However, by 1768 a petition system came into effect and, by the Victorian era, the “good character” of the woman came to be the main criterion for admission. As such, a series of narratives emerged in the application process centered on the “fallen” woman myth.

The principle historical records concerning the women, children, and staff at the hospital have been provided by the Foundling Hospital Archives and the London Metropolitan Archives. The curator of the exhibition, Lynda Nead, an art historian at Birkbeck College, is author of numerous volumes on the image of the woman in the nineteenth century including *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) and *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). The catalogue essayists also refer to Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen’s *Victorian Women, Unwed Mothers and the London Foundling Hospital: Sex, Gender, Charity and Class in Victorian Britain* (London: Continuum, 2012). The authors present to us a description of the process of admission to the hospital beginning with the woman’s picking up of the petition form from the porter’s lodge at the hospital, the completing of the form in an age when literacy was at a premium (often involving the hiring of a writer), the submission of the completed form by 10 a.m. the following Saturday, the interview by the hospital committee, to the personal investigations of the committee into the woman’s past and present following the interview, including the solicitation of letters from employers, the father, medical records from doctors (including vaccination records), and workhouse documents.

The admission process was clearly very personal and sometimes traumatic for

women according to the accounts here. The criteria to be filled was described on the back of the petition and specified that the character of the woman was to be probed. While the term “criminal conversation” had been repealed under the Married Women’s Property Act of 1857, the legal language describing adultery was retained in hospital circles well after the Act. According to Victoria Mills, many of the “seductions” reported would now be viewed as rapes and, predictably, many of the letters solicited from the fathers simply denied paternity. The women were also judged “respectable” or not by the porter in his log book according to his observation of their appearance when they first picked up the petition. A reference was found by Dr. Mills in the Metropolitan Archives indicating that the author Charles Dickens spoke on behalf of a Susan Mayne to the Foundling admissions staff. However her petition was refused because a matron at the lying-in hospital claimed she showed signs of venereal disease.

Margaret Reynolds suggests that the narrative of the “fallen” woman emerged as a punitive response to the feminist views of women such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Germaine de Staël who wrote of a woman’s need for education, independence, employment rights, divorce, and custody of their children. It is pointed out that even the head of state, Queen Victoria, was brought within the narrative after 1840 as a wife and “happy mother.” This was a period in which reformers claimed to “rescue” women through a variety of Christian penal agencies. William Gladstone apparently did work for the “Church Penitentiary Association for the Reclamation of Fallen Women,” and Christina Rossetti volunteered at the “London Diocesan Penitentiary” between 1859 and 1870. This was the period of the criminalizing of sexual relations and the introduction

of the Contagious Diseases Act (1864, 1866, 1869) that saw the arrest and compulsory examination of women thought to be prostitutes in garrison and naval towns.

The myth of the “fallen” woman came under attack by 1895 with the renewal of the women’s movement. Many artists and writers prior to this had focused in their art on the miserable life of the woman after the “fall” but not on the rest of her life story. The arts portrayed the life of the “fallen” woman (La Traviata) as out-cast, castaway, friendless, in the streets, in the snow, shunned, ostracized, and standing on or by bridges about to commit suicide. The visual art in this exhibition provides a glimpse of images in this mode. However, it also draws attention to the strength, persistence, and resilience of the women as authors of their own lives and to the improved lot of many of the women who returned to work, and to some who were able to reclaim their children from the hospital once they were in better circumstances.

This refreshing exhibition and its accompanying catalogue illustrate a relatively new and smaller museum surviving in these days of austerity with an ambitious program of exhibitions and research enterprises. For those with a particular interest in women’s history, the history of childhood, and social history, the Foundling Museum in London is a place to watch. The mixture of a rich history with an exhibition space and a mandate to support music, art, poetry, and manuscripts has transformed this museum into a novel museum.

ELLEN L. RAMSAY
York University

Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knoff 2015)

JUST A FEW PAGES IN and I had already high expectations for this book. By deciding to write global history through the prism of a single commodity – cotton – as a window into “the story of the making and remaking of global capitalism and with it of the modern world,” (xi) Harvard historian Sven Beckert got me immediately thinking about, and reappreciating the value of, the opening lines of Marx’s *Capital*, on how the elementary form of capitalism is most apparent, and thus most tangible, in the individual commodity itself. Was Beckert about to go forward in Marx’s steps, I wondered, and really “reinterpret ... the history of capitalism,” as he claims? (xxii) Was he about to do for cotton what Sidney Mintz did so remarkably for sugar a few decades ago, or what Robin Blackburn, among others, did more recently for both cotton’s and sugar’s long-time human commodity-equivalent, namely, the African slave? Let me clarify this right away and defuse all expectations: no. This is not to say, however, that *Empire of Cotton* is not an important contribution to global history, for it is on several fronts.

To begin with, Beckert is not only a skilled narrator. He is also a rigorous historian, who has successfully woven together, forgive the pun, a narrative based on an imposing (testified by over 130 pages of endnotes) amount of archival and other primary sources gathered and researched on every continent where cotton has been grown, spun, and/or sold historically.

His fourteen-chapter story begins in the late pre-Columbian era, when cotton had long been cultivated for household subsistence by farmers from Central and South America to Africa, Persia, India, and South Asia – in short: in the global South *avant la lettre*. While these

early world-regions were partially and unevenly integrated into long-distance market activities, cotton growers were still disconnected as workers. The rise of European expansion in the Atlantic world and beyond at the turn of the 16th century was the turning point. European capitalists and merchants imbued with their respective states' sovereign rights inserted themselves through force into traditional cotton production processes, first into India, where they subordinated weavers' labour to world market needs. To help fund this imperial expansion, European powers co-concurrently conquered the Americas, where gold and silver bullion served, in turn, to purchase cotton fabrics in India. This ultimately led to the development of the Atlantic plantation complex, launching the transatlantic slave trade, in which Indian cotton cloth, Beckert reminds us, served as an important exchange commodity for slaves in Africa. In Europe meanwhile, the massive arrival of cotton fabrics led to the emergence of spinning and weaving industries based on the putting-out system. As a result, cotton was for the first time at the centre of genuinely global system of production and exchange.

Precipitated by international competition in cotton textiles, the invention of water- and, later, steam-powered machines in England in the second half of the 18th century was the catalyst, Beckert argues, that triggered the Industrial Revolution, which reorganized the configuration of the cotton empire. Plantation slavery was reinvigorated as a labour system, most especially in the South of the United States, where Native Americans in the interior were gradually dispossessed from their lands to be turned into cotton plantations, feeding the hungry emerging factory system in Europe, especially in England, where a large class of dispossessed proletarians were, at the same time, increasingly pushed to work in cotton factories for a

wage, most often through direct coercion. Decades later, the American Civil War combined with the rise of worker militancy for better wages and shorter working days across the North Atlantic triggered a new shift in global cotton production – one that lasted until the 1970s. The quest for new access to cotton and cheap labour following the victory of the Union propelled the return of the global South, including Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, Central Asia, and Korea, as well as a new wave of European imperialism in western Africa. Yet, fostered by a stronger bureaucratic state fully dedicated to cotton industrialization, it was Japan that emerged as the world's dominant cotton manufacturing power, followed today by China, then India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. What is distinctive about the current era, Beckert argues, is that the empire of cotton is now dominated by global retailers, with Walmart topping the list, operating in a neoliberal global environment created by the states themselves, but from which they have voluntarily withdrawn over the past three decades. Today, 350 million people or approximately 4 per cent of the world's population is involved in the cotton industry.

Beyond the great fluidity of Beckert's narrative, the greatest strength of *Empire of Cotton* lies in how it vividly reminds us that forced labour in general, and slavery in particular, was, and to some extent still is, pivotal to the development of global capitalism. Only for this aspect alone I would strongly recommend the book, which certainly adds evidence to the growing scholarship on the nexus between slavery and capitalism. At the same time, however, this aspect is also the book's greatest weakness, in the sense that Beckert never substantiates his claim theoretically. At best, he attempts to introduce the concept of "war capitalism" as a way to foreground the slave character of capitalism from its early beginning to the

end of the American Civil War, but fails to account for what actually made war “capitalist” during that period. It seems clear to me that this rhetorical strategy served as a means for the historian to escape engaging directly with the scholarly tradition his topic so immediately calls forth: Marxism. In fact, Beckert refers to Marx only once in this 615-page book, which ironically is precisely to support the assertion that capitalism and slavery “were joined at the hip.” (244) Beckert even articulates his narrative around the Hegelian-Marxian notion of the unity of the diverse in order to deal conceptually with the coexistence of forced and free labour under global capitalism. But, again, he does not explain how the two systems of labour were, in spite of their qualitative differences, *internally* related to one another, and, by the same token, how that relation was constituted and reconstituted historically. While the absence of these theoretical considerations does not invalidate the content and structure of his excellent narrative, it nonetheless causes him to fail in his primary attempt to reinterpret the history of global capitalism.

Another important shortcoming of *Empire of Cotton* is Beckert’s odd lack of attention to the global shipping sector, in spite of his stated ambition to follow cotton “from fields to boats.” (xix) This blind spot has the consequence to attribute too much to merchant capitalists for the construction of the empire of cotton, and too little to those who toiled in its oceanic arteries, namely, sailors and other transport workers. Merchant capitalists, according to Beckert, are the “principal globalizers” in his story, which is echoed in the set of active verbs he employs to describe their work. (226) It was they who *built, constructed, organized, integrated, combined, united, and connected* the empire of cotton – “they were its visible hand.” (204) Seafaring workers, on

the other hand, are indirectly inserted in the story through a passive voice, such as the “tightly pressed cotton bales ... were shipped ... to various European ports.” (200) But who pressed the bales? And who made the ships carrying them moving? Not merchants.

THIERRY DRAPEAU

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James Ferguson, *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution* (Durham: Duke University Press 2015)

IN AUGUST 2015 South Africa’s National Union of Mineworkers warned of a “bloodbath” in the mining sector as companies prepared to lay off upwards of 20,000 workers. Job losses have not been confined to mining; the manufacturing and agricultural sectors have all shed jobs over the past decade. South Africa is increasingly a surplus labour economy, characterized by vast pools of low-skilled workers who are simply not necessary to the functioning of today’s capitalism.

It is in this context of widespread unemployment and poverty, that South Africa has witnessed the expansion of a social welfare system in which the state provides direct cash transfers to the elderly, those with children, and the disabled. These transfers now reach 44 per cent of households in the country. This expansion of welfarism is at odds with narratives that describe South Africa as model of neoliberal development. In *Give a Man a Fish* James Ferguson, a leading anthropologist of Southern Africa, suggests that these welfare payments contain the seeds of a new, potentially transformative, politics.

Underpinning this work is Ferguson’s antipathy to leftist critiques of neoliberalism, which, he claims, suffer from a

myopic obsession with identifying instances of neoliberalism rather than proposing alternatives to it. If the left is to reconstitute itself, it must look beyond these critiques to the multiple social and economic formations that can provide some alternative. There is an urgent need, and here I must agree, for a politics that embraces experimentation, discovery, and invention. Lest he be mistaken for a technicist policymaker, Ferguson stresses that these new forms of social welfare are neither perfect nor are they extensive enough. Rather, they are important because they provide an opening for political claim making and new possibilities for mobilization.

The introduction and first chapter provide the reader with a grounding in the “politics of distribution,” which Ferguson considers central to these new forms of social welfare. Waged work is not the only way that people make an income and this is particularly the case in Southern Africa, home to myriad forms of income redistribution and informal sector survivalist activity. In an era of surplus labour, he asks, how is it that people survive and households reproduce themselves?

An understanding of “distributive politics” requires a thorough grounding in the history of social protection in Africa, provided in Chapter 2. The types of social welfare policies developed in Europe in the post-war period were introduced to Africa in uneven ways. While colonial states established rural development projects, social welfare was largely confined to white settler populations. The purpose of historicizing social welfare in Africa is to move away from nostalgic readings and to propose new forms of social protection. South Africa’s welfare system, for example, remains heavily influenced by European models based on male wage labour where absence of employment was a temporary phenomenon.

In an environment such as South Africa universal wage labour is hardly the norm.

Ferguson’s distributive politics is informed by the myriad ways in which households in Southern Africa have long been reliant on circuits of redistribution. In Chapter 3 he shows that new forms of social welfare have been inserted into a world in which distribution – between households, between urban and rural areas, and among the poor – is already pervasive. For example, remittances from urban to rural areas provide a crucial resource for the pursuit of livelihoods in rural informal economies. The work of “distributive labour” occurs along a multiple lines, including kinship sharing across poor households, financial support from partners and lovers, and the vast economies of funeral provision.

New forms of social welfare have drawn criticism primarily from the left. In Chapter 4, Ferguson responds by suggesting that left critics do not fully grasp the sociality of money. Direct cash payments, he argues, do not erode sociality or commoditize social relations thereby drawing people deeper into capitalist relations. Here he provides case studies of how small cash transfers can stimulate a range of social and economic activities. At the same time, he admits, it would be wrong to see these payments as a challenge to capitalism itself. In their present form they are merely geared toward the amelioration of extreme poverty.

If social membership in European welfare states was premised on wage labour, what are the grounds for membership in the absence of wage labour? In South Africa, where jobs are scarce and social assistance payments are extensive, the state may not be imagined as an entity protecting citizenship but rather as a paternalistic benefactor. In Chapter 5 Ferguson suggests that there is a desire for dependence on the part of the poor

that should not be seen as an indication of political or social backwardness “but of the real limits of citizenship under substantive conditions of inequality.” (162) Those rendered surplus to the requirements of post-apartheid capitalism frequently seek out new forms of dependence that provide livelihood stability and some form of social belonging.

The politics of claims-making in South Africa is frequently articulated through the nationalist language of the anti-apartheid struggle. The 1955 Freedom Charter declares: “The People Shall Share in the Country’s Wealth!” In Chapter 6 Ferguson asks how these redistributive demands might be compatible with new forms of social welfare. In recent years South Africa has seen the rise of a populist political movement known as the Economic Freedom Fighters, which calls for widespread nationalization. Ferguson sees potential for linking the redistributive demands raised by this form of resource nationalism with the country’s existing social welfare infrastructure in the form of a Basic Income Grant (BIG) that would allow all citizens a rightful share in the country’s mineral wealth.

Ferguson’s knowledge of the anthropological literature on Southern Africa is impressive, and this work demonstrates his ability to, once again, illuminate this literature through contemporary debates around political economy, national belonging, and citizenship. Yet, for an anthropological work, the missing element in this work is the level of richness provided by ethnographic detail. The complex interactions between new forms of social welfare and existing kinship structures, for example, call for a fine grained analysis. This is not to detract from the value of this work, but to suggest that this book provides multiple entry points for more detailed empirical research.

While it is primarily an academic intervention, the author states that his intent is to develop a propositional politics that goes beyond denunciations of neoliberalism. Judging it by these standards then, the elephant in the proverbial room is politics itself. How exactly, in a context in which the state has given mining and finance capital significant freedoms, can it be expected to challenge the dictates of accumulation? Further, why has the BIG not been a significant point of political mobilization in South Africa, as opposed to, say, living wage demands? In this context the greatest challenge to realizing a more expansive form of social welfare in South Africa may be the political party that introduced these reforms in the first place.

The value of this book for labour scholars is twofold. First, it is a vital addition to recent debates about the nature of “precarity” (Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* [London: Bloomsbury, 2011]), “wageless life” (Michael Denning, “Wageless Life,” *New Left Review*, 66 [2010]: 79–97), and worlds without work (Tania Murray Li, “To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations,” *Antipode*, 41 [supplement 1], [2010]: 66–93), particularly in the global South. It seeks to go beyond fetishism of the wage and labour relation, and to introduce questions of distributive demands in a context in which wage labour is both changing and disappearing. Second, conditions in South Africa are extreme but not exceptional and offer possibilities for imagining new forms of social welfare in the rest of the world where wage labour is by no means obsolete, but cannot possibly fulfill the distributive role imagined for it.

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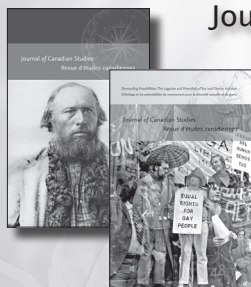
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