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[See table of contents](#)

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Old Unions and New Social Movements

William K. Carroll and R.S. Ratner

BASED ON EXTENSIVE STUDY of union organizations and activists in Greater Vancouver, this article offers a two-fold critique of the thesis that "new social movements" have supplanted the labour movement as the key collective agents of change in late-modern societies. In the first section we briefly review the claims of new social movement theory and point to some of the analytic difficulties in positing a sharp distinction between "old" unions and "new" social movements. We then present comparative case studies of two pan-union labour organizations active in the Lower Mainland, followed by findings from in-depth interviews with activists in these groups, and comparisons between the political orientations of labour activists and those of activists in new social movements. We find evidence of a labour movement increasingly open to popular struggles outside its own immediate orbit, sensitive to the needs of diverse and marginalized constituencies, tactically prepared if not psychologically predisposed to yield a leading role in any such coalitions, and capable of grasping the connections between social movement activism and everyday life activities. The future of the labour movement very much depends on putting these political sensibilities into practice through a deepening of solidarity with other progressive movements — whose own futures are themselves implicated in labour's prospects.

GRÂCE À L'ÉTUDE approfondie des organisations et des militants syndicaux dans la région métropolitaine de Vancouver, cet article offre une critique à deux volets de la thèse selon laquelle des «nouveaux mouvements sociaux» remplacent le mouvement ouvrier en tant que principaux agents collectifs de changement dans les sociétés post-modernes. Dans la première section, nous résumons brièvement les revendications de la nouvelle théorie des mouvements sociaux et indiquons quelques unes des difficultés analytiques qu'entraînent une nette distinction entre «vieux» syndicats et «nouveaux» mouvements sociaux. Nous présentons alors des études comparatives de deux organisations ouvrières actives dans le Lower Mainland, suivies de trouvaillles provenant d'interviews avec des militants de ces groupes, et de comparaisons entre les orientations politiques de militants syndicaux et celles de militants de nouveaux mouvements sociaux. Nous remarquons l'existence d'un mouvement ouvrier de plus en plus ouvert aux luttes populaires extérieures à son d'intérêt immédiat, sensible aux besoins de clientèles diverses e marginalisées, tactiquement prêt sinon psychologiquement prédisposé à céder un rôle dirigeant dans toute coalition du genre, et capable de saisir les liens entre le militantisme social et les activités quotidiennes. Le futur du mouvement ouvrier

410 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

dépend largement dans la réalisation de ces sensibilités politiques à travers une solidarité croissante avec d'autres mouvements progressistes — dont le propre futur est lui-même déterminé par les perspectives du mouvement ouvrier.

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An Index to *Labour / Le Travail*, Volumes 33 and 34, 1994

Produced by Canadian Periodical Index, Gale Canada, Toronto, Ontario

A

ABILITY grouping in education

Stacking the deck: the streaming of working-class kids in Ontario schools; book review. Bruce Curtis and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p323-6

ACIER, Travailleurs de l'

Voir Steel workers

Histoire

Voir Steel workers - History

ACIER - Industrie

Voir Steel industry

Histoire

Voir Steel industry - History

ADULT education

Adult education and union education: aspects of English Canadian cultural history in the 20th century. Gerald Friesen. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p163-88

See also

Labour - Education

A.F.E.A.S. See Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale

AFRICA, Southern

See also

Alcohol drinking behaviour - Africa, Southern

Labour - Africa, Southern

Zimbabwe

AGRICULTURE

Zimbabwe

Modern plantation agriculture: corporate wealth and public squalor; book review. Rene Loewenson.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p367-8

AGRONOMY. See Agriculture

ALBERTA

See also

Social classes - Alberta

ALCOHOL consumption. See Alcohol drinking behaviour

ALCOHOL drinking behaviour

Africa, Southern

Liquor and labor in Southern Africa; book review. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p365-7

AMBLER, Charles, jt editor

Liquor and labor in Southern Africa; book review. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p365-7

AMERICAN poetry. See Poetry, American

AMERICAN poets. See Poets, American

AMINZADE, Ronald

Ballots and barricades: class formation and republican politics in France, 1830-1871; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p353-5

APOSTLE, Richard

- and others

Emptying their nets: small capital and rural industrialization in the Nova Scotia fishing industry; book review. Richard Apostle, and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p321-3

ARNUP, Katherine

Education for motherhood: advice for mothers in twentieth-century Canada; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p310-11

ARTISTS, Canadian

Biography

People in struggle: the life and art of Bill Stapleton; book review. C.H. Gervais.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p308-10

ASSOCIATION féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale

Femmes en mouvement: trajectoires de l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, AFEAS, 1966-1991; compte rendu. Jocelyne Lamoureux et autres.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p342-5

ATLANTIC Provinces

See also

Fishery management - Atlantic Provinces

New Brunswick

Newfoundland

Nova Scotia

Economic history

Farm, factory and fortune: new studies in the economic history of the Maritime Provinces; book review. Kris E. Inwood, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p313-15

History

Atlantic provinces in Confederation; book review.

E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p318-20

AUTOMOBILE industry workers

See also

National Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union of Canada

Japan

Worker protection Japanese style: occupational safety and health in the auto industry; book review. Richard E. Wokutch.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p376-80

B

BADIA, Gilbert

Clara Zetkin, féministe sans frontières; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355

Review in English

412 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

BELL, Edward

Social classes and Social Credit in Alberta; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p311-13

BELSHAW, John Douglas

British collier in British Columbia: another archetype reconsidered; avec sommaire en français. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p11-36. Sommaire en français: p419-20

BIOGRAPHY

See also

Artists, Canadian - Biography

Labour unions - Officials - Biography

Socialists - Biography

BLUE collar workers. See Labour

BOIS

Industrie

Voir Lumber industry

BOLSHEVISM. See Communism

BOOK reviews

After chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874. Margot Finn.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p361-2

Arena of masculinity: sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex. Brian Pronger.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p372-4

At the end of the shift: mines and single-industry towns in Northern Ontario. Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p318-20

Atlantic provinces in Confederation. E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p318-20

Ballots and barricades: class formation and republican politics in France, 1830-1871. Ronald Aminzade.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p353-5

Bâtisseuses de la Cité. Évelyne Tardy, et autres, éd.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p325-7

Battle for coal: miners and the politics of nationalization in France, 1940-1950. Darryl Holter.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p373-4

Brazilian workers' ABC: class conflict and alliances in modern Sao Paulo. John D. French.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77

Canadian family history: selected readings. Bettina Bradbury, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302

Carnets de David Thomas. Andrée Dandurand.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p328-31

Clara Zetkin, féministe sans frontières. Gilbert Badia.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355

Review in English

Common Whites: class and culture in antebellum North Carolina. Bill Cecil-Fronsman.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p345-6

Conflict of interests: organized labor and the civil rights movement in the South, 1954-1968. Alan Draper.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p339-41

Controlling common property: regulating Canada's East Coast fishery. David Ralph Matthews.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p321-3

Culture inventée: les stratégies culturelles aux 19e et 20e siècles. Pierre Lanthier et Guïldo Rousseau, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p335-7

Customs in common. Edward Palmer Thompson.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

Debts to pay: English Canada and Quebec from the conquest to the referendum. John F. Conway.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p302-3

Ecological vision. Peter F. Drucker.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p368-70

Education for motherhood: advice for mothers in twentieth-century Canada. Katherine Arnap.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p310-11

Emptying their nets: small capital and rural industrialization in the Nova Scotia fishing industry. Richard Apostle, and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p321-3

English occupational song. Gerald Porter.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p368-71

Entre voisins: la société paroissiale en milieu urbain: Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Montréal 1848-1930. Lucia Ferretti.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p337-9

Farm, factory and fortune: new studies in the economic history of the Maritime Provinces. Kris E. Inwood, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p313-15

Femmes en mouvement: trajectoires de l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale. AFEAS, 1966-1991. Jocelyne Lamoureux et autres.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p342-5

First forty years: a history of the Tunnel and Rock Workers Union Local 168. M.C. Warrior and Mark Leier.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p305-6

French worker: autobiographies from the early industrial era. Mark Traugott, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p371-3

From Liberal to Labour with women's suffrage: the story of Catherine Marshall. Jo Vellacott.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p350-1

From plant to politics: the Autoworkers Union in postwar Canada. Charlotte Yates.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p313-15

Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills strike of 1914-1915: espionage, labor conflict, and the New South industrial relations. Gary M. Fink.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p338-9

Improper advances: rape and heterosexual conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929. Karen Dubinsky.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p287-96

Incomparable worth: pay equity meets the market. Steven E. Rhoads.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p380-2

Indentured labor, Caribbean sugar: Chinese and Indian migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918. Walton Look Lai.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p358-9

James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism: selected writings and speeches, 1920-1928.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p352-4

Liquor and labor in Southern Africa. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p365-7

London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century. Peter Linebaugh.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850. L.D. Schwarz.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p359-61

Louis Laberge: le syndicalisme, c'est ma vie. Louis Fournier.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p327-9

BOOK reviews (cont'd.)

- Managing the shopfloor: subjectivity, masculinity and workplace culture. David L. Collinson.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p366-8
- Maritime capital: the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914. Eric W. Sager and Gerald E. Panting.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p300-2
- Maritime radical: the life and times of Roscoe Fillmore. Nick Fillmore.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p303-5
- Mères et travailleuses: de l'exception à la règle. Renée B. Dandurand et Francine Descarries, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p341-2
- Militant workers: labour and class conflict on the Clyde, 1900-1950. Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p363-4
- Modern plantation agriculture: corporate wealth and public squalor. René Loewenson.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p367-8
- Nations are built of babies: saving Ontario's mothers and children, 1900-1940. Cynthia R. Cornacchio.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p308-10
- New politics of British trade unionism: union power and the Thatcher legacy. David Marsh.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p364-6
- New unemployed: joblessness and poverty in the market economy. Frank Gaffikin and Mike Morrissey.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p370-2
- Nineteenth century Cape Breton: a historical geography. Stephen J. Hornsby.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p315-18
- Notes of a Red Guard. Edward M. Dune. Diane P. Koenker and S.A. Smith, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355-6
- On strike at Hormel: the struggle for a democratic labor movement. Hardy Green.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p345-50
- On Wisconsin women: working for their rights from settlement to suffrage. Genevieve G. McBride.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p333-4
- Out of work. Margaret Harkness.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85
- Ouvrières de Dominion Corset à Québec, 1886-1988. Jean Du Berger et Jacques Mathieu, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p324-5
- Passionate debate: the social and political ideas of Quebec nationalism 1920-45. Michael Oliver.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p310-13
- People in struggle: the life and art of Bill Stapleton. C.H. Gervais.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p308-10
- Planting the province: the economic history of Upper Canada, 1784-1870. Douglas McCalla.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p303-5
- Politics and the people: a study in English political culture c. 1815-1867. James Vernon.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68
- Politics of continuity: British foreign policy and the Labour government: 1945-46. John Saville.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p351-3
- Politics of work: gender and labour in Victoria, 1880-1939. Raelene Frances.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p356-8
- Pride and solidarity: a history of the plumbers and pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989. Richard Schneirov.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p334-6
- Recasting steel labour: the Stelco story. June Corman, and others.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p317-18
- Sandwichman. Walter Brierey.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85
- Selling of the South: the southern crusade for industrial development, 1936-1990. 2d ed. James C. Cobb.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p336-7
- Shades of right: nativist and fascist politics in Canada, 1920-1940. Martin Robin.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p306-8
- Shaker experience in America: a history of the United Society of Believers. Stephen Stein.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p346-8
- "Shifting sands beneath the state": unemployment, the labor market, and the local community, 1893-1922. Peter C. Seixas.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p350-2
- Sisters and solidarity. Julie White.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p297-300
- Social classes and Social Credit in Alberta. Edward Bell.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p311-13
- Social origins of democratic socialism in Jamaica. Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p361-3
- Social reproduction: the political economy of the labour market. Antonella Picchio.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p382-3
- Southern labor and black civil rights: organizing Memphis workers. Michael K. Honey.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p341-3
- Soviet Marxism and analytical philosophies of history. Eero Loone.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p359-61
- Stacking the deck: the streaming of working-class kids in Ontario schools. Bruce Curtis and others.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p323-6
- Story of a modern woman. Ella Hepworth Dixon.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85
- Strike across the Empire: the Seamen's Strike of 1925 in Britain, South Africa and Australasia. Baruch Hirson and Lorraine Vivian.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p363-5
- Struggle for economic democracy in Sweden. Gregg M. Olsen.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p374-6
- Such hardworking people: Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto. Franca Iacovetta.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p315-17
- Syndicats face au pouvoir: syndicalisme et politique au Québec de 1960 à 1992. Roch Denis et Serge Denis.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p329-32
- Tangled webs of history: Indians and the law in Canada's Pacific Coast fisheries. Dianne Newell.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p305-8
- Thomas McGrath: life and the poem. Thomas McGrath. Reginald Gibbons and Terrence Des Pres, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9
- Through jaundiced eyes: how the media view organized labor. William J. Puette.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p374-6
- Time and money: the making of consumer culture. Gary Cross.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p343-5
- To save China, to save ourselves: the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York. Renqiu Yu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p356-7
- Trading freedom: how free trade affects our lives, work and environment. John Cavanagh, and others, ed.

414 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

BOOK reviews (cont'd.)

- Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p326-7
Travail au féminin: analyse démographique de la discontinuité professionnelle des femmes au Canada. Marianne Kempeneers.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p339-41
- Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec: chronologie des institutions et des pratiques (1639-1939). Denis Goulet et André Paradis.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p332-5
- Trouble in the woods: forest policy and social conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. L. Anders Sandberg, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p320-1
- Visions of the people: industrial England and the question of class, 1848-1914. Patrick Joyce.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68
- Way of work and a way of life: coal mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888-1926. Marilyn Rhinehart.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p348-50
- Westray tragedy: a miner's story. Shaun Cornish.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p320-1
- Wobblies, Pile Butts, and other heroes: laborlore explorations. Archie Green.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p354-6
- Worker protection Japanese style: occupational safety and health in the auto industry. Richard E. Wokutch.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p376-80
- Workers' Party and democratization in Brazil. Margaret E. Keck.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77
- Working families: age, gender and daily survival in industrializing Montreal. Bettina Bradbury.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302
- Working women, working men: Sao Paulo and the rise of Brazil's industrial working class, 1900-1955. Joel Wolfe.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77
- Working women of Collar City: gender, class, and community in Tory, 1864-86. Carole Turbin.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p331-3

BRADBURY, Bettina

- Working families: age, gender and daily survival in industrializing Montreal: book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302

-- editor

- Canadian family history: selected readings; book review. Bettina Bradbury, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302

BRAÏ, Matt, editor

- At the end of the shift: mines and single-industry towns in Northern Ontario; book review. Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p318-20

BRAZIL

See also

- Labour - Brazil
Labour - History - Brazil
Labour unions - Brazil

BRIERLEY, Walter

- Sandwichman; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85

BRITAIN. See Great Britain

BRITANNIQUES au Canada

Voir British in Canada

Histoire

Voir British in Canada - History

BRITISH COLUMBIA

See also

- Coal miners - History - British Columbia
Frontier and pioneer life - British Columbia
Labour unions - History - British Columbia
Lumber industry - History - British Columbia

BRITISH in Canada

History

- British collier in British Columbia: another archetype reconsidered; avec sommaire en français. John Douglas Belshaw. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p11-36. Sommaire en français: p419-20

BUSE, Dieter K.

-- and Steedman, Mercedes

- Reviewing the past and looking to the future: activists reminisce at the Mine Mill Centennial Conference Sudbury, May 1993. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p195-252

C

CANADA

See also

- Alberta
Atlantic Provinces
British Columbia
New Brunswick
Newfoundland
Nova Scotia
Ontario
Quebec (Province)

English French relations

See Canada - French English relations

French English relations

Debts to pay: English Canada and Quebec from the conquest to the referendum; book review. John F. Conway.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p302-3

CANADIAN artists. See Artists, Canadian

CANADIAN Auto Workers. See National

Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union of Canada

CANADIAN Indians. See Indians of North America

CANADIAN Labour Congress

Quebec Federation of Labour

Louis Laberge: le syndicalisme, c'est ma vie; compte rendu. Louis Fournier.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p327-9

CANADIAN Union of Postal Workers

Strikes and class consciousness [of inside postal workers in Hamilton, Ont. during and after the 1987 strike by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers]; avec sommaire en français. Tom Langford. tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p107-37. Sommaire en français: p422-3

CANNON, James P.

about

James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism: selected writings and speeches, 1920-1928; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p352-4

CAPE BRETON ISLAND

History

Nineteenth century Cape Breton: a historical geography; book review. Stephen J. Hornsby.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p315-18

CAREERS for women. See Women - Occupations

CARIBBEAN Region

See also

Labour - History - Caribbean Region

- CARRIERES de femmes.** Voir Women Occupations
- CAVANAGH, John, and others, editor**
Trading freedom: how free trade affects our lives, work and environment; book review. John Cavanagh, and others, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p326-7
- CAW.** See National Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union of Canada
- CECIL-FRONSMAN, B.M.**
Common Whites: class and culture in antebellum North Carolina; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p345-6
- CHINESE**
United States
To save China, to save ourselves: the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York; book review. Renju Yu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p356-7
- CHIROPRACTIC**
History
Professionalization and proletarianization: medicine, nursing, and chiropractic in historical perspective; avec sommaire en français. David Coburn. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p139-62. Sommaire en français: p423
- CHIROPRATIQUE**
Voir Chiropractic
- CIVIL RIGHTS**
See also Democracy
History
United States
Conflict of interests: organized labor and the civil rights movement in the South, 1954-1968; book review. Alan Draper.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p339-41
Southern labor and black civil rights: organizing Memphis workers; book review. Michael K. Honey.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p341-3
- CIVILIZATION**
See also History
Quebec (Province) - Civilization
- CLASS conflict.** See Social conflict
- CLASSES, Social.** See Social classes
- C.L.C.** See Canadian Labour Congress
- COAL miners**
Westray tragedy: a miner's story; book review. Shaun Cornish.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p320-1
History
British Columbia
British collier in British Columbia: another archetype reconsidered; avec sommaire en français. John Douglas Belshaw. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p11-36. Sommaire en français: p419-20
France
Battle for coal: miners and the politics of nationalization in France, 1940-1950; book review. Darryl Hoher.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p373-4
- COAL mines and mining**
See also Coal miners
History
United States
Way of work and a way of life: coal mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888-1926; book review. Marilyn Rhinehart.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p348-50
- COBB, James C.**
Selling of the South: the southern crusade for industrial development, 1936-1990 2d ed; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p336-7
- COBURN, David**
Professionalization and proletarianization: medicine, nursing, and chiropractic in historical perspective; avec sommaire en français. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p139-62. Sommaire en français: p423
- COLLINSON, David L.**
Managing the shopfloor: subjectivity, masculinity and workplace culture; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p366-8
- COMACCHIO, Cynthia R.**
Nations are built of babies: saving Ontario's mothers and children, 1900-1940; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p308-10
- COMISH, Shaun**
Westray tragedy: a miner's story; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p320-1
- COMMUNISM**
See also Marxism Socialism
History
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United States
James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism: selected writings and speeches, 1920-1928; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p352-4
- COMMUNISME**
Voir Communism
- CONFERENCES**
See also Labour - Education - Conferences
Labour conferences
- CONGRES du travail du Canada.** Voir Canadian Labour Congress
- CONSUMPTION (Economics)**
History
Time and money: the making of consumer culture; book review. Gary Cross.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p343-5
- CONTINUING education.** See Adult education
- CONWAY, John F.**
Debts to pay: English Canada and Quebec from the conquest to the referendum; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p302-3
- CORMAN, June**
- and others
Recasting steel labour: the Stelco story; book review. June Corman, and others.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p317-18
- CRIME and criminals**
See also Sex crimes
History

416 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

CRIME and criminals (cont'd.)

England

London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century; book review. Peter Linebaugh.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

Quebec (Province)

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CRIMES et criminals

Voir Crime and criminals

Histoire

Voir Crime and criminals - History

Québec (Province)

Voir Crime and criminals - History - Quebec (Province)

CRIMINALS. See Crime and criminals

CROSS, Gary

Time and money: the making of consumer culture; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p343-5

CRUSH, Jonathan, editor

Liquor and labor in Southern Africa; book review. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p365-7

C.T.C. Voir Canadian Labour Congress

C.U.P.W. See Canadian Union of Postal Workers

CURTIS, Bruce

-- and others

Stacking the deck: the streaming of working-class kids in Ontario schools; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p323-6

D

DANDURAND, Andr e

Carnets de David Thomas; compte rendu.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p328-31

DANDURAND, Ren e B., editor

M res et travailleuses: de l'exception   la r gle; compte rendu. Ren e B. Dandurand et Francine Descarries,  ds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p341-2

DEMOCRACY

Sweden

Struggle for economic democracy in Sweden; book review. Gregg M. Olsen.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p374-6

DENIS, Roch

-- and Denis, Serge

Syndicats face au pouvoir: syndicalisme et politique au Qu bec de 1960   1992; compte rendu.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p329-32

DENIS, Serge, jt a th

Syndicats face au pouvoir: syndicalisme et politique au Qu bec de 1960   1992; compte rendu. Roch Denis et Serge Denis.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p329-32

DESCARRIES, Francine, jt editor

M res et travailleuses: de l'exception   la r gle; compte rendu. Ren e B. Dandurand et Francine Descarries,  ds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p341-2

DES PRES, Terrence, jt editor

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Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9

DIXON, Ella Hepworth

Story of a modern woman; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85

DOCUMENTS, Legal. See Legal documents

DRAPER, Alan

Conflict of interests: organized labor and the civil rights movement in the South, 1954-1968; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p339-41

DRUCKER, Peter F.

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Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p368-70

DU BERGER, Jean, editor

Ouvri res de Dominion Corset   Qu bec, 1886-1988; compte rendu. Jean Du Berger et Jacques Mathieu,  ds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p324-5

DUBINSKY, Karen

Improper advances: rape and heterosexual conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p287-96

DUNCAN, Robert, editor

Militant workers: labour and class conflict on the Clyde, 1900-1950; book review. Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p363-4

DUNE, Edouard M.

about

Notes of a Red Guard; book review. Edouard M.

Dune. Diane P. Koenker and S.A. Smith, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355-6

E

ECOLOGY, Human. See Human ecology

ECONOMIC development

History

United States

Selling of the South: the southern crusade for industrial development, 1936-1990 2d ed; book review. James C. Cobb.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p336-7

Newfoundland

No part of our life: local and official constructions of meaningful work in contemporary Newfoundland. Lisa M. Sullivan. bibliog.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p189-209

ECONOMIC history

See also

Atlantic Provinces - Economic history

Ontario - Economic history

ECONOMIC nationalism. See Economic policy

ECONOMIC policy

See also

Economic development

Labour supply

Sweden - Economic policy

ECOSSAIS au Qu bec

Voir Scots in Quebec

Histoire

Voir Scots in Quebec - History

EDUCATION of adults. See Adult education

EDUCATION of women

Education for motherhood: advice for mothers in twentieth-century Canada; book review. Katherine Arup.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p310-11

EMPLOYMENT

See also

EMPLOYMENT (cont'd.)

Labour supply
Unemployment

Newfoundland

No part of our life: local and official constructions of meaningful work in contemporary Newfoundland. Lisa M. Sullivan. *bibliog. Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p189-209

ENGLAND

See also

Crime and criminals - History - England
London, England
Political culture - History - England
Radicalism - History - England
Social classes - History - England
Social history

Customs in common; book review. Edward Palmer Thompson.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century; book review. Peter Linebaugh.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

ENGLISH fiction. See Fiction, English

ENGLISH FRENCH relations. See Canada - French English relations

ENVIRONMENT (Human). See Human ecology

EQUAL pay for equal work

Incomparable worth: pay equity meets the market; book review. Steven E. Rhoads.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p380-2

EXHIBITIONS

See also

Strikes - History - Exhibitions

F

FACTORY workers

History

Ouvrières de Dominion Corset à Québec, 1886-1988; compte rendu. Jean Du Berger et Jacques Mathieu, éds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p324-5

FAMILY

See also

Mothers
Women

Historiography

Canadian family history: selected readings; book review. Bettina Bradbury, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302

Quebec (Province)

Working families: age, gender and daily survival in industrializing Montreal; book review. Bettina Bradbury.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p279-302

FARMING. See Agriculture

FASCISM

History

Shades of right: nativist and fascist politics in Canada, 1920-1940; book review. Martin Robin.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p306-8

FEDERATION des travailleurs du Québec. Voir Canadian Labour Congress - Quebec Federation of Labour

FEMALES. See Women

FEMINISM

History

Clara Zetkin, féministe sans frontières; book review. Gilbert Badia.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355

Review in English

FEMMES

Voir Women

Carrières de femmes

Histoire

Voir Women - Occupations - History

FEMMES et urbanisme

Voir Women and city planning

Québec (Province)

Voir Women and city planning - Quebec (Province)

FERRETTI, Lucia

Entre voisins: la société paroissiale en milieu urbain: Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Montréal 1848-1930; compte rendu.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p337-9

FICTION, English

Out of work; book review. Margaret Harkness.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85

Sandwichman; book review. Walter Brierley.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85

Story of a modern woman; book review. Ella Heparth Dixon.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85

FICTION, French Canadian

Carnets de David Thomas; compte rendu. Andrée Dandurand.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p328-31

FILLMORE, Nick

Maritime radical: the life and times of Roscoe Fillmore; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p303-5

FILLMORE, Roscoe

about

Maritime radical: the life and times of Roscoe Fillmore; book review. Nick Fillmore.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p303-5

FINK, Gary M.

Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills strike of 1914-1915: espionage, labor conflict, and the New South industrial relations; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p338-9

FINN, Margot

After charisma: class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p361-2

FISH industry

Nova Scotia

Emptying their nets: small capital and rural industrialization in the Nova Scotia fishing industry; book review. Richard Apostle, and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p321-3

FISHERY management

Atlantic Provinces

Controlling common property: regulating Canada's East Coast fishery; book review. David Ralph Matthews.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p321-3

FISHING industry. See Fish industry

FONDS de Solidarité des Travailleurs du Québec.

See Canadian Labour Congress - Quebec Federation of Labour

FORBES, E.R., editor

Atlantic provinces in Confederation; book review. E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p318-20

FOREST products industry

See also

Lumber industry

New Brunswick

Trouble in the woods: forest policy and social conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick;

418 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

- FOREST products industry** (cont'd.)
book review. L. Anders Sandberg, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p320-1
Nova Scotia
- Trouble in the woods: forest policy and social conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; book review. L. Anders Sandberg, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p320-1
- FOURNIER, Louis**
Louis Laberge: le syndicalisme, c'est ma vie; compte rendu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p327-9
- FRANCE**
See also
Coal miners - History - France
Labour - History - France
History
- Ballots and barricades: class formation and republican politics in France, 1830-1871; book review. Ronald Aminzade.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p353-5
- FRANCES, Raelene**
Politics of work: gender and labour in Victoria, 1880-1939; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p356-8
- FRENCH, John D.**
Brazilian workers' ABC: class conflict and alliances in modern Sao Paulo; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77
- FRENCH CANADIAN fiction.** *See* Fiction, French Canadian
- FRENCH ENGLISH relations.** *See* Canada - French English relations
- FRIESEN, Gerald**
Adult education and union education: aspects of English Canadian cultural history in the 20th century. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p163-88
- FRONSMAN, Bill Cecil.** *See* Cecil-Fronsmann, B.
- FRONTIER and Pioneer life**
British Columbia
Lumber society on the industrial frontier: Burrard Inlet, 1863-1886; avec sommaire en français. Robert A.J. McDonald, il map tab bibliog.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p69-96.
Sommaire en français: p383-4
- F.T.Q.** *Voir* Canadian Labour Congress - Quebec Federation of Labour
- G**
- GAFFIKIN, Frank**
-- and Morrissy, Mike
New unemployed: joblessness and poverty in the market economy; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p370-2
- GAYS**
Arena of masculinity: sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex; book review. Brian Pronger.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p372-4
- GELINAS, Michèle, et autr**
Femmes en mouvement: trajectoires de l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, AFEAS, 1966-1991; compte rendu. Jocelyne Lamoureux et autres.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p342-5
- GERVAIS, C.H.**
People in struggle: the life and art of Bill Stapleton; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p308-10
- GIBBONS, Reginald, editor**
Thomas McGrath: life and the poem; book review. Thomas McGrath. Reginald Gibbons and Terrence Des Pres, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9
- GOULET, Denis**
-- and Paradis, André
Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec: chronologie des institutions et des pratiques (1639-1939); compte rendu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p332-5
- GRAT BRITAIN**
See also
England
Labour unions - Great Britain
Scotland
Woman suffrage - History - Great Britain
Foreign relations
- Politics of continuity: British foreign policy and the Labour government: 1945-46; book review. John Saville.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p351-3
- GREEN, Archie**
Wobblies, Pile Butts, and other heroes: laborlore explorations; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p354-6
- GREEN, Hardy**
On strike at Hormel: the struggle for a democratic labor movement; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p345-50
- GREVES des postes.** *Voir* Strikes - Postal employees
- GREVES et lock-outs**
Voir Strikes
Aspect social
Voir Strikes - Social aspects
- H**
- HARKNESS, Margaret**
Out of work; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p269-85
- HIRSON, Baruch**
-- and Vivian, Lorraine
Strike across the Empire: the Seamen's Strike of 1925 in Britain, South Africa and Australasia; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p363-5
- HISTORIANS**
George Rudé (1910-1993); obituary. Nicholas Rogers. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p9-11
- Homage to Edward Thompson. p2; obituary. Bryan D. Palmer. port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p13-68. Part 1: no 32 (fall '93): p10-71
- HISTORY**
See also
Atlantic Provinces - History
Biography
British in Canada - History
Cape Breton Island - History
Charismatic - History
Civil rights - History
Civilization
Coal miners - History
Coal mines and mining - History
Communism - History
Consumption (Economics) - History
Crime and criminals - History
Economic development - History
Economic history
Factory workers - History

HISTORY (cont'd.)

- Fascism - History
- Feminism - History
- Historians
- Hours of labour - History
- Infant mortality - History
- Labour - History
- Labour unions - History
- London, England - History
- Lumber industry - History
- Medicine - History
- Montreal, Quebec - History
- Nurses and nursing - History
- Political culture - History
- Radicalism - History
- Scots in Quebec - History
- Sex crimes - History
- Shakers - History
- Shipping - History
- Social classes - History
- Steel industry - History
- Steel workers - History
- Strikes - History
- Textile industry - History
- Unemployment - History
- Woman suffrage - History
- Women - Employment - History
- Women - History
- Women - Occupations - History
- Philosophy
- Soviet Marxism and analytical philosophies of history; book review. Eero Loone.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p359-61
- HISTORY, Social.** See Social history
- HOLTER, Darryl**
Battle for coal: miners and the politics of nationalization in France, 1940-1950; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p373-4
- HOMOSEXUALS.** See Gays
- HONEY, Michael K.**
Southern labor and black civil rights: organizing Memphis workers; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p341-3
- HORNSBY, Stephen J.**
Nineteenth century Cape Breton: a historical geography; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p315-18
- HOURS of labour**
History
Time and money: the making of consumer culture; book review. Gary Cross.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p343-5
- HUMAN ecology**
United States
Ecological vision; book review. Peter F. Drucker.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p368-70

I

- IACOVETTA, Franca**
Such hardworking people: Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p315-17
- INDIANS of Canada.** See Indians of North America
- INDIANS of North America**
Fishing
Tangled webs of history: Indians and the law in Canada's Pacific Coast fisheries; book review. Dianne Newell.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p305-8
- INDUSTRIAL management and organization**
Managing the shopfloor: subjectivity, masculinity

- and workplace culture; book review. David L. Collinson.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p366-8
- INFANT mortality**
History
Ontario
Nations are built of babies: saving Ontario's mothers and children, 1900-1940; book review. Cynthia R. Comocchio.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p308-10
- INFIRMIERS et infirmières**
Votr Nurses and nursing
Histoire
Votr Nurses and nursing - History
- INWOOD, Kris E., editor**
Farm, factory and fortune: new studies in the economic history of the Maritime Provinces; book review. Kris E. Inwood, ed.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p313-15
- ITALIANS in Toronto.** See Toronto, Ontario - Ethnic groups

J

- JAMAICA**
See also
Socialism - Jamaica
- JAPAN**
See also
Automobile industry workers - Japan
Occupational health and safety - Japan
- JOBS.** See Employment
- JOYCE, Patrick**
Visions of the people: industrial England and the question of class, 1848-1914; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68

K

- KECK, Margaret E.**
Workers' Party and democratization in Brazil; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77
- KEITH, Nelson W.**
- and Keith, Novella Z.
Social origins of democratic socialism in Jamaica; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p361-3
- KEITH, Novella Z., Jr with**
Social origins of democratic socialism in Jamaica; book review. Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p361-3
- KEMPENEERS, Marianne**
Travail au féminin: analyse démographique de la discontinuité professionnelle des femmes au Canada; compte rendu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p339-41
- KOENKER, Diane P., editor**
Notes of a Red Guard; book review. Eduard M. Dune. Diane P. Koenker and S.A. Smith, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355-6

L

- LABERGE, Louis**
about
Louis Laberge: le syndicalisme, c'est ma vie; compte rendu. Louis Fournier.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94):

420 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

LABERGE, Louis (cont'd.)

p327-9

LABOUR

See also

Factory workers
Hours of labour
Labour supply
Labour unions
Strikes
Unemployment

Education

Adult education and union education: aspects of English Canadian cultural history in the 20th century. Gerald Friesen. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p163-88

Conferences

Labour education in Canada: a SoliNet Conference. Bruce Spencer and Jeff Taylor. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p217-37

History

Sex, court records [Crown attorney case files], and labour history. Steven Maynard. il bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p187-93

Wobblies, Pile Butts, and other heroes: laborlore explorations; book review. Archie Green.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p354-6

Brazil

Working women, working men: Sao Paulo and the rise of Brazil's industrial working class, 1900-1955; book review. Joel Wolfe.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77

Caribbean Region

Indentured labor, Caribbean sugar. Chinese and Indian migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918; book review. Walton Look Lai.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p358-9

France

French worker: autobiographies from the early industrial era; book review. Mark Traugott, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p371-3

Scotland

Militant workers: labour and class conflict on the Clyde, 1900-1950; book review. Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p363-4

International aspects

International labour and radical history pamphlet collection at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Michael Loardo. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p211-15

Africa, Southern

Liquor and labor in Southern Africa; book review. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p365-7

Brazil

Brazilian workers' ABC: class conflict and alliances in modern Sao Paulo; book review. John D. French.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77

LABOUR conferences

Reviewing the past and looking to the future: activists reminisce at the Mine Mill Centennial Conference Sudbury, May 1993. Dieter K. Buse and Mercedes Steedman. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p195-252

LABOUR economies

Social reproduction: the political economy of the labour market; book review. Antonella Picchio. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p382-3

LABOUR education. See Labour - Education

LABOUR force. See Labour supply

LABOUR market. See Labour supply

LABOUR Party (Great Britain)

Politics of continuity: British foreign policy and the

Labour government: 1945-46; book review. John Saville.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p351-3

LABOUR supply

Social reproduction: the political economy of the labour market; book review. Antonella Picchio.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p382-3

See also

Employment

Unemployment

LABOUR unions

See also

Canadian Labour Congress

Canadian Union of Postal Workers

National Automobile, Aerospace and

Agricultural Implement Workers Union of

Canada

Strikes

United Food and Commercial Workers

History

Promise: Communist organizing in the needle trades, the Dressmakers' Campaign, 1928-1937 [Industrial Union of Needle Trades Workers (IUNTW)]; avec sommaire en français. Mercedes Steedman. il tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p37-73. Sommaire en français: p420

Working women of Collar City: gender, class, and community in Tory, 1864-86; book review.

Carole Turbin.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p331-3

British Columbia

First forty years: a history of the Tunnel and Rock Workers Union Local 168; book review. M.C. Warrior and Mark Leier.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p305-6

Quebec (Province)

Syndicats face au pouvoir: syndicalisme et politique au Québec de 1960 à 1992; compte rendu. Roch Denis et Serge Denis.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94):

p329-32

United States

Conflict of interests: organized labor and the civil rights movement in the South, 1954-1968; book review. Alan Draper.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p339-41

Pride and solidarity: a history of the plumbers and pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989; book review. Richard Schneirov.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p334-6

Southern labor and black civil rights: organizing Memphis workers; book review. Michael K. Honey.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p341-3

Officials

Biography

Louis Laberge: le syndicalisme, c'est ma vie; compte rendu. Louis Fournier.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94):

p327-9

Women members

See Women in labour unions

Brazil

Workers' Party and democratization in Brazil; book review. Margaret E. Keck.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77

Great Britain

New politics of British trade unionism: union power and the Thatcher legacy; book review. David Marsh.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p364-6

United States

Through jaundiced eyes: how the media view organized labor; book review. William J. Puette.

- LABOUR unless (cont'd.)**
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p374-6
- LAL, Walton Look**
 Indentured labor, Caribbean sugar: Chinese and Indian migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p358-9
- LAMOUREUX, Jocelyne**
 -- and others
 Femmes en mouvement: trajectoires de l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, AFEAS, 1966-1991; compte rendu.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p342-5
- LANGFORD, Tom**
 Strikes and class consciousness [of inside postal workers in Hamilton, Ont. during and after the 1987 strike by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers]; avec sommaire en français, tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p107-37. Sommaire en français: p422-3
- LANTHIER, Pierre, éditeur**
 Culture inventée: les stratégies culturelles aux 19e et 20e siècles; compte rendu. Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p335-7
- LEGAL documents**
 Sex, court records [Crown attorney case files], and labour history. Steven Maynard. il bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p187-93
- LEIER, Mark, jt auth**
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Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p305-6
- LIBRARIES**
 See also
 Library public:
 Sp collections
 International labor and radical history pamphlet collection at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Michael Lonardo. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p211-15
- LIFE histories. See Biography**
- LINEBAUGH, Peter**
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Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62
- LITTLE, J.J.**
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- LIVINGSTONE, D.W., jt auth**
 Stacking the deck: the streaming of working-class kids in Ontario schools; book review. Bruce Curtis and others.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p323-6
- LIVRES**
 Recensions
 Voir Book reviews
- LOEWENSON, Rene**
 Modern plantation agriculture: corporate wealth and public squalor; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p367-8
- LONGARDO, Michael**
 International labour and radical history pamphlet collection at Memorial University of Newfoundland. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p211-15
- LONDON, England**
 History
 London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850; book review. L.D. Schwarz.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p359-61
- LOONE, Eero**
 Soviet Marxism and analytical philosophies of history; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p359-61
- LUMBER industry**
 History
 British Columbia
 Lumber society on the industrial frontier: Burrard Inlet, 1863-1886; avec sommaire en français. Robert A.J. McDonald. il map tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p69-96. Sommaire en français: p383-4
- M**
- MARINE transportation. See Shipping**
- MARITIME provinces. See Atlantic Provinces**
- MARSEL, David**
 New politics of British trade unionism: union power and the Thatcher legacy; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p364-6
- MARSHALL, Catherine**
 about
 From Liberal to Labour with women's suffrage: the story of Catherine Marshall; book review. Jo Veilacott.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p350-1
- MARXISM**
 Soviet Marxism and analytical philosophies of history; book review. Eero Loone.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p359-61
- MASCULINITY (Psychology)**
 Arena of masculinity: sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex; book review. Brian Pronger.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p372-4
- MASS media**
 See also
 Newspapers
 United States
 Through jaundiced eyes: how the media view organized labor; book review. William J. Puetze.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p374-6
- MATERNAL mortality. See Mothers - Mortality**
- MATHEIU, Jacques, jt éditeur**
 Ouvrières de Dominion Corset à Québec, 1886-1988; compte rendu. Jean Du Berger et Jacques Mathieu, eds.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p324-5
- MATTHEWS, David Ralph**
 Controlling common property: regulating Canada's East Coast fishery; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p321-3
- MAYNARD, Steven**
 Sex, court records [Crown attorney case files], and labour history. il bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p187-93
- MCBRIDE, Genevieve G.**
 On Wisconsin women: working for their rights from settlement to suffrage; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p333-4
- MCCALLA, Douglas**
 Planting the province: the economic history of Upper Canada, 1784-1870; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p303-5
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422 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

MCDONALD, Robert A.J. (cont'd.)

p383-4

MCGRATH, Thomas

about

Thomas McGrath: life and the poem; book review.

Thomas McGrath, Reginald Gibbons and

Terrence Des Pres, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9

MCIVOR, Arthur, Jr editor

Militant workers: labour and class conflict on the

Clyde, 1900-1950; book review. Robert Duncan

and Arthur McIvor, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p363-4

MEDICINE

Voir *Medicine*

Histoire

Voir *Medicine - History*

Québec (Province)

Voir *Medicine - History - Quebec (Province)*

MEDICINE d'État

Voir *Medical care, State*

Québec (Province)

Voir *Medical care, State - Quebec (Province)*

MEDICINE holistique. *Voir* *Medicine*

MEDIA. *See* *Mass media*

MEDICAL care, State

Québec (Province)

Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec:

chronologie des institutions et des pratiques

(1639-1939); compte rendu. Denis Goulet et

André Paradis.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94):

p332-5

MÉDICINE

See also

Chiropractic

Nurses and nursing

Histoire

Professionalization and proletarianization: medicine,

nursing, and chiropractic in historical

perspective; avec sommaire en français. David

Coburn. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall

'94): p139-62. Sommaire en français: p423

Québec (Province)

Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec:

chronologie des institutions et des pratiques

(1639-1939); compte rendu. Denis Goulet et

André Paradis.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94):

p332-5

MINE accidents and explosions

Nova Scotia

Westray tragedy: a miner's story; book review.

Shaun Cornish.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p320-1

MINERAL resources. *See* *Mines and mineral*

resources

MINERALS. *See* *Mines and mineral resources*

MINES and mineral resources

See also

Coal mines and mining

Ontario, Northern

At the end of the shift: mines and single-industry

towns in Northern Ontario; book review. Matt

Bray and Ashley Thomson, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p318-20

MINEURS du charbon

Voir *Coal miners*

Histoire

Voir *Coal miners - History*

Colombie-Britannique

Voir *Coal miners - History - British Columbia*

MINING. *See* *Mines and mineral resources*

MINING accidents. *See* *Mine accidents and*

explosions

MINING towns

Ontario, Northern

At the end of the shift: mines and single-industry

towns in Northern Ontario; book review. Matt

Bray and Ashley Thomson, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p318-20

MITCHELL, Tom

From the social gospel to "the plain bread of

Leninism": A.E. Smith's journey to the left in the

epoch of reaction after World War I; avec

sommaire en français. port bibliog. *Labour / Le*

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en français: p385

MONTREAL, Quebec

Histoire

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Tardy, et autres. 6d.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p325-7

MONTREAL, Québec

Voir *Montreal, Quebec*

Histoire

Voir *Montreal, Quebec - History*

MORRISON, Donald

about

Popular resistance to legal authority in the upper St.

Francis district of Quebec: the Megantic Outlaw

Affair of 1888-89; avec sommaire en français. J.I.

Little. il port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33

(spring '94): p97-124. Sommaire en français:

p384

MORRISSEY, Mike, Jr *with*

New unemployed: joblessness and poverty in the

market economy; book review. Frank Gaffikin

and Mike Morrissey.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p370-2

MOTHERS

Education

See *Education of women*

Mortality

Nations are built of babies: saving Ontario's

mothers and children, 1900-1940; book review.

Cynthia R. Comacchio.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p308-10

MUISE, D.A., Jr editor

Atlantic provinces in Confederation; book review.

E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p318-20

N

NAFTA. *See* *North American Free Trade Agreement*

NATIONAL Automobile, Aerospace and

Agricultural Implement Workers Union of

Canada

From plant to politics: the Autoworkers Union in

postwar Canada; book review. Charlotte Yates.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p313-15

NEW BRUNSWICK

See also

Forest products industry - New Brunswick

NEWELL, Dianne

Tangled webs of history: Indians and the law in

Canada's Pacific Coast fisheries; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p305-8

NEWFOUNDLAND

See also

Economic development - Newfoundland

Employment - Newfoundland

NEWSPAPERS

Sections, columns, etc

Obituaries

See *Obituaries*

NORTH AMERICAN Free Trade Agreement

Trading freedom: how free trade affects our lives, work and environment; book review. John Cavanagh, and others, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p326-7

NORTH AMERICAN Indians. See Indians of North America**NORTH CAROLINA****Social history**

Common Whites: class and culture in antebellum North Carolina; book review. Bill Cecil-Froneman.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p345-6

NORTHERN Ontario. See Ontario, Northern**NOVA SCOTIA****See also**

Cape Breton Island

Fish industry - Nova Scotia

Forest products industry - Nova Scotia

Mine accidents and explosions - Nova Scotia

NURSES and nursing**History**

Professionalization and proletarianization: medicine, nursing, and chiropractic in historical perspective; avec sommaire en français. David Coburn. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p139-62. Sommaire en français: p423

O**OBITUARIES**

George Rudé (1910-1993). Nicholas Rogers.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p9-11

Homage to Edward Thompson p2. Bryan D.

Palmer. part bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p13-68. Part 1: no 32 (fall '93):

p10-71

OBLATES of Mary Immaculate

Entre voisins: la société paroissiale en milieu urbain: Saint-Pierre-Appère de Montréal 1848-1930; compte rendu. Lucia Ferretti.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p337-9

OBLATS of Marie Immaculée. Voir Oblates of Mary Immaculate**OCCUPATIONAL health and safety****Japan**

Worker protection Japanese style: occupational safety and health in the auto industry; book review. Richard E. Wokutch.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p376-80

OLIVER, Michael

Passionate debate: the social and political ideas of Quebec nationalism 1920-45; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p310-13

OLSEN, Gregg M.

Struggle for economic democracy in Sweden; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p374-6

O.M.I. See Oblates of Mary Immaculate**ONTARIO****See also**

Infant mortality - History - Ontario

Sex crimes - History - Ontario

Toronto, Ontario

Economic history

Planting the province: the economic history of Upper Canada, 1784-1870; book review. Douglas McCall.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p303-5

ONTARIO, Northern**See also**

Mines and mineral resources - Ontario, Northern

Mining towns - Ontario, Northern

OSBORNE, Ken

Winnipeg 1919: a city in crisis [exhibition]. il.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p239-57

P**PALMER, Bryan D.**

Homage to Edward Thompson p2; obituary. part bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p13-68. Part 1: no 32 (fall '93): p10-71

PANTING, Gerald E., Jr auth

Maritime capital: the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914; book review. Eric W. Sager and Gerald E. Panting.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p300-2

PARADIS, André, Jr auth

Trois siècles d'histoire médicale au Québec: chronologie des institutions et des pratiques (1639-1939); compte rendu. Denis Goulet et André Paradis.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p332-5

PAY equality. See Equal pay for equal work**PICCHIO, Antonella**

Social reproduction: the political economy of the labour market; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p382-3

PIONEER life. See Frontier and pioneer life**POETRY, American**

Thomas McGrath: life and the poem; book review.

Thomas McGrath. Reginald Gibbons and

Terrence Des Pres, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9

See also

Poets, American

POETS, American

Thomas McGrath: life and the poem; book review.

Thomas McGrath. Reginald Gibbons and

Terrence Des Pres, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p357-9

POLITICAL culture**History****England**

Politics and the people: a study in English political culture c. 1815-1867; book review. James Vernon.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68

PORTER, Gerald

English occupational song; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p368-71

POSTAL strikes. See Strikes - Postal employees**POVERTY**

New unemployed: joblessness and poverty in the market economy; book review. Frank Gaffikin and Mike Morrissey.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p370-2

PRONGER, Brian

Arena of masculinity: sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p372-4

PUETTE, William J.

Through jaundiced eyes: how the media view organized labor; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p374-6

Q

Q.F.L. See Canadian Labour Congress - Quebec Federation of Labour

424 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

QUEBEC Federation of Labour. See Canadian Labour Congress - Quebec Federation of Labour

QUEBEC (Province)
See also
Crime and criminals - History - Quebec (Province)

Family - Historiography - Quebec (Province)

Labour unions - History - Quebec (Province)

Medical care, State - Quebec (Province)

Medicine - History - Quebec (Province)

Montreal, Quebec

Women and city planning - Quebec (Province)

Working parents - Quebec (Province)

Autonomy and independence

Debts to pay: English Canada and Quebec from the conquest to the referendum; book review. John F. Conway.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p302-3

See also

Quebec (Province) - Nationalism

Civilization

Culture inventée: les stratégies culturelles aux 19e et 20e siècles; compte rendu. Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p335-7

Nationalism

Passionate debate: the social and political ideas of Quebec nationalism 1920-45; book review. Michael Oliver.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p310-13

See also

Quebec (Province) - Autonomy and independence

Separatism

See Quebec (Province) - Autonomy and independence

QUEBEC (Province)

Voir Quebec (Province)

Civilisation

Voir Quebec (Province) - Civilization

R

RADICALISM

International labour and radical history pamphlet collection at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Michael Lonardo. bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p211-15

See also

Socialism

History

England

After chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, 1848-1874; book review. Margot Finn.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p361-2

REVIEWS. See Book reviews

RHINEHART, Marilyn

Way of work and a way of life: coal mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888-1926; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p348-50

RHOADS, Steven E.

Incomparable worth: pay equity meets the market; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p380-2

RIGHTS, Civil. See Civil rights

ROBIN, Martin

Shades of right: nativist and fascist politics in Canada, 1920-1940; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p306-8

ROGERS, Nicholas

George Rudé (1910-1993); obituary. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p9-11

ROMAN canadien-français. Voir Fiction, French Canadian

ROUSSEAU, Guildo, Jr editor

Culture inventée: les stratégies culturelles aux 19e et 20e siècles; compte rendu. Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p335-7

RUDE, George

about

George Rudé (1910-1993); obituary. Nicholas Rogers. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p9-11

S

SAGER, Eric W.

-- and Panting, Gerald E.

Maritime capital: the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p300-2

SANDBERG, L. Anders, editor

Trouble in the woods: forest policy and social conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; book review. L. Anders Sandberg, ed.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p320-1

SAVILLE, John

Politics of continuity: British foreign policy and the Labour government: 1945-46; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p351-3

SCHEINBERG, Ellen

Tale of Tessie the textile worker: female textile workers in Cornwall during World War II; avec sommaire en français. il tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p153-86. Sommaire en français: p386-7

SCHNEIROV, Richard

Pride and solidarity: a history of the plumbers and pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p334-6

SCHWARZ, L.D.

London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p359-61

SCOTLAND

See also

Labour - History - Scotland

Social conflict - Scotland

SCOTS in Quebec

History

Popular resistance to legal authority in the upper St. Francis district of Quebec: the Meganic Outlaw Affair of 1888-89; avec sommaire en français. J.I. Little. il port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p97-124. Sommaire en français: p384

SEA shanties. See Songs

SEIXAS, Peter C.

"Shifting sands beneath the state": unemployment, the labor market, and the local community, 1893-1922; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p350-2

SEPARATISM in Quebec. See Quebec (Province) -

Autonomy and independence

SEX crimes

History

Ontario

Improper advances: rape and heterosexual conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929; book review. Karen Dubinsky.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p287-96

SHAKERS**History***United States*

Shaker experience in America: a history of the United Society of Believers; book review. Stephen Stein.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p346-8

SHIPPING**History**

Maritime capital: the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada 1820-1914; book review. Eric W. Sager and Gerald E. Panting.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p300-2

SMALLER, Harry, Jt auth

Stacking the deck: the streaming of working-class kids in Ontario schools; book review. Bruce Curtis and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p323-6

SMITH, A.E.*about*

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SMITH, S.A., Jt editor

Notes of a Red Guard; book review. Eduard M. Dunc. Diane P. Koenker and S.A. Smith, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355-6

SOCIAL classes**History***England*

Visions of the people: industrial England and the question of class, 1848-1914; book review. Patrick Joyce.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68

Alberta

Social classes and Social Credit in Alberta; book review. Edward Bell.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p311-13

SOCIAL conflict

See also

Social classes

Scotland

Militant workers: labour and class conflict on the Clyde, 1900-1950; book review. Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p363-4

SOCIAL Credit Party (Alberta)

Social classes and Social Credit in Alberta; book review. Edward Bell.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p311-13

SOCIAL democracy. See Socialism**SOCIAL history**

See also

England - Social history

North Carolina - Social history

SOCIALISM

From the social gospel to "the plain bread of Leninism": A.E. Smith's journey to the left in the epoch of reaction after World War I; avec sommaire en français. Tom Mitchell. port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p125-51. Sommaire en français: p385

See also

Communism

Marxism

Jamaica

Social origins of democratic socialism in Jamaica; book review. Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p361-3

SOCIALISME. Voir Socialism**SOCIALISTS**

Hommage to Edward Thompson pt2; obituary. Bryan D. Palmer. port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p13-68. Part 1: no 32 (fall '93): p10-71

Biography

Maritime radical: the life and times of Roscoe Fillmore; book review. Nick Fillmore.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p303-5

SONGS

English occupational song; book review. Gerald Porter.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p368-71

SOUTHERN Africa. See Africa, Southern**SPECIAL collections in libraries. See Libraries - Special collections****SPENCER, Bruce**

-- and Taylor, Jeff

Labour education in Canada: a SoliNet Conference.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p217-37

SPORTS**Social aspects**

Area of masculinity: sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex; book review. Brian Pronger.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p372-4

STAPLETON, Bill*about*

People in struggle: the life and art of Bill Stapleton; book review. C.H. Gervais.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p308-10

STATE medical care. See Medical care, State**STEEDMAN, Mercedes**

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-- Jt auth

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STEEL industry

See also

Stelco Inc

History

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STEEL workers**History**

Struggle for job ownership in the Canadian steel industry: an historical analysis; avec sommaire en français. Robert Storey. tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p75-106. Sommaire en français: p421

STEIN, Stephen

Shaker experience in America: a history of the United Society of Believers; book review. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p346-8

STELCO Inc

Recasting steel labour: the Stelco story; book review. June Corman, and others.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p317-18

STOREY, Robert

Struggle for job ownership in the Canadian steel industry: an historical analysis; avec sommaire en français. tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p75-106. Sommaire en français: p421

426 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

STREAMING (Education). See Ability grouping in education

STRIKES

History

Strike across the Empire: the Seamen's Strike of 1925 in Britain, South Africa and Australasia; book review. Baruch Hiron and Lorraine Vivian. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p363-5

Exhibitions

Winnipeg 1919: a city in crisis [exhibition]. Ken Osborne. il. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p239-57

United States

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Meat industry

United States

On strike at Hormel: the struggle for a democratic labor movement; book review. Hardy Green. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p345-50

Postal employees

Strikes and class consciousness [of inside postal workers in Hamilton, Ont. during and after the 1987 strike by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers]; avec sommaire en français. Tom Langford. tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p107-37. Sommaire en français: p422-3

Social aspects

Strikes and class consciousness [of inside postal workers in Hamilton, Ont. during and after the 1987 strike by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers]; avec sommaire en français. Tom Langford. tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p107-37. Sommaire en français: p422-3

SULLIVAN, Liam M.

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SWEDEN

See also

Democracy - Sweden

Economic policy

Struggle for economic democracy in Sweden; book review. Gregg M. Olsen.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p374-6

SYNDICAT des postiers du Canada. Voir

Canadian Union of Postal Workers

SYNDICATS

Voir Labour unions

Cadres

Voir Labour unions - Officials

Biographie

Voir Labour unions - Officials - Biography

Histoire

Voir Labour unions - History

Québec (Province)

Voir Labour unions - History - Quebec (Province)

T

TARDY, Évelyne, et autres, éditor

Bâtisseuses de la Cité; compte rendu. Évelyne Tardy, et autres, éd. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (automne '94): p325-7

TARI, Katy, jt auth

Femmes en mouvement: trajectoires de l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, AFÉAS, 1966-1991; compte rendu.

Jocelyne Lamoureux et autres.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p342-5

TAYLOR, Jeff, jt auth

Labour education in Canada: a SoliNet Conference. Bruce Spencer and Jeff Taylor. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p217-37

TEXTILE industry

History

Tale of Tessie the textile worker: female textile workers in Cornwall during World War II; avec sommaire en français. Ellen Scheinberg. il tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p153-86. Sommaire en français: p386-7

TEXTILES et tissus

Industrie

Voir Textile industry

THOMPSON, Edward Palmer

Customs in common; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p253-62

about

Homage to Edward Thompson pt2; obituary. Bryan D. Palmer. port bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p13-68. Part 1: no 32 (fall '93): p10-71

THOMSON, Ashley, jt editor

At the end of the shift: mines and single-industry towns in Northern Ontario; book review. Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson, eds.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p318-20

TORONTO, Ontario

Ethnic groups

Such hardworking people: Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto; book review. Franca Iacovetta. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p315-17

TRADE unions. See Labour unions

TRAUGOTT, Mark, éditor

French worker: autobiographies from the early industrial era; book review. Mark Traugott, ed. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p371-3

TURBIN, Carole

Working women of Collar City: gender, class, and community in Tory, 1864-86; book review. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p331-3

U

U.A.W.-CANADA. See National Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union of Canada

UNEMPLOYMENT

New unemployed: joblessness and poverty in the market economy; book review. Frank Gaffikin and Mike Morrissey.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p370-2

See also

Employment

Labour supply

History

United States

"Shifting sands beneath the state": unemployment, the labor market, and the local community, 1893-1922; book review. Peter C. Seixas. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p350-2

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS - History - Revolution, 1917-1921

Notes of a Red Guard; book review. Eduard M. Dune. Diane P. Koenker and S.A. Smith, eds. *Labour / Le Travail* no 34 (fall '94): p355-6

UNIONS, Trade. See Labour unions

UNITED Food and Commercial Workers

On strike at Hormel: the struggle for a democratic labor movement; book review. Hardy Green.

UNITED Food and Commercial Workers (cont'd)

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p345-50

UNITED STATES

See also

- Chinese - United States
- Civil rights - History - United States
- Coal mines and mining - History - United States
- Communism - History - United States
- Economic development - History - United States
- Human ecology - United States
- Labour unions - History - United States
- Labour unions - United States
- Mass media - United States
- North Carolina
- Shakers - History - United States
- Strikes - History - United States
- Strikes - Meat industry - United States
- Unemployment - History - United States
- Women - History - United States

UPPER Canada. See Ontario

U.S.A. See United States

USINES

Ouvriers

Voir Factory workers

V

VELLACOTT, Jo

From Liberal to Labour with women's suffrage: the story of Catherine Marshall; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p350-1

VERNON, James

Politics and the people: a study in English political culture c. 1815-1867; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p259-68

VIE des pionniers

Voir Frontier and pioneer life

Columbia-Britannique

Voir Frontier and pioneer life - British Columbia

VIVIAN, Lorraine, Jt auth

Strike across the Empire: the Seamen's Strike of 1925 in Britain, South Africa and Australasia; book review. Baruch Hinson and Lorraine Vivian.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p363-5

W

WALKOUTS. See Strikes

WARRIOR, M.C.

-- and Leler, Mark

First forty years: a history of the Tunnel and Rock Workers Union Local 168; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p305-6

WATER transportation. See Shipping

WHITE, Julie

Sisters and solidarity; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p297-300

WOKUTCH, Richard E.

Worker protection Japanese style: occupational safety and health in the auto industry; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p376-80

WOLFE, Joel

Working women, working men: Sao Paulo and the rise of Brazil's industrial working class, 1900-1955; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p263-77

WOMAN. See Women

WOMAN suffrage

History

Great Britain

From Liberal to Labour with women's suffrage: the

story of Catherine Marshall; book review. Jo Vellacott.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p350-1

WOMEN

See also

- Education of women
- Feminism
- Mothers

Education

See Education of women

Employment

See also

- Equal pay for equal work
- Labour supply
- Women - Occupations
- Women in labour unions

History

Politics of work: gender and labour in Victoria, 1880-1939; book review. Raelene Frances.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p356-8

Working women of Collar City: gender, class, and community in Tory, 1864-86; book review. Carole Turbin.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p331-3

History

United States

On Wisconsin women: working for their rights from settlement to suffrage; book review. Genevieve G. McBride.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p333-4

Occupations

Travail au féminin: analyse démographique de la discontinuité professionnelle des femmes au Canada; compte rendu. Marianne Kempeaers.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p339-41

History

Tale of Tessie the textile worker: female textile workers in Cornwall during World War II; avec sommaire en français. Ellen Scheinberg. il tab bibliog. *Labour / Le Travail* no 33 (spring '94): p153-86. Sommaire en français: p386-7

WOMEN and city planning

Quebec (Province)

Bâtisseuses de la Cité; compte rendu. Évelyne Tardy, et autres, éd.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (automne '94): p325-7

WOMEN in labour unions

Sisters and solidarity; book review. Julie White.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p297-300

WOMEN in trade unions. See Women in labour unions

WOMEN workers. See Women - Employment

WORK stoppages. See Strikes

WORKERS. See Labour

WORKER'S education. See Labour - Education

WORKING classes. See Labour

WORKING mothers. See Working parents

WORKING parents

Quebec (Province)

Mères et travailleuses: de l'exception à la règle; compte rendu. Renée B. Dandurand et Francine Descarries, éd.

Labour / Le Travail no 33 (printemps '94): p341-2

Y

YATES, Charlotte

From plant to politics: the Autoworkers Union in postwar Canada; book review.

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p313-15

428 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

YU, Renshu

To save China, to save ourselves: the Chinese Hand
Laundry Alliance of New York; book review.
Labour / Le Travail no 33 (spring '94): p356-7

Z

ZETKIN, Clara

about

Clara Zetkin, féministe sans frontières; book review.
Gilbert Badia

Labour / Le Travail no 34 (fall '94): p355
Review in English

ZIMBABWE

See also

Agriculture - Zimbabwe

LABOUR / LE TRAVAIL

L/LT is a bilingual semi-annual review dedicated to the broad, interdisciplinary study of Canadian labour history. Holding to no rigid position on the definition of labour, the Editorial Board hopes to foster imaginative approaches to both teaching and research in labour studies through an open exchange of viewpoints.

The Board feels that Canadian history lacks a sufficient understanding of the lives of workers. Productive human energy has played a vital role in the development of Canadian society. Our common life has also been richly endowed with the cultural contributions of generations of working men and women. It will be the constant endeavour of *L/LT* to rectify an all too general Canadian ignorance of these legacies.

The Board welcomes the submission of articles dealing with the following: trade and industrial union organization; social and cultural aspects of the lives of workers; questions relating to labour in politics and the economy; the impact of labour problems on local communities and on various ethnic, cultural and national groups; biographical treatments of union leaders or radicals associated in some way with the labour movement; labour ideologies of reform or revolution; and comparative studies of labour in other countries which shed light on the Canadian situation.

Articles should be submitted to the *L/LT* office in duplicate. If they have been prepared on a word processor or computer, please provide appropriate information and include a disc. Upon receipt they are reviewed by the editor and if the article fits the journal's editorial mandate and is felt to be of reasonable quality, a file is opened and the manuscript is sent out for review. The referees generally include both members and non-members of the editorial board. When the referees' reports are received, the editor compiles them, makes a final decision upon the manuscript based on the referees' views, and reports to the author. The author always receives the readers' reports and is invited to respond to them. Articles may be rejected, accepted without revision (rarely), accepted with revision (frequently), or accepted subject to substantial revision and resubmission to one of the original readers to insure that the revisions are adequate. Upon acceptance of an article authors are asked to sign our permission to print form.

La revue *L/LT* se consacre à l'étude interdisciplinaire de l'histoire des travailleurs et des travailleuses du Canada. Les articles sont publiés dans les deux langues officielles du pays. Le Comité de rédaction n'établit aucune définition particulière du *travail* et désire plutôt que la revue serve de carrefour afin de permettre un fructueux échange d'opinions entre les diverses écoles d'interprétation.

La rédaction est convaincue que l'histoire canadienne ne peut se passer d'une connaissance du monde ouvrier dans toutes ses dimensions. La société canadienne n'aurait pu se développer sans la contribution de générations de travailleuses et de travailleurs. Pour remédier aux oublis du passé, *L/LT* se propose de faciliter la reconstitution de cette histoire et de la rendre plus accessible.

Afin d'atteindre ces buts, nous sollicitons des manuscrits sur des aspects du monde ouvrier tels que: les syndicats de métier et d'entreprises, les non-syndiqué(e)s, les conditions de vie des travailleur(euses), les mouvements radicaux et réformistes liés au monde ouvrier, l'impact politique, économique et social du syndicalisme, les idéologies ouvrières, ainsi que les études sur les travailleuses et travailleurs de tous les pays dans la mesure où elles contribueront à la connaissance du milieu canadien.

Les textes doivent être soumis en deux exemplaires. Les articles rédigés sur ordinateur ou sur machine de traitement de texte doivent être accompagnés du disque et des informations nécessaires. Les textes sont soumis à un comité de rédaction. S'ils sont conformes aux principes éditoriaux et de qualité raisonnable, un dossier est ouvert et le manuscrit est envoyé au comité de lecture. Celui-ci inclut des membres du comité de rédaction ainsi que les lecteurs ou lectrices externes. Sur la réception des rapports d'évaluation, le rédacteur de la revue prend une décision finale basée sur les critiques reçues et les transmet à l'auteur. Les personnes qui soumettent des textes reçoivent toujours les rapports de lecture et sont invitées à y répondre. Les articles peuvent être refusés, acceptés sans révisions (rarement), acceptés avec révisions (fréquemment), ou acceptés après révisions de fond et une resoumission à l'un des membres du premier comité de lecture. Lorsqu'un texte est accepté pour publication, les auteurs signent les formules de consentement à la publication.

LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

ARTICLES

MICHAEL LONARDO: Under a Watchful Eye: A Case Study of Police Surveillance During the 1930s

PAUL AXELROD: Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP 1935-1942

ART GRENKE: From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler: The German-Canadian Left from the Depression to the End of World War II

MARCUS KLEE: "Hands-off Labour Forum": The Making and Unmaking of National Working-Class Radio Broadcasting in Canada, 1935-1944

GARY KINSMAN: "Character Weakness" and "Fruit Machines": Towards an Analysis of The Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service

LORNA WEIR: Social Movement Activism in the Formation of Ontario New Democratic Party Policy on Abortion, 1982-1984

WILLIAM K. CARROLL and R.S. RATNER: Old Unions and New Social Movements

CRITIQUE

TOM WAYMAN: To Be Free Full-Time: The Challenge of Work

DOCUMENT

PHILLIPS THOMSON: Thoughts and Suggestions on the Social Problem and Things in General (1888-1889)

REVIEW ESSAYS / NOTES CRITIQUES

WILLIAM ERIC PERKINS: A Crate of Records is like a History Book

NELSON WISEMAN: The Eclipse of the NDP

DESMOND MORTON: Government Worker Unions: A Review Article

ROYDEN LOEWEN: Jews Inventing Ethnicity?: A Review Essay

and... REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

BOOK NOTES / RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

NOTEBOOK / CARNET

ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS

INDEX

