

**Blakeley, Ruth (2009) *Review: Guantánamo North: Terrorism and the Administration of Justice in Canada*. Review of: *Guantánamo North: Terrorism and the Administration of Justice in Canada* by Diab, Robert. *Labour/Le Travail*, 64 . pp. 239-241. ISSN 0700-3862.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/30162/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<http://www.iltjournal.ca/index.php/ilt/article/view/5591/6454>

## This document version

Publisher pdf

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

## Additional information

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal* , Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920*** (Toronto: Between the Lines 2008)

THE LATE NINETEENTH and early twentieth centuries in Canada generated a variety of movements and ideas that challenged the dominant capitalist order to varying degrees. In his eagerly awaited first volume of an anticipated three-volume history of the left in Canada, Ian McKay provides a richly textured examination of much of this terrain, employing a Gramscian-inspired “reconnaissance” to map the history of what he calls the Canadian left’s first formation. The author’s reconnaissance involves discrete and detailed discussions of the emergence of the first formation in the late nineteenth century, the evolutionary basis of first formation socialism, class, gender, race, religion, and the revolutionary moment in the latter years of World War I and its immediate aftermath.

There is much to praise in this thick volume, which, as one of the commentators on the back cover suggests, will become the definitive text on the subject for years to come. Especially noteworthy is McKay’s attention to the important role that evolutionary thought played in all social analysis at the time, and particularly in left and socialist analysis, and his emphasis on the central role that religion played in the discourse of all left commentators in the period. His chapters on class, gender, and race synthesize (though he resists the term) the existing rich

scholarship on these subjects, supplemented by his own substantial immersion in the relevant archives. And all of this is framed by a carefully constructed theoretical approach that the author claims, at various points, to be critical realist, (7, 523, 525) historicist, (524) and materialist. (5)

While this book provides numerous opportunities for engagement and debate, I will limit my comments to what I consider to be the author’s undertheorization of capitalism and class and the impact this has on the framing of his project, including the extent to which it is a fully critical realist, historicist, and materialist reading of the left in this period.

To begin with, what is the left according to McKay? A leftist is defined as someone who believes that capitalism is unjust, more equitable democratic alternatives are possible, social revolution (peaceful or otherwise) is necessary, and the preconditions for social transformation exist in the actual world. (4) And in the paragraph immediately prior to the one containing this definition, the author asserts that “we might agree” to define socialism as an outlook that holds that a society founded on large-scale private ownership entails injustice, a more equitable form of society can be established, social revolution (hopefully peaceful) will be required to attain it, and “we might add” that socialism is actually emerging out of the world around us. So is the left in this period limited to socialism? At times it appears that it is and at times it appears that it is not. Throughout the text

the author seems to use the words “left” or “leftist” and “socialism” and “socialist” interchangeably. However, his analysis of the left is extended at times to anarchism and labourism, including contrasting both with socialism. (112, 131)

This apparent confusion about what constitutes the left is connected to a limited appreciation of the complexities of class in this period. And the failure to properly theorize class arises from a combination of an implicit and unstated classical historical materialist reading of the structural nature of capitalism – couched in general references to modernity – during what has been described elsewhere as Canada’s second industrial revolution and an explicit use of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony in which the Italian communist’s attention to the theoretical distinction between base and superstructure is minimized in favour of an emphasis on the materiality of ideas and superstructure. (5)

Actually there is little attention in *Reasoning Otherwise* to the structural nature of Canadian capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the discussion of political economy in the book is surprisingly brief (21–28), relies largely on liberal and social democratic literature, and, while the word capitalism appears in the text, the book is framed primarily by the concept of modernity, which is never defined. Yet, in order to develop a historical materialist understanding of the left, surely it is necessary to have a clear theoretical analysis of the specific nature of the material foundations of the social formation. This involves an interrogation of the modes and relations of production at play, their various intersections, and the class formations and relations that result.

This failure to theorize capitalism thoroughly is most evident in the author’s treatment of agrarian ideology. To McKay’s credit, he takes seriously some of the

ideas generated by the Canadian farm movement, devoting about ten percent of his chapter on class to what he describes as the “awkward classes.” (198–208) Here the writings of E.A. Partridge, Henry Wise Wood, and William Irvine are dissected and placed in the broader context of evolutionary thought. In addition, there are welcome excavations of early-twentieth-century Marxist analyses of the agrarian question by Alf Budden and C.M. Christianssen. The use of the term “awkward classes” to frame the analysis, however, reveals the extent to which the author relies (perhaps unreflectively) on classical and Euro-centric historical materialist analyses of Canadian capitalist development, including the place of agriculture and farmers within it. In this approach, farmers are a transitional middling class between workers and capitalists (quoting Kautsky) “doomed to vanish with capitalist expansion.” (204) Yet, the Canadian experience in this period – like many other societies on the geographic periphery of capitalist development – was one in which an expanding class of simple commodity producers in agriculture was simultaneously reproduced with a working class in other sectors. This created a social formation that could be described as capitalist dominated, but which contained and reproduced class relations that were both capitalist and non-capitalist. Linear interpretations of capitalist development are of limited use in these cases.

This social formation, in turn, had implications for the productive forces (the relative strength of agro-industry in such economies, for example), the classes that were generated, and, more to the point in this context, the nature of the movements and ideologies of resistance that developed. A critical realist, historicist, and materialist reconnaissance of this terrain should yield a left that is broader and more clearly defined than that mapped in

*Reasoning Otherwise*. In the case of the farm movement, for example, one would expect to encounter the whole range of ideologies of resistance that were generated, including, but not limited to, those that we might describe as socialist. But McKay's agrarian left appears to contain only "agrarian socialists," who are a subset of "utopian co-operators" (presumably containing left and non-left groups). However, McKay warns us that "Prairie radicalism" was something "radically post-liberal" and cannot be "inserted into preconceived categories." Hence, there is either a reduction of the agrarian left to a variant of socialism, which, in turn, is defined primarily by working-class agency and politics, or agrarian ideology is unhinged from its social base and becomes simply radically post-liberal. Whichever it is, McKay's failure to properly theorize Canadian capitalism in the period yields a limited view of the Canadian left in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

These specific criticisms notwithstanding, *Reasoning Otherwise* is a substantial achievement. It is provocative, original, and contains numerous flashes of insight that will provide scholars and students of the left with many questions to ponder and points to challenge for years to come.

JEFFERY TAYLOR  
Athabasca University

**Lindsey McMaster, *Working Girls in the West: Representations of Wage-Earning Women*** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2008)

LINDSEY McMMASTER has contributed a refreshing new interdisciplinary analysis of representations of urban working girls in western Canada at the turn of the 20th century. By placing working-class white girls at the centre of the frame during a

period of social and cultural change in western Canadian history, McMaster gives these young women agency and cultural power. Her work balances the emphasis on working girls as objects of exploitation and reform in existing interpretations of women's work and activism, with a closer attention to their active position on the transformative edge of gender, class, and ethnic relations in the West.

McMaster argues that representations of working girls took on a particular power and meaning in western Canada, still emerging from its frontier status. Rapid population growth, immigration, industrialization, and a statistical preponderance of men (particularly young single men) render the western experience of gender relations distinctive. This, while not an entirely new argument, is persuasive as far as it goes, and is more than justification enough to re-visit the working girl phenomenon from a western perspective. However, region is a more complex reality than the book sometimes attests. Differences between cities like Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Saskatoon are de-emphasized in favour of the categorical West. This might be a less significant problem if McMaster had drawn more consistently from a range of sources and examples from a variety of western Canadian cities. In discussing representations of women in fiction, for example, McMaster has chosen works that depict women in Vancouver, and in some cases eastern Canada, but none that discuss working girls in Winnipeg, the West's major metropolis in this period.

McMaster's fresh deployment of North American scholarship on working girls, including that of Carolyn Strange, Kathy Peiss, and Nan Enstad, as well as the insights of working-class cultural historians such as Michael Denning, demonstrates the ongoing potential for working-class history of a cultural studies approach. The book is not slavishly

focused on discourse and subtly employs critical theory in a way that will make most historians (and their students) comfortable. McMaster displays a facility in analyzing texts of a diverse variety, choosing to look not only at the words of social reformers and liberal critics, but also those of the labour press, literary sources, and autobiography. Literary representations, according to McMaster, “transcend the narrow view of the working girls that dominates the reform rhetoric about her,” and allow the reader a sense of “women’s individual choices, attitudes, and outlooks.” (6) It is her attention to poems, novels, and autobiographical texts that most contribute to the book’s originality. Much of this was new material to me: I look forward to tracking down and reading the 1919 autobiography of prostitute Madeleine Blair, for example. Perhaps it is to McMaster’s credit that I began thinking of other possible texts worth re-reading for their insights into the lives of working girls, radicals, and other marginal women, such as Francis Marion Beynon’s *Aleta Day*, or Douglas Durkin’s *The Maggie*.

McMaster is a dexterous writer and interpreter of her sources, and I especially appreciated her light touch and attention to fun, passion, and social interaction. Her discussion of women in the Winnipeg General Strike (ever a well-trod subject) is genuinely new. It is a significant achievement to so fluidly weave together a study that discusses everything from domestic and factory work, sexual harassment, and women’s picket line violence to working girls’ fashion, courting, and dime novels.

McMaster demonstrates that conversations taking place in the broader (mostly print) culture can tell us a lot about the individual lives of working women, and the critical and contested space they occupied between the gendered ideals of domesticity and the world of work for

women. Although poverty and vulnerability are not ignored, working girls are by no means passive victims of industrial capitalism, social reformers, or a male-dominated labour movement. They are feisty resisters and cultural producers; key interpreters of a new urban reality. A society coming to terms with changing gender and sexual norms made working girls the object of considerable interest, criticism, and fascination. The ease with which working girls seemed to negotiate new boundaries of sexual propriety in their dress, comportment, and behaviour was “baffling” to middle-class observers, McMaster argues. (with echoes of Dick Hebdige, 102) At least some social commentary and observation was apparently based in an envy of working girls’ freedom and rebelliousness, and the contradictory desire to both mimic and scorn their persona. In the context of the West, which was simultaneously seeking to shed its frontier status and establish its economic and social bona fides, the transgressive and disruptive role played by working girls was, McMaster argues, a culturally potent force.

This book essentially deals with representations of white working girls. It does not adequately account for representations of the work, leisure, or activism of those on the margins or outside of the category ‘white.’ The author on occasion references, for example, the important role played by Aboriginal women in BC industries such as salmon canneries, but does not position the social discourse about Aboriginal women workers in relation to representations of white working girls. More attention to the racialized position of Aboriginal women might have been useful for McMaster’s project, given the fluidity of racial constructs in the West during a period of Aboriginal displacement and high settler immigration. There are other windows of opportunity for looking more closely at the ‘othering’

of immigrant women workers in the book, such as the depiction of 'foreign' women during the Winnipeg General Strike. As the author notes with regard to the racialization of men, non-white could apply to individuals from any number of national origins. The press in Winnipeg often attributed labour radicalism and women's violence to "foreigners," as they did the militancy of male strikers. This brings into question the primacy of gender over class and ethnicity in shaping the experience of strikers, and a statement made early in the book, that "male workers and female workers occupy utterly different conceptual spaces." (17)

*Working Girls in the West* fits snugly into lines of historical inquiry dealing with the West, the city, modernity and anti-modernity, gender norms and sexual regulation, social reform, and labour activism. It does a nice job of revealing how western Canadian women were at once objects of critical scrutiny and romance, in a place considered by social commentators to be unfinished and in process. By using new sorts of primary sources and re-reading more familiar ones, McMaster shows us that working girls in the West were complex subjects for commentators who criticized, sought to understand, and valorized the working girl as an exemplar of a new modernity. Opening new avenues for research and interpretation, the book should be widely read.

ESYLLT W. JONES  
University of Manitoba

**Constance Backhouse, *Carnal Crimes: Sexual Assault Law in Canada, 1900–1975*** (Toronto: The Osgood Society for Canadian Legal History 2008)

*CARNAL CRIMES* IS AN engaging examination of the legal and cultural practices that informed sexual assault law in the 20th century. Constance Backhouse

compiled an extensive database of sexual assault cases in preparation for the project. From this, she selected nine case studies that illustrate different types of sexual assault, provide regional representation, and demonstrate change and continuity over time. The book is organized chronologically. It begins in 1900 because her earlier examination of sexual assault law ended in the 19th century, and ends in 1975, when feminist lobbying to change sexual assault law to address unequal gender relations began to have an impact on policy. The research and analysis demonstrate Backhouse's expertise in legal practice and history. Her experience as an activist dedicated to amending legislation that perpetuates inequality is also evident in her passionate and sensitive evaluation of these stories.

Backhouse's discussion of the cases is grounded in the feminist conviction that sexual assault "emerges out of disparities of power between men and women." (3) But the analysis does not prioritize gender over race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, and disability. The selected case studies demonstrate the impact of interlocking social hierarchies on the treatment of individual women, and how the social location of both victims and perpetrators influenced their success in the courtroom. Backhouse is particularly interested in what the complexities of each case reveal about law and courtroom procedures. She insists that "illustrative narrative cases" are as useful as studies based on the synthesis of large samples of court cases. Close examination of the people before the court and working in the court, as well as the community where the assault happened, allows her to examine how particular circumstances affected the final outcome of the trial. Her conclusions about each case are supported by extensive endnotes that present the details of comparative court cases. Researchers who are

interested in the history of sexual assault law will benefit from the list of statutes and cases that are available on her website (<http://www.constancebackhouse.ca/>). Each woman's story is a platform to explore specific themes in the history of sexual assault. Historical and sociological studies of sexual assault have established that undermining the victim's character by raising doubts about her sexual purity has been a long-standing defense strategy. Interrogating past sexual activity, as well as behaviour deemed to be disreputable, was a common method used by defense lawyers to raise doubts about whether a complainant had refused consent to sexual intercourse. The first case study uses Mary Ann Burton's bold reprimand to the defense lawyer to stop bullying her during his cross-examination to challenge the legal assumption that it is easy to make an accusation of rape. This case has no legal significance. Backhouse chose it because Burton's demand for fair treatment and justice was a unique criticism from a victim of the legal system's examination of her character. The next two case studies explore how changing sexual mores and new opportunities for young women to assert their independence in the early 20th century informed the court's understanding of provocative behaviour. The Fiola case of 1917 is an upsetting story about a gang-rape of a fourteen-year-old working-class girl by eight men between the ages of eighteen and 23. The young woman's credibility was already under suspicion because she had accepted a ride with the young men. Testimony from police officers that the young woman had confessed to immoral acts with another man before she met the accused men assured their acquittal. In the 1925 case against Henry Kissel, a Jewish medical student at Dalhousie University, a young working-class waitress had to defend her respectability to a court that frowned on

her risqué behaviour with her boyfriend. These case studies reinforce feminist attempts to debunk the myth that women easily made false rape accusations.

The next case studies illustrate the extreme vulnerability of women who were marginalized by disability, age, sexual orientation, and race. Velma Demerson's campaign to obtain an apology and compensation for the gynecological experiments conducted on her while she was detained at the Mercer Reformatory is already known to those who have read her autobiography, *Incorrigible*. This chapter adds context to her story, and will be useful for instructors who use the memoir in the classroom.

Beatrice Tisdale, a deaf woman who pressed charges against her friend's husband, received inadequate interpretive assistance in the courtroom. It is distressing to read the excerpts from the court transcript in which the judge and lawyers mocked her inability to communicate effectively that she did not consent to the multiple rapes. Marie Tremblay (a pseudonym) was five years old when she testified that her mother's common-law spouse had repeatedly raped her. This case study explains why judges were reluctant to accept testimony from child witnesses and why they have consequently insisted on corroborative evidence. Their suspicion that children lied about sexual abuse was based on legal and psychological expertise that was never proven by sound research.

The case against Willimae Moore is significant because it is the first case that the author found that involved two women. In this case, the complainant was not grilled about whether or not she had provoked or consented to an attempted kiss from the accused. Moore's lesbianism was on trial. The tragic story of Rose Marie Roper's sexual assault and murder examines how colonialism destroyed her life. Backhouse



places this story into the long history of White men who have assumed that Aboriginal women are always sexually available and the courts that have excused this form of violence. These case studies are a nuanced examination of how systemic inequalities complicate disparities of power between men and women.

The final case study is a 1974 sexual harassment case that became more complicated when the defense lawyer recommended a plea bargain that included \$1,000.00 in restitution for the plaintiff. The chapter explains that lawyers assumed that feminist demands for legislative change and “female-packed juries” made it more difficult to defend men, even though the convictions rates proved that this was not true. The trial judge accepted the plea bargain, arguing that imprisonment would not help the accused. This judgment prompted Backhouse to present a thoughtful critique of her own advocacy, in the 1980s, for longer prison sentences as a deterrent to sexual assault.

*Carnal Crimes* is a valuable contribution to the legal analysis and history of sexual assault. The research and analysis demonstrate Backhouse’s strong sense of ethical responsibility. Because the cases are public record, she does not protect the identity of most of the women and the defendants. She is sensitive to the privacy and feelings of the victims, the accused, and their families. When possible, she worked closely with the women and court officials or their surviving family members to tell these stories. Her conclusions recommend a reevaluation of feminist strategies to use the law to address injustice. She refuses, however, to abandon the feminist project for legal reform because many women, either by choice or compulsion, find themselves in court seeking justice or defending their reputation. Backhouse masterfully combines storytelling and analysis, and has written

a book that is highly readable and intellectually stimulating.

NANCY JANOVICEK  
University of Calgary

**Cathy Crowe, *Dying For a Home: Homeless Activists Speak Out* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2007)**

IN THIS MOVING volume, Cathy Crowe, a long-time downtown Toronto street nurse, has assembled a series of interviews with recent homeless activists in Toronto interspersed with her own sympathetic commentaries and experiences. The book is not only an incredibly useful testimony to the shameful situation of lack of affordable housing, the crisis of homelessness in one of the wealthiest societies in the history of humanity, and the courage, determination and essential humanity of the homeless; it is an impassioned indictment of the political and economic forces that have left up to a quarter of a million homeless people in Canada in the first years of the 21st century literally “dying for a home.”

Crowe has worked since the late 1980s as a “street” nurse: a term coined by a homeless man in downtown Toronto. In her definition: “It explains in two simple words – street nurse – that this country has a new nursing specialty – homelessness, and this I suggest to you, is obscene. I’m not a politician, an economist, or an urban planner. I’m a nurse, a street nurse, and what I see ‘downstream’ in society necessitates that I look ‘upstream’ to find the root of the problem. The necessity for street nurses necessitates that our nursing be concerned with politics.” (6) Through interviews and personal reflections by homeless activists the book thus tells the story of the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee and the Tent City scheme, the principal efforts in the



struggle against homelessness in Toronto in the 1990s and 2000s.

What makes this book interesting and useful are the personal stories of activism by the homeless and their allies. This is no academic and statistical survey of the crisis of homelessness in Canada although Crowe does include sufficient background information and details for readers on the scope of the problem. For example, she deftly uses the concept of “dehousing” developed by University of Toronto researcher David Hulchanski to describe the man-made crisis of homelessness caused by neoliberal economic policies and brutal cutbacks to the welfare state. But it is the personal stories of social problems, illness, addiction, courage, shortcomings, conflicts, weaknesses, and strengths of the homeless activists that stand out.

Crowe’s own history of developing activism as a street nurse and political militant is fleshed out in the introductory 30 page chapter. It shows how direct practical experience treating the homeless in downtown Toronto led her to fitfully reach out to political solutions for the crisis in affordable housing, hooking up with anti-poverty activists, academics, local politicians, and activists among the homeless. In this chapter, she usefully reviews the general situation of homelessness in the country and the political/economic decisions made under neoliberal governments at all levels which precipitated the crisis.

Seven of the other nine chapters include an introductory section by Crowe and the testimonies of the homeless activists. Two chapters concerning two of the homeless men who died before the book was put together were written by Crowe and include testimonies from friends and colleagues. The text is delightfully interspersed with photographs, poems, prose, letters, and copies of speeches written by the activists themselves that deal with

both personal and political experiences.

The ten interviewees in the book come from diverse backgrounds and regions of Canada. They all describe themselves (both explicitly and implicitly) as formerly “productive” members of society, holding steady jobs and leading stable lives, who through a series of diverse personal misfortunes and political/economic trajectories were forced to contend with homelessness. What is common among their testimonies is that they all decided to get active and mobilize within broad coalitions to push for both temporary and more long-term solutions to the lack of affordable housing in Canada’s largest city.

Most of the activists interviewed were involved in the Tent City in the late 1990s, a pointed act of civil disobedience involving homeless people squatting in an unused private lot owned by Home Depot close to downtown. Tired of the paltry lack of resources for the homeless in the city, the men and women there began by building make-shift lean-tos and eventually secured the assistance of local authorities to build a few temporary houses known as Durakits. Throughout this process, the activists involved themselves in various coalitions dealing with the housing situation and even travelled to rallies and meetings across the country. While they were eventually evicted, forcibly, in 2002 the Tent City activists managed to garner substantial public support, political allies, and practical assistance, including from some trade unions such as CUPE and CAW, forcing the government to offer special Rent Supplements to aid the activists find long-term housing. In general, these activists succeeded in opening up a wide public debate about the question of homelessness that put local, provincial, and federal governments on the defensive.

What shines through in all the chapters is not only the common decency of the homeless activists, but the remarkable

process of how material circumstances combined with political/ideological arguments, springing internally and externally, to spur on a sustained fightback. In all the testimonies it is clear that the experience of political activism provided a focus for their lives that allowed them to overcome many problems and nurture a strong sense of hope for a better future.

Read this book not only for the fascinating personal stories of a group of determined activists, but also for the political lessons on building solidarity, organizing coalitions, and mobilizing people against the neoliberal agenda. While the stories included in Crowe's volume rightly emphasize the successes of homeless activism in Toronto, there is still much to be done to maintain these modest victories, contest the neoliberal agenda, and expand the struggles to ensure that nobody else dies for a home.

SEAN PURDY

Universidade de Sao Paulo

**Jack W. Brink, *Imagining Head-Smashed-In: Aboriginal Buffalo Hunting on the Northern Plains* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2008)**

DESPITE THE TITLE which suggests somehow that this World Heritage site is primarily a cultural construct, the author looks at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump as an imagined place in a much more traditional sense.

We cannot know every detail of how buffalo jumps were used, by whom, or even how frequently specific jumps were used. As a result, anyone studying Plains Aboriginal buffalo hunting methods in the period before the 18th century is forced to rely on four main information sources. In no particular order of significance, Brink suggests these are the physical archaeological evidence left at sites, scientific analysis of bison biology

and behaviour, traditional knowledge of Aboriginal peoples, and surviving historical records from non-Aboriginal observers that describe – often without a good sense of exactly what was being observed – Aboriginal activities and customs in the early contact period. This information must then be filtered through a process of imagining the why and how of buffalo jumps to understand their place in the lives of those people who used them generation after generation.

The book is full of interesting observations and useful insights for labour and other historians. Brink suggests that communal buffalo hunting, especially the use of jumps, produced some of, if not the, largest volumes of food from single events ever devised by humans. The quantities of meat produced and the complexity of processing the meat, hides, and other materials in enormous volumes at great speed, required remarkable knowledge and coordination of effort. This was food production in quantities rivaling modern feedlots and industrial meat-processing levels. Clearly not all pre-industrial labour was small-scale, craft-based production as popular history would sometimes have it.

Similarly, Brink reveals the scale of investment Plains peoples made in communal hunting methods. This investment included an extensive network of drive lanes and other infrastructure that reached kilometres back into the gathering basin behind Head-Smashed-In and other adjoining jump sites, and the expanse of camp and processing areas below the jump. No less impressive is the sophisticated knowledge of bison behaviour and physiology required to organize a successful hunt using a jump or pound. As Brink points out this was not some crude process of chasing buffalo over a cliff or into an enclosure. Buffalo are very large, very wary, and very well adapted to survival on the plains. They are not easy

prey, and hunting them even with horses and firearms was dangerous and difficult. Imagine then killing them by the dozens in a single hunt on foot and armed only with stone weapons and tools.

Nor were these hunts simply a product of chance. They required complex planning over an extended period. This included assembling a large work force able to work together towards a common goal and the ability to put in place a range of necessary conditions from the choice of jump to the spiritual requirements needed for a successful hunt. Even then there were no guarantees. A wind change might spook the herd, they could veer off before the cliff face or pound – and probably trample a number of hunters in the process – or their very numbers might cause the walls of a pound to burst. Readers will come away from this book with a new appreciation of the ingenuity, intelligence, hard work, and courage of Aboriginal peoples.

The book is strongly revisionist and uses illustrations and text to challenge directly a number of stereotypes, including some preposterous depictions of jumps found in documentary art and all too many museum exhibits. Brink also wades into a number of areas where academic research intersects with popular perception. For example, he offers some careful analysis of debates over whether Aboriginal peoples were models of ecological stewardship or “wanton exploiters” of nature’s bounty. Long a staple of popular culture, this issue has gained new academic impetus from suggestions that Ice Age megafauna may have succumbed to the impact of human hunters rather than environmental change and discussions around the impact of certain land management practices of Aboriginal groups such as deliberate fire setting and timber cutting in the past. As Brink notes, this debate is rarely based on much hard evidence and it assumes hunting

and other resource use in the past was based on choice rather than a complex range of contingencies. On the one hand, the ten metres of debris at the base of Head-Smashed-In puts paid to the notion that ancient hunters used every part of their kills. Still, to see this as wanton destruction without understanding the practicalities of a hunt such as how much meat could be processed before it began to spoil or the numbers of people available to butcher the carcasses is anachronistic thinking. Brink also makes a case for the utter impossibility of understanding how communal hunting fit into Plains peoples’ ways of life without considering their belief systems, social organization, and a host of other non-material considerations.

Brink’s ideas reflect his own experience working at Head-Smashed-In over the past quarter century, and in particular his growing awareness of the value of traditional knowledge held by elders and ceremonialists in understanding the deeper cultural and spiritual significance of the site and what occurred there. As the book makes clear, the involvement of the Peigan and Kainai communities in the development of the Head-Smashed-In site has been crucial, although Brink also reveals how a wide a gulf of culture and history needed to be bridged in order to make the site work at both a personal and organizational level.

In a previous job, I was peripherally involved with programs at Head-Smashed-In. As a result, I appreciated this book’s honest account of the misconceptions and occasional controversies that occurred as a large government historic sites agency lumbered into the preservation and interpretation of a site that is both a World Heritage site and a place of enduring significance to First Nations in southern Alberta – some of whom just happen to live next door. Brink describes Head-Smashed-In as the “mother of all

buffalo jumps” because of its antiquity, size and pattern of regular use. It has also become perhaps the “mother of all Aboriginal historic sites” – anticipating the development of a host of similar sites including Wanuskawin in Saskatchewan and Ulm Pishkun in Montana. Along the way some First Nations groups have concluded that they want to own and operate sites themselves as at Blackfoot Crossing, but in showing that an Aboriginal historic site could attract hundreds of thousands of visitors Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump really did set the stage for new public interest in our Aboriginal past and a regeneration of interest in Aboriginal communities in the significance of their history.

Of course no book is perfect and it is possible to quibble with any number of authorial, editorial, or publishing decisions made with *Imaging Head-Smashed-In*. Overall though, this is an excellent example of the kind of scholarly research some museums and historic sites programs can still aspire towards, despite political pressures to focus solely on attendance, cost recovery, and visitor satisfaction surveys.

MICHAEL PAYNE

City of Edmonton Archives

**Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937–1982*** (Vancouver: UBC Press 2008)

SINCE THE PASSAGE of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982, Canadian political culture has become increasingly oriented around questions of rights. The Charter has been a powerful tool for interest groups seeking to challenge laws and government policies in the courts. As Canada's political culture has changed, there has been an explosion of scholarly activity examining the consequences of

this fundamental shift, including work by Alan Cairns, Guy Laforest, Michael Behiels, Miriam Smith, and F.L. Morton. Historians have begun to trace the development of the Canadian rights culture. Ross Lambertson, James Walker, Christopher MacLennan, Stephanie Bangarth and others have paid particular attention to the development both of human rights legislation and the ways in which various civil liberties and human rights groups have operated in this developing culture. In *Canada's Rights Revolution*, Dominique Clément aims to contribute to this growing scholarship by focussing on four professional human rights organizations which emerged during this period. Clément argues that the existing historiography has focussed too much on a top-down approach to rights activism, concentrating primarily on state actors and the courts. He argues that a greater emphasis on non-state actors is needed in order to fully understand how this facet of Canadian society has evolved.

Clément centers his attention on four human rights organizations that were active in the 1960s and 1970s: the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA), the Ligue des droits de l'homme (LDH), the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA), and the Newfoundland-Labrador Human Rights Association (NLHRA). In addition to providing a broad overview of the extremely diverse array of issues addressed by these groups, he focuses on a number of key themes, including the impact of state funding on social movement organizations, the strategies for change employed by these groups, obstacles to organizational formation at the national level, the relationships between these organizations and other social movement organizations, and the ideological divisions within the broad human rights/civil liberties movement. Moreover, he attempts to address the fundamental question of whether rights

discourse is an effective lever for promoting social change, an approach he views with much scepticism.

The scope of Clément's study is impressive, covering a diverse array of topics ranging from the use of the War Measures Act during the Kellock-Taschereau Commission of the 1940s to the October Crisis of 1970, from anti-discrimination activism in labour organizations to lobbying for the rights of the elderly and prisoners to campaigns for minimum wage legislation. His four case studies are also extremely different from each other, covering organizations rooted in major cities and smaller communities, those which received state funding and those which opposed it vociferously, and organizations with a civil liberties focus as well as those with a broader conception of human rights. He has clearly pored over an extensive array of archival material on a host of different topics, and in so doing has established an extensive basis for analyzing human rights activism.

This study is ambitious in its scope, but there are a few problems with execution and analysis. One problematic issue is Clément's attempt to cover both civil liberties associations, which he defines as advocating a "negative" approach to freedom – with objectives such as removing discriminatory laws and seeking due process in the application of the law – and organizations with a "positive" approach to equal rights which includes such broad social objectives as state-funded health care and pensions for the elderly. Given the vast divergence between these types of objectives, the organizations that Clément discusses are so different as to make extremely difficult any meaningful comparisons of their approaches and successes. Moreover, his characterization of these organizations as adopting "negative" or "positive" approaches to human rights is quite value-laden.

Clément's unquestioning acceptance of the LDH's advocacy for Quebec's language policies (both Bill 22 and the Charter of the French Language) under the rubric of "French-Canadian" language rights is also troublesome. At no point does his definition of language rights seem to encompass the minority language rights of either French-Canadians or Acadians living in provinces other than Quebec; nor does he mention that opposition to these laws was also couched in terms of the language rights of Quebec's own linguistic minorities. Indeed, Clément's repeated use of the term "French-Canadian" to describe Quebec nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s is quite misleading. In his analysis of the Trudeau government's funding of advocacy groups via the Secretary of State department, he claims that this funding was motivated by a desire to counter French-Canadian nationalism, when the nationalism in question was solely limited to Quebec. Indeed, a host of French-Canadian and Acadian community organizations were directly supported by this federal funding. At a minimum, Clément needs to explain how the LDH attempted to frame this issue in the discourse of human rights, which would also have been useful in the context of the other "positive" rights he addresses.

The main focus of *Canada's Rights Revolution* is on the organizations which sought to transform Canadian society, rather than on the state. I agree with Clément that there is a need for this type of bottom-up approach to political change. However, this study would have benefited from greater consideration of some top-down factors as a complement to the bottom-up dimension. For instance, the Victoria Charter of 1971, which included a mini-Bill of Rights which would have been incorporated into the constitution, is completely absent from the book, as is any direct reference to Pierre Trudeau's own writings on the need for a bill

of rights (such as in *Federalism and the French Canadians*). It also would have been worth comparing the level of difficulty faced by organizations fighting against discriminatory provisions of the Constitution (such as denominational education) as opposed to their efforts against mere government legislation. These shortcomings in terms of political context are compounded by basic factual errors, such as naming Jean Lesage as Quebec's premier in the 1970s (104) rather than Robert Bourassa, and confusing the public funding status of Ontario's Catholic schools – which did have full public funding up to Grade 10 until 1985, when this was extended to the end of high school, a status which still exists, contrary to Clément's suggestion that it ended in the 1990s. (187)

It is a challenge to incorporate multiple case studies into a coherent narrative, and this was sometimes a difficulty with the structure of the book. A strength of Clément's approach is that he reflects on each of his central questions (about the impact of state funding etc.) in the final section of each chapter. In other respects, the narrative structure is less well executed. For example, a key element of the human rights story in this period was the role of Secretary of State funding to these organizations, an element referred to throughout the book. However, the structure of this program and its philosophy are not addressed until the final twenty pages of the book. Moreover, in an effort to provide detail about the vast array of initiatives undertaken by these organizations, Clément includes dozens of superficial mentions of secondary legal cases and campaigns, but does not provide any significant analysis of their methods or successes. While this is often frustrating for a reader who would like to know much more about these issues – particularly when the issue in question is the response of these organizations to the *Charter of*

*Rights and Freedoms*, which is only fleetingly addressed – Clément has opened many doors for the study of Canadian human rights activism, and his work will provide a useful starting point for future researchers.

MATTHEW HAYDAY

University of Guelph

**David Rayside, *Queer Inclusions, Continental Divisions: Public Recognition of Sexual Diversity in Canada and the United States*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2008)

DETAIL CHARACTERIZES David Rayside's comparative study of queer inclusion in Canada and the USA. Rayside's study documents, analyzes, and articulates in searing detail the similarities and differences between the ways Canada and the USA have dealt with the social, cultural, and political demands of gays and lesbians in the post-Stonewall world. Furthermore, Rayside argues that especially in Canada many of the significant changes which occurred in the 1990s happened as governments shifted right and were by and large not supportive of sexual diversity. Thus the changes occurred though de facto legal avenues accompanied by a kind of political apathy. What is particularly striking about the study is the manner in which Rayside's details allow for a complexity to emerge about the two geopolitical spaces that mere surface comparisons would lose, and a demonstration of how the state in both instances has been remade in the context of queer demands for justice and rights since the Stonewall era. Rayside tackles all the big issues pertaining to the remaking of the state and the arrival of queer citizenship. From activist agendas, to same-sex recognition, to parenting, to school reform, each area is surveyed with a detail and insight that will make



this book a touchstone for any scholar interested in how to make sense of the two nation-states in the larger context of global queer policy change, state reform, and the further public articulation of gay and lesbian identity as a modern identity.

*Queer Inclusions* is rooted in the discipline of political science and the book's disciplinary orientation makes it a singularly incisive and important study, because in this instance, disciplinarity allows for meaningful comparative and thus analytical insights to emerge. For example, when Rayside discusses and compares the differences between the political party systems of the two nations it becomes much clearer how certain reforms, like same-sex marriage, were made possible in Canada and why the debate still continues in the US. Recognizing the different ways in which state/provincial versus federal jurisdiction works in the two countries is important to making sense of how the legalization of same-sex marriage happened here much faster. But what is even more significant is to recognize, in the details of Rayside's argument, that Canada's greater powers at the federal level do not always trump some US state jurisdictions in achieving positive changes for gays, the marriage issue notwithstanding. For example, Rayside suggests that school reforms in a number of US state jurisdictions are well ahead of the curve of most such reforms in Canada's school districts. Such details therefore allow for a richer and more complicated picture to emerge of how change has occurred in the last three decades of queer activism in North America.

It is clear that activism is the key to making sense of how queer citizenship has emerged in the second half of the twentieth century and into the present. Rayside documents activist politics through a wide range of actions that mainly took place in institutional settings

where the outcomes could be clearly measured and/or witnessed. The second chapter of the book offers both a comparative history of legal activism, various campaigns and challenges to the quasi-judicial bodies, school activism and other challenges to institutional authority that piece by piece produced the context for a more public and visible queer citizenship. Importantly, the chapter begins the work of demonstrating the crucial atmospheric differences between the two nations. Rayside opens the chapter with the simple observation that "There is no country in the world where activists have been able to mobilize support for public recognition of sexual diversity as widely, intensely, or continuously as in the United States." (19) In the sentence a reader could almost already hear a caution. He then writes: "Yet they operate in a context that creates formidable challenges for them, far greater than those faced by their much smaller and more irregularly mobilized counterparts in Canada and in those parts of Europe where most gains have been secured." (19) It might be argued that such a paradox or contradiction is the core pursuit of Rayside's analytical project. The data that he amasses allows readers to engage that paradox thoroughly.

Furthermore, the comparative data, where available, that Rayside provides for readers offer a rather complex and complicated story of how both nation-states at the national and sub-national levels have dealt with queer citizenship. This aspect of Rayside's project is rather sobering. Drawing heavily on a wide range of survey data Rayside offers a comprehensive picture of how some struggles produced changes while other proposed changes became stalled. The data he provides create a picture of the social and cultural shifts that have fueled political and legal change. Three key focuses are debates in various US jurisdictions on



public schooling and what kinds of content, policies, and support for gay and lesbian identities are warranted, if any at all; the ways in which religious groups organize in both countries, with the US religious right playing a role in sexual diversity debates extremely different from Canada's religious right; and the overall populations' attitudes to gay and lesbian people in both countries. In each of those contexts significant differences emerge which suggest the ways in which important jurisdictional differences allow for different kinds and levels of state reform. In the wider cultural atmosphere Rayside documents how, for example, in US high schools Gay-Straight Alliance organizations have mushroomed in distinctively different ways than in Canada, where there are fewer such organizations in our high schools. All of this raises debate on the question of whether queer kids are safer in the Canadian high school system or the US.

*Queer Inclusions* documents the paradoxes of gay and lesbian inclusion in the shifting landscape of late-capitalist liberal democratic nations like Canada and the US. The book's argument is premised on an assumed queer populace that seeks rights and makes use of the mechanisms within the state to argue for those rights and to achieve them. Rayside does not significantly take up gender differences or racial differences in the queer populace that his book studies. It appears that others will have to do that work. Thus one wonders about how contemporary queer inclusions work for those marked as queerly different – poor queers, racialized queers, and others. However, despite my asking such questions of Rayside's study, as I read this book, he provided for me a host of responses concerning queer inclusion into modern citizenship. The detail of Rayside's work, its embeddedness in the discipline of political science, and its wonderful use of rich data paint

a broad picture of what many now see, in Canada at least, as the conclusion of one of the great social movements of the second half of the twentieth century: gay and lesbian liberation. Rayside has made a valuable contribution to political science and queer scholarship.

RINALDO WALCOTT  
OISE

**James M. Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center 2008)**

ON 6 DECEMBER 1968 the University of Saskatchewan's Regina Campus student newspaper, *The Carillon*, published a controversial illustration. It depicted the head of a baby filling a womb, while a Christ-like image of Ho Chi Minh is birthed, his beard acting as a penis dropping sperm or blood back down onto the baby's head. The caption read "Happy New Year From The Carillon." (95) Publication of the controversial image came after several months of articles and editorials attacking both the activities of the Saskatchewan provincial government as well as the local newspaper for its politically weak editorials. Under intense public pressure, the Principal of Regina Campus urged the Board of Governors to suspend the newspaper. The Board agreed to do so, but student and public pressure resulted in a reversal of the decision in March 1969.

The suspension, and its reversal, occurred at the height of student activism. In *New World Dawning* James M. Pitsula examines that activism at the Regina Campus through the prism of *The Carillon*. The suspension of the newspaper drew the largest gathering of students for a campus meeting of its kind. Moreover, both the controversial illustration and suspension are illustrative of the events and spirit of the sixties – student protest

against the Vietnam war, the fight by students for control over their own societies, freedom of the press, and the advent of sexual liberation. And Pitsula skilfully incorporates the incident into the book to highlight those issues.

Pitsula sets the stage for the rise of student activism by providing an introductory chapter on the development of the baby boom, the culture of the 1950s, the impact of the beat generation, and the development of the New Left and the counterculture in the United States. He then details the growth of Regina Campus from its origins as a Methodist College which by 1925 offered first-year university courses transferrable to the University of Saskatchewan to an independent university in 1974. He places these developments within the context of the political culture of the province, the tensions between Regina Campus and its parent institution, the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, and the massive campus expansion of the mid to late 1960s. Such contextualization continues throughout the monograph with Pitsula placing the voice of *The Carillon* within the context of North American events.

The pages of *The Carillon* reveal how in the 1960s students began staking out a new type of student culture. Articles and editorials focused on a range of topics: Aboriginal rights, the Vietnam War, the FLQ crisis, the women's liberation movement, and criticism of the use of student fees by the Students' Representative Council (SRC) on apolitical activities such as parades and beauty pageants. Student activists, Pitsula argues, reflect the emergence of the "Citizen-Student" – students willing to assert their rights immediately rather than treat the university as a training ground for future citizenship. Some students became involved in the community, creating tutoring programs for Aboriginal youth, working and living in local First Nations and Métis

communities, creating women's groups on campus, and protesting the Vietnam War.

Pitsula shows that the editors of *The Carillon* not only encouraged radical activists but endorsed the counterculture. In its pages, for example, can be traced a shift in sexual mores. In 1961 an open discussion on pre-marital sex raised a furor. Similar discussion just a few years later drew little, if any, protest. The paper itself became more sexually explicit – by 1967 even showing a male and female student in bed together (though the woman discreetly kept her back to the camera). Equally, articles and editorials supported the growing openness among students to the drug culture. Pitsula states, however, that keeping "true to their Saskatchewan roots," (239) the editors of the paper remained primarily focused on political events.

Pitsula argues that 1968 provided the high point of student activism on campus. In October of that year over 1200 students gathered at the provincial legislature to protest rising tuition and the faulty administration of the student loan program. This was "the largest student demonstration of the decade." (266) Thereafter, Pitsula claims, "student politics became increasingly dogmatic and ideological" (275) and *The Carillon*, which had balanced on and off campus reports, became out of touch with its constituency as it increasingly focused on the latter.

Throughout the book, Pitsula focuses on cultural change. He argues that "not everything that happened during the 1960s is necessarily of the sixties." (1–2) For Pitsula, "the 'sixties' is code for rebellious youth." (2) He is not interested in "the 'silent majority,'" (2) or in examining the traditional elements which existed within the period. Rather, he focuses largely on radical youth and the cultural changes occurring at the time. This is

certainly an important task especially because historians still know little about the student movement or radical activities on Canadian campuses in the late 1960s. Yet, Pitsula's approach also raises questions about the nature and meaning of the period.

For example, Pitsula equates "the sixties" with the student movement and with generational identity, and he certainly shows the existence of both. Yet a different story seems also to be present. The student activism of the period occurred within the context of an internal struggle within the faculty over the vision of the institution. Would Regina Campus be a new type of institution, providing a liberal education that integrated knowledge and made learning "relevant," or one focused on research, specialization, and professional training, similar to the activities already being undertaken at the University of Saskatchewan? That debate fractured the faculty, with the latter vision winning out. As Pitsula shows, the debate was central to the emerging critique of the university. Yet one wonders how these faculty members fit into Pitsula's definition of "the sixties." Equally, the Principal of Regina seems to have defended the freedom of the press until he came under intense pressure in 1968 while in 1965, it was a student, the SRC president, who fired the editor of *The Carillon* because the newspaper was allegedly out of step with student expectations. These examples, like that of the faculty struggle for a relevant curriculum, defy easy generational divisions and raise questions about tying the cultural change of the 1960s primarily to rebellious youth.

Pitsula successfully draws out evidence of cultural change in the pages of *The Carillon*. But it would be interesting to know if other sources reinforced or contradicted the image of change projected in the student newspaper. Moreover, one

is left wondering how events at Regina Campus compared to those in Saskatoon or at other universities on the Prairies or in the rest of Canada. Having said that, *New World Dawning* is one of only a handful of monographs to examine the sixties at Canadian universities. It thus provides an important contribution to, and illustrates the great need for further work on, youth culture in 20th century Canada as well as the history of the sixties.

Pitsula argues that "something of consequence happened in these years. A line was crossed; a new world was born." (3) Of this there is no doubt and Pitsula conveys well that change at Regina Campus. A specialist in the history of student culture or the sixties in Canada will gain insight from this book into how the 1960s unfolded at Regina. But Pitsula has also written a book for a general audience. *New World Dawning* is a readable, accessible introduction to the history of the student movement and the counter-culture of the 1960s. It brings alive the events of the period and the sentiments of the student movement and highlights the fundamental shifts occurring within North American society at the time.

CATHERINE GIDNEY

St. Thomas University

**Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917***

(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2008)

ROY PARKER'S *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917* examines the immigration to Canada of over 80,000 British children, largely between the ages of 10 and 14. Juvenile immigration supporters, including the Canadian government, largely justified this movement of children across the Atlantic within the broad context of a pauper 'problem' in Britain and a labour

shortage, specifically in agriculture, in Canada. Parker approaches the topic through extensive and meticulous archival research, and the resulting analysis is well situated within the existing scholarly literature. He examines the complicated web of forces that intersected on both sides of the Atlantic, precipitating and sustaining the immigration of British children to Canada over a 50-year period. *Uprooted* reads companionably with other key works in the field, such as Phyllis Harrison's *The Home Children* (1979) and Joy Parr's *Labouring Children* (1980; 1994) and carves out its own place within the literature.

Parker does a remarkably good job of presenting a vast amount of archival material in an organized and readable fashion through well planned chapters that allow readers to move back and forth between chapters with ease. Interspersed throughout the narrative are excerpts from letters, many written by the children and their relatives, frequently seeking information regarding the whereabouts of family members. Through these excerpts we 'hear' from some of those most affected, the children and their families, accenting the reality that this mass movement of children across the Atlantic over a half century shaped each individual child's experience, and also that of the child's family, in significant ways. These 'voices' mixed in with the narrative also make the book eminently readable. Parker warns, however, that the letters that remained in the archival holdings represent only a fraction of the children involved, and so many more are simply not heard.

Beginning with an extensive discussion of the complicated processes at work in Britain and Canada, Parker highlights an economic and political lag between the two countries as one of the main reasons the opportunity for mass shipments of children arose. The number of pauper

children, identified under the Poor Law and housed in organized and voluntary institutions, became increasingly problematic in Britain while simultaneously offering a potential economic solution to the agricultural and domestic service labour shortage in Canada. Further, the desire to populate the Empire with individuals who had existing ties and loyalties to the Motherland and the presumed adaptability of children made them prime candidates. Following the two waves of child immigration over five decades, Parker pays considerable attention to the bureaucratic struggles involved in negotiating and facilitating the movement, identifying, but not dwelling on, key immigration agents such as Maria Rye, Annie Macpherson, and Thomas Barnardo, many of whom were inspired by evangelical notions of 'child saving.'

An integral part of this 'saving,' as Parker indicates, was the presumption that some children would benefit by breaking the generational ties of poverty. Parker does not justify these decisions, but he is careful to warn against judging the immigration agents by contemporary standards. Parker is also careful to point out that at least some children had a choice, as under the Poor Law process, the children, some as young as four, were brought before a judge who asked them if they would like to go to Canada. While some children undoubtedly did not understand the process, Parker points out that some declared that they did not want to go, and it appears that their wishes were honoured.

Parker then turns to the Canadian dimension, notably slimmer than the British section that precedes it, and discusses the reasons why importing British children was attractive to some Canadians. The juvenile immigration movement was not always a smooth process, as many were concerned about importing pauperism or even worse, a criminal element.

Concern also rose among labour unions about the potential threat to employment opportunities for the native-born, or at least those already settled. The entire process was handled very gently so as not to upset too many groups or to appear to be 'flooding' Canadian society with immigrant child labourers. With the early years of the Great War the voyage across the Atlantic became too dangerous and the immigration of children slowed.

Parker closes the study by reviewing some of the survivor stories as remembered by now grown adults; these stories are largely culled from Harrison's (1979) work and the influential book and BBC documentary *Lost Children of the Empire* (1989). These stories, although unrelated to the excerpts from children's letters throughout the book, provide a nice closing. The constant search for identity was evident in the memories of the children even in their late adult years. This fundamental aspect of their experiences could have been discussed further, especially in regards to larger questions about citizenship raised in earlier chapters.

Although Parker acknowledges that his primary objective is to understand the forces that made the immigration possible rather than the experience of the children themselves, the introduction of the children's 'voices' leaves the reader wanting to hear more. Further, he could have better contextualized the changing notion of 'childhood' that formed the backdrop of his study. He does note that, by using archival materials, he can inform us less about childhood experience and more about how reformers regarded child-saving and the nature of childhood itself. However, he could have engaged with the existing literature on changing notions of Canadian childhood in a more meaningful way. For example, Parker notes that compulsory schooling emerged in Ontario in 1870, but does not link this development to evolving notions

about what was expected from children and how the new expectations shaped ideas and policies about 'protecting' the 'new' childhood. He devotes a small chapter exclusively to the immigration of British children from reformatories and industrial schools but fails to contextualize Canada's own industrial school and juvenile justice movement.

Despite these minor issues, *Uprooted* is a welcome addition to the literature, providing a thorough and sensitive examination of the immigration of poor British children to Canada between 1867 and 1917.

ALESSANDRA IOZZO-DUVAL  
University of Ottawa

**Rusty Bittermann and Margaret McCallum, *Lady Landlords of Prince Edward Island*** (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2008)

IN A NARRATIVE marked by tales of domestic felicity, betrayal, madness, and irascible spinsters, *Lady Landlords of Prince Edward Island* identifies gender relations as a facet of the great land question. In the 1760s the British concentrated ownership of the Island's 1.4 million acres into the hands of "about a hundred proprietors." (4) Over the ensuing century, tenant farmers and politicians contested this regime of landlordism and the failure of absentee landlords to execute their legal obligations. By 1875 the issue reached a climax: the Island, as a new Canadian province, enacted the Land Purchase Act compelling the sale of the remaining estates. (5) Of the 57 estates purchased by the Canadian government between 1875 and 1880, more than one quarter were owned solely by women; (8) authors Rusty Bittermann and Margaret McCallum make of this demographic facet of Island landownership a rationale for a study of four major women

landowners – Anne Saunders (later Lady Melville), Jane Saunders (her sister and later Lady Westmorland), Georgiana Fane (daughter to Lady Westmorland), and Charlotte Sullivan (no relation to the foregoing women). Though two of the lady landlords visited the Island, the women viewed their estates from the vantage point of their stately homes in Scotland and England. Thus, this book ignores the experiences of the Island residents. Rather, the authors strive to illustrate the veils of perception – the social and cultural dynamics of gender relations – through which the women contemplated their Island estates.

Bittermann and McCallum's introduction locates their subjects' landlord experience within the various phases of the land question. While the authors are not explicit about their analytical framework, they take as a basic position that the management of an Island estate represented "opportunities for women to exercise political and economic power" and that the women had "become significant players in estate management and in the politics of the land question on the Island." (15) The authors further demonstrate that the women's gendered experiences explain their particular attitudes towards their roles as landlords. Chapter by chapter, the authors explore each woman's relationship to their Island estates. In the 1780s Anne and Jane Saunders inherited equal stakes in Island estates (18–9) and in their various capacities managed their estates into the mid-19th century. On her death in 1857, Jane Saunders bequeathed her Island property to her daughter, Georgiana Fane, "set[ting] the stage for Georgiana to assume a role as one of the most articulate, strong-willed Prince Edward Island landlords of the second half of the nineteenth century." (78) However, it fell to the final woman of Bittermann and McCallum's study, Charlotte Sullivan, to defend the rights of imperial

landlords in the Supreme Court of Canada when she "stood alone to contest the constitutionality of the Land Purchase Act." (136) Each woman's experience of proprietorship serves as a portal into a particular constellation of gender and imperial relations.

These four case studies create a comparative matrix, allowing the authors to isolate the significance of gender as a facet of Island proprietorship. The first two chapters taken together reveal the constraints and possibilities for women proprietors as wives, and the second two as single women. Anne Saunders married Robert Dundas, second Viscount Melville in 1796, (23) and her sister Jane married John Fane, tenth Earl of Westmorland in 1800, (50) with very different results. Calm, steady Anne and erratic, dramatic, and tragic Jane respectively demonstrated the benign or horrific consequences of married women's legal position whereby they lost their legal identity upon marriage. (23) Anne's amicable marriage allowed the ideal companionate marriage to flourish and she exercised, with her husband's confidence, considerable discretion as manageress of Melville Castle in Scotland and of the family's finances. (25, 29) Her involvement in the Island estate devolved naturally from her domestic role. She and her husband took their responsibilities seriously, investing in their tenants' welfare according to the precepts of Scotland's agricultural improvement. If the couple's commitment to colonial development lacked vigour, it lay in the difficulties of overseas management, not in any imperial or exploitative impulse on their part. (68) By contrast, her sister Jane regarded her Island property as an escape from her imperial life and her failed marriage. For ten months, Jane lived on the Island where she could claim her husband's social status "without having to worry about the social constraints of her ambiguous position,"



and this status outstripped that of most Island colonial-administrators. (139) Jane responded to her tenants in a way that actually “challeng[ed] landlords’ interests.” (68) Was her attitude founded upon her experience of the arbitrary power of a husband who tried to declare her mad? The authors do not draw explicit conclusions on this point, but they do illustrate the limits upon Jane’s vision. However much Jane may have desired to meet some of her tenants’ needs and though a member of Britain’s governing classes, she was nonetheless powerless to chart a new course for tenant-landlord relations, for as she stated in one instance, “I am, as a married woman, not empowered to act.” (69)

Two single women stood out as the next generation of Island proprietors: Jane’s daughter, Georgiana Fane, and Charlotte Sullivan. As unmarried women and heiresses of considerable fortunes they could and did make decisions about their property (83) as each fulfilled her vision of philanthropy and civic-mindedness. The women became stout defenders of their rights as landowners. However, the authors suggest that the women, as women, were cut out of the negotiations that helped redesign the British Empire even though they were members of the governing elite. In the 1860s, for example, Georgiana Fane had no influence upon the “gentleman’s agreement hammered out in the corridors of power in London” by the male property owners that resulted in the Land Commission of 1860. (96) When she protested the Commission and the 15 Years’ Purchase Act, which she viewed “quite correctly” as “the beginning of the end for landlordism on the Island,” she met with contempt and thinly veiled misogyny. (100) The authors also suggest that Charlotte Sullivan’s perception of her best economic interest – a decisive factor in her resistance to the Land Purchase Act – resulted from her

exclusion from the halls of colonial and imperial power. (129–130) As landlords of their estates, the women had scope to express themselves and extend their values in colonial society. As figures marginalized within the machinery of Empire and Colony, they fiercely defended proprietor rights on the Island, which coincided with their own spheres of influence. The authors conclude that the differences between the women and “the place of these women in the evolving history of landlordism in Prince Edward Island, were shaped by many factors, including the timing of their assumption of ownership and the particularities of their private lives.” (136) By exploring the relationship of each woman to her Island estate, the authors reveal the heady alchemy of sex, land, and power and provide a solid foundation for further analysis.

SARAH GIBSON

Dalhousie University

**Catharine Anne Wilson, *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land, and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799–1871*** (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2009)

IN *TENANTS IN TIME*, Catharine Anne Wilson restores the history of tenancy to its rightful place in the early history of the province of Ontario, particularly its economic, social, and political progress. Using a combination of statistical and anecdotal evidence gleaned from a variety of sources, Wilson provides us with a picture of the role of tenancy in land settlement, agricultural development, and family economies that highlights the importance of tenancy both at the micro level and in the wider society. By adopting an interdisciplinary approach informed by historical geography, economics, legal history, micro history, family history, and particularly the historiography of



liberalism and land reform pertaining to the nineteenth century, she paints a picture of Upper Canada that is innovative, and an important contribution to the historiography.

Upper Canada was a place where liberalism was the dominant discourse, particularly reflecting Locke's influence on attitudes towards land and ownership. In a place where European settlement was the primary activity, the belief that land ownership led to a stable society, as well as personal and family liberty and success, was a powerful one. Land ownership was the unquestioned goal of each individual or family, or at least ought to be, according to liberalism. Tenancy, then, was anachronistic. Wilson's discussion of the legal framework for tenancy highlights the tensions that existed between the law and practice. Yet, as she makes plain, tenancy was widespread and a significant part of the land market, even though it has remained largely invisible, ignored both by contemporaries and by historians.

One of the key questions which directs the argument and framework of *Tenants in Time* is why tenancy among agriculturalists was so significant in this era and place where liberalism and capitalism reigned supreme. Why did so many participate in tenancy when the overriding discourse was to become and remain a land owner? Largely based on a close study of the inhabitants of Cramahe Township on the north shore of Lake Ontario, Wilson, examining the behaviour and decisions of families over time, applies the concept of 'working reality' to answer this question. Even though tenancy seemed to run counter to the prevailing discourse, Wilson shows that these family strategies actually conformed to the working reality of liberalism and capitalism. She uses micro history to illuminate the behaviour of families, and to understand why many were tenants at any given time: because

it made the most sense for them according to their circumstances and long-term plans. Tenants appear to have used their rental arrangements variously as a means of creating capital, of minimizing risk, of facilitating mobility and flexibility, to ensure the success of future generations, and for many, to achieve their goal of becoming landowners. Renting offered forms of liberty to many that ownership would have denied. Tenancy was only one of many options available, and the choice to become a tenant was not necessarily one that undermined a family's efforts to make a living or improve themselves. What is clear is that tenancy does not appear to be a defining criterion for a subclass of farming families. Those who were tenants were not all poor, or struggling; tenants came from a wide range of socioeconomic positions, as did most landlords. Similarly, individual landlords did not represent a single class, and the decision to become a landlord was also often based on family economy, circumstances, and long-term goals. In her discussion of landlords, Wilson reminds us that tenancy existed in this liberal and capitalist society because it made good sense in certain circumstances for landowners to rent their land, just as much as it seemed to many tenants to be good sense to rent rather than purchase.

The complexity of the land market, as Wilson shows, makes it very difficult to apply models of development and decision-making. Not only did inhabitants have the choice between purchasing land or becoming tenants, even within the rental market there were a wide range of options. Long-term leases, shorter-term cash arrangements, and sharecropping all had a place in the land market. And within those categories there were seemingly infinite variations, formal and informal arrangements, variations in rent costs, rights and responsibilities, terms, and so on. Long-term leases (lasting more than

several years, and in some cases, decades) offered lessees opportunities to build up capital in the value of the improvements they were making, such as clearing, fencing, orchards, and buildings. In addition, some long-term leases offered the chance to purchase the land at the end of the term. Tenants could also sell their improvements to others before the end of the term. Shorter term rentals in the later period were often in the form of cash payments. Although early in the settlement phase many rented the land, their rent obligation consisted of clearing a set acreage. These rental arrangements usually offered the most flexibility for landlords and for tenants. Sharecropping was also a useful tool for tenants, especially for those new to agriculture in Ontario, or with very little capital. Sharecropping minimized the risk to tenants, since the landlord was sharing in the risk. Neither short-term cash rents nor sharecropping created or facilitated a widespread cycle of poverty that liberalism tends to associate with such activities. Rather, it was surprising to learn how tenants used these rental arrangements as opportunities to create capital in forms other than real property: for example, improvements, livestock, cash, seed, and perhaps even more importantly for some, the capital found in learning and experience. Despite the dominance of liberalism and the political policies and legal frameworks which favoured ownership, it is clear that tenancy did not just exist, but flourished, often operating on a self-regulating and informal basis, as Wilson's research has revealed.

*Tenants in Time* certainly achieves its overall goal of demonstrating the importance of tenancy in Ontario. Wilson's interdisciplinary approach offers tremendous insight into this largely unexplored subject. At the same time though, in trying to look at so many issues, the approach has limited the analysis in some

areas. She raises a number of interesting points and questions, but if anything, the discussion and evidence is frustratingly brief at times. For example, the subjects of credit versus rent, the market in leases and 'rights' to improvements, or even the impact of competition among landlords, whether individuals, corporate, or government, are all given rather cursory treatment and conclusions are drawn from limited evidence at times. There are important insights to be gained by a closer look at some of these issues. Obviously, as Wilson notes, there are difficulties because of the nature of the records, or the lack thereof. While the excellent appendix of tables and data from the case study of Cramahe does much to overcome some of the difficulties with the larger body of evidence, the discussion and analysis of all this evidence, especially in the chapter devoted to Cramahe, seemed somewhat limited.

*Tenants in Time* is an interesting and important contribution to Canadian historiography. Wilson gives the tenants who lived along the rural roads of nineteenth-century Ontario belated, but deserved recognition and justification for their presence in a time and place where ownership was so revered.

MICHELLE VOSBURGH  
Brock University

**Daniel Dagenais, *The (Un)Making of the Modern Family*** (Vancouver: UBC Press 2008)

WHEN I AGREED to review this book, I was unaware that it was originally written as a doctoral dissertation that was published in French a few years later by Presses de l'Université Laval in 2000. Only recently has this book been translated into English (by Jane Brierley) and published by UBC Press, with an updated Afterword. What this means is that none

of the recent research in family sociology is mentioned in the book, and most references predate the 1990s. As the pleasure of doing book reviews is reading the most recent research, I acknowledge that I was disappointed before I started reading this volume.

With this book, Daniel Dagenais took on a monumental task of writing a broad and analytical social history of changes in “the family” that is based on an interpretive theoretical perspective. It covers four centuries of family life and draws on key authors in several academic disciplines. The breadth of the task shows the impressive scope of Dagenais’ social science scholarship. However, the main argument seems to me to be very similar to that made by Edward Shorter in *The Making of the Modern Family*, released in 1975, except that Dagenais omits most of the empirical evidence for his arguments.

The author begins the book by providing a theoretical reconstruction of ideal family types: he contrasts “the traditional family” and “the modern family” in order to understand the “postmodern family.” His reconstruction relies on Parsons and Luhmann (from sociology), Ariès and Goody (from history), Lévis-Strauss (from anthropology), and Lacan (from psychology). Throughout the chapters, Dagenais examines the nature of kinship ties, the question of the public and private spheres, the parental role, the conjugal role, the French-Canadian family, and contemporary changes in the family. While he claims to examine current sociological interpretations of ongoing changes in the family, he seems strikingly to omit most of the women authors on this topic and the vast majority of English-Canadian ones. Furthermore, the only detailed empirical discussions deal with fertility. Generally speaking, the book is exceptionally “thin” on empirical evidence although it is well infused with theories from psychoanalysis and certain

perspectives in history, anthropology, and sociology.

The book provides a wonderful illustration of the age-old “two solitudes” in Canada. Virtually none of the English-language researchers working in family studies over the past thirty years is even mentioned in this book. Instead, most of the references come from (male) authors from French Canada, Europe, and the United States, even though this new version of the book is published in English Canada and the author is an academic working in an English-speaking Canadian university. Secondly, the book is based on a rather monolithic view of family life that most feminist scholars would find quite alarming. Throughout the book, the author talks about “the family,” which is portrayed as a social institution that is (and always was) the same for all family members (men, women, and children). Masculine language is sometimes used to talk about human beings, and while this might be a problem of translation, there is a distinct absence in the book of feminist ideas on the topic. Unlike most sociology books, this text has few references but many endnotes, most of which elaborate on the argument but also provide references. Most of these references cite male theorists who wrote before the 1970s, even though scores of women academics have refuted many of these theories and done specific research projects on these topics over the past thirty years. However, the author does provide an extensive analysis of the ideas of several classical theorists.

The book is written in highly philosophical language that I found difficult to read. Furthermore, virtually no empirical evidence, examples, or data indicated how the author came to his conclusions. For example, Dagenais argues that the family is “in crisis” and that there has been a “loss of normative orientation.” He also argues that the modernity of the

family “is unique and linked to the modernity of the West;” (xiii) and that the family has been refashioned by the “universalization of identity.” (xiii) He even claims that the current changes in the family involve “the end of modernity as we understand it.” (xiii) These are issues that have been debated and often refuted by political economy and feminist scholars of the family, who argue that many of the former “constraints” on family life are still apparent, including those influenced by gender, social class, and ethnicity. Changes in people’s identity and subjectivity do not always alter their place in society, including the ways others treat them and the socioeconomic outcomes of their decisions and behaviour.

Dagenais argues that the crisis of the family indicates that “we no longer believe in this world of ours and that we are plagued with doubt over one of the most basic aspects of human life – human reproduction.” (xiv) He talks about the “problem” of low fertility (which is certainly not a problem for many women who want to work and support their families). However, he fails to note that most people in Canada and other similar countries continue to marry and reproduce, although the birth rate has certainly declined over the past century in Quebec and Ontario. He goes on to diagnose the problem as “the internalization of the modern pedagogical function” (xiv) which he paraphrases as the “crisis of education.” In fact, he argues that the crisis of education and the crisis of the family are one and the same, yet provides little documentation of the nature of this alleged crisis or what evidence he draws on to conclude that it exists.

In many cases, I found it necessary to read and re-read Dagenais’ sentences in order to understand their meaning, as they seemed exceptionally abstract and unrelated to the social reality that I experience. When I understood the

meaning of a sentence, I still wanted to ask: Why do you say this? How do you know this? What does this abstract idea actually mean? Constant references to the sociological writings of Talcott Parsons reminded me of the hours I spent as a graduate student in the early 1970s reading and re-reading his sentences in order to understand their meaning. When I did, I found them overly abstract, ethnocentric, and androcentric.

This book seems to be based on the idea that one can create a ‘grand theory’ of transformations in family life and even talk about current families without providing recent empirical evidence, and by focusing on identity and subjectivity rather than the material world. In my view, this kind of family sociology died in the 1970s with Talcott Parsons. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that this book won a prize for the best social science book in French Canada when it was first published in 2000. What does this say about “two solitudes” as well as differences in theoretical perspectives and the gendered nature of social science scholarship?

MAUREEN BAKER

University of Auckland

**Robert Diab, *Guantánamo North: Terrorism and the Administration of Justice in Canada*** (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2008)

ROBERT DIAB’S WORK, *Guantánamo North*, offers a compelling and well-argued critique of the developments of Canadian counter-terror legislation and judicial and policing practices since 9/11, based on meticulous research and careful analysis. He demonstrates the role of parliamentarians in bringing into force measures that have eroded civil liberties on the basis of the flawed assumption that existing legislation was inadequate to deal with the threat to which we were

all awakened by 9/11, and that new measures for investigation and prosecution were therefore necessary. The work convincingly shows that the civil liberties of certain targeted groups have not been the only casualties of the 'War on Terror' in Canada. A second flawed assumption – that the new processes of investigation and prosecution necessitate increased levels of secrecy – has resulted in substantial reductions in the transparency and accountability of the law enforcement, policing, and intelligence services of the Canadian state, which in turn may erode public confidence in institutions that are central to the maintenance of a functioning democracy. Diab demonstrates that the courts have collaborated in the fundamental and indefinite changes in the administration of justice, which he persuasively argues are not warranted.

In terms of civil liberties, Diab shows that the Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act, and the conclusions of various judges in cases pertaining to it, has made possible the conviction of persons for facilitating terrorism, despite those persons having no knowledge of the offence. It has also allowed for the inclusion of testimonies of witnesses compelled to give evidence against their will at the investigation stage, before any charges have been laid (In normal criminal proceedings in Canada, witnesses cannot be compelled to testify at the investigative stages). It has permitted the inclusion of secret intelligence by the prosecution officer, which is not made available either to the public or to the accused. It has permitted in camera (secret) hearings and ex parte hearings (the accused and their legal representatives are not present), fundamentally undermining the principle of habeas corpus that lies at the heart of the judicial systems of liberal democratic states. It has enabled an offence to arise in which an individual may be found guilty of membership of a terrorist organisation,

even before that organization has been afforded the opportunity to disprove its terrorist credentials. This possibility arises because, as Diab demonstrates, the Solicitor General needs nothing more than "reasonable grounds for belief" to justify his or her decision to list an entity as having "knowingly carried out, attempted to carry out, participated in, or facilitated a terrorist activity." In other words, no evidence is necessary. Taken to its logical conclusion, as Diab argues, such a belief could arise from information obtained by a foreign state that had used torture in the process of obtaining such information. It has allowed for indefinite detention without charge, under newly established "security certificates." Finally, it has permitted the deportation of foreign national and Canadian residents to states where there is a risk that they will be tortured.

Diab devotes the second chapter of the work to a detailed exploration of the ways in which the judiciary have facilitated the erosion of certain basic principles of justice. He shows that the claim of parliamentarians that in some cases the most basic human rights, such as right to life, liberty, and security of the person, and the right not to be deprived of those rights, must be suspended in defence of national security, has been upheld by the judiciary. This occurred in the case of Manickavasagam Suresh, a Sri Lankan refugee, deemed by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to be a member of the Tamil Tigers. The Canadian state believed this organization to be involved in terrorism, but also knew that members of the group had been tortured by the Sri Lankan state. Suresh was eventually found not to have been directly involved in terrorism, yet the government issued an opinion that Suresh nevertheless constituted a threat to national security and should therefore be deported. In this case the Court concluded that the question

of whether the balance between the threat of torture to the individual, and the threat to national security had been balanced correctly is one that the courts “are content to defer to the Minister her or himself.” With reference to this and other cases, Diab carefully demonstrates that since 9/11, in cases where national security is perceived to be under threat, the Canadian courts have facilitated a situation in which the rights of the individual are trumped by national security considerations.

The final aspect of Diab’s analysis concerns the erosion of accountability and transparency of policing practices that have emerged, again under the banner of protecting national security. This situation, he shows, has emerged in part because the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) now has a much greater role in issues pertaining to national security, which has involved increases in the level of intelligence gathering by the police. As a result, appeals and complaints against policing practices have frequently been held in secret, which undermines claims that policing practices are fully accountable to the public. With reference to specific cases, especially the Arar review, he shows that a further balancing act is being conducted, whereby transparency, openness, and full disclosure are deemed important, but that they are frequently balanced with the need to protect national secrets. Diab persuasively argues that any measures aimed at improving reviews of RCMP activities are undermined since secrecy continues to shroud many of its activities.

Throughout, Diab laments the indefinite nature of the changes to counter-terror legislation in Canada, and contrasts this with the case of the UK, where certain counter-terror measures were introduced for a limited period only. Yet many of the curtailments of civil liberties that suspects were subjected to in Canada

were also meted out on dozens of terror suspects in the UK. A focused comparison of the commonalities between these practices in various liberal democratic states, with a view to assessing the degree to which parliamentarians, judiciaries, and police forces shared ideas about counter-terror measures would make for a fascinating study, building on the work undertaken by the author here.

Diab’s analysis leads him to the conclusion that the developments in counter-terror legislation and judicial and policing practices call into question the assumed universality of the presumption of innocence, as well as the notion that all subjects are equal under the law, since terror suspects are afforded far fewer rights than ordinary suspected criminals. They have also contributed, he argues, to the reproduction of social stereotypes and inequalities. These conclusions are certainly sustained by the preceding analysis, and justify his prescriptions that considerable shifts in attitude are necessary, both at the parliamentary and judicial level, as well as among the public. This, he maintains, can only be possible through better informing the public of the implications of the counter-terror legislation and policing practices for the sustainability of essential democratic values. In this regard, his work constitutes an important and necessary contribution to public debate.

RUTH BLAKELEY

University of Kent, Canterbury

**Marc Edge, *Asper Nation: Canada’s Most Dangerous Media Company* (Vancouver: New Star Books 2007)**

It’s THE 2004 federal election, and then-Conservative Party leader Stephen Harper is late for a campaign event in Hamilton. Traffic on the 401 is busy enough to tempt even a Prius driver to



road rage. But the party faithful need not worry: the CanWest Global corporate helicopter is available, and Canada's future prime minister will be transported to his appearance courtesy of the country's largest media conglomerate.

CanWest Global, of course, is the Canadian media empire that is the nation's largest publisher of daily newspapers, including flagship *The National Post*, and owns the Global and E! television networks, the Alliance Atlantis stable of specialty channels, the Canada.com Internet portal, and television and radio interests in Australia and Turkey. It has also been, since the late, litigious, and likable Manitoba tax lawyer, journalist, and provincial politician Israel "Izzy" Asper bought a second-hand US TV station and established CKND in 1975, the very model of a Canadian media company at its most concentrated and converged.

The Harper-in-a-helicopter scene from Marc Edge's book, *Asper Nation: Canada's Most Dangerous Media Company*, is metaphor for CanWest Global's complex identity as until recently a very successful corporation, while at the same time a vehicle for the Asper family's neo-liberal campaigns against the welfare state and the centre-left Canadian consensus. Never patient with the Fourth Estate convention that even private media companies are a public trust, CanWest Global has severely tested customary principles relating to a newsroom's independence from the owner, the ideological diversity of reportage and opinion, and CRTC regulations limiting foreign ownership. It has acted on the potential always available to a media company – to get rich *and* advance the views of its owners – but generally curbed by the tradition of editorial autonomy.

Through its corporate behaviour, we get a glimpse of an alternative universe where there was no Friends of Canadian

Broadcasting or *Tyee*, no Davey, Kent, or Lincoln commissions, no CBC and no *Adbusters*. Conrad Black's Hollinger was no less inhibited in using its print properties to advocate philosophical and policy views, but its presence was limited to newspapers and its tenure in Canada comparatively brief. CanWest Global, for all Black's grandiloquence, has been a more influential voice in the conservative movement. Outside of the Conservative Party itself, CanWest Global is the major point of access for conservative thought to the country's consciousness, with editorial directives that reconcile western Canadian populism with corporate desiderata.

A former *Vancouver Province* journalist and now communications professor at Sam Houston University in Texas, Edge provides the most honest and complete account yet of CanWest Global's rise. *Asper Nation* is exceptional in demonstrating that concern about CanWest Global's reach ought to go beyond the usual anxiety about media concentration. Izzy's son David Asper, one of the three Asper children now running the company, was a director and patron of the right-wing Fraser Institute, and the company sought to bring Fox News to Canada; CanWest Global contributions to Canadian journalism schools and media research consortia have arguably muted criticism of the company there; and columnists and career journalists as prominent as past British Columbia Liberal leader Gordon Gibson and former Ottawa Citizen publisher Russell Mills have been fired for failure to conform to editorial policy. Such policy, in a firm where the family is the majority shareholder, typically reflects the Aspers' passionate opinions about western alienation, the state of Israel, and what Izzy called the "free ride society."



CanWest Global is a communication professor's dream. The company's more notorious decisions, such as writing national editorials for its papers from head office, airing cheap American programs on its networks to the point of being dubbed the "Love Boat Network," and a pattern of cross-ownership that make it western Canada's own media monopoly, dramatize abstract issues that are stock villains in media studies courses: convergence, concentration, cultural imperialism. One of the welcome features of Edge's treatise that elevates it beyond books about media for the general reader are the several chapters that bring themes relevant to CanWest Global, such as media power and bias, into direct contact with the theoretical literature on these issues. Commenting on the company's moves as reflected through research into propaganda and media influence allows Edge to transcend the usual well-meaning analytical clichés about influence, ownership, and ideology. The book itself is a superior example of what Edge calls "critical corporate media history," a genre we need more of.

Since the book's publication in 2007, the company has had a terrible 2008–9 recession. Its debt is over \$3.5 billion, its shares are trading at penny stock levels, its ad revenues are declining, and it's just announced the sale of its share of the American magazine *The New Republic*. It has also sought buyers for several of its secondary E! network stations, and its audiences are leaving broadcast television for cable, specialty channels, and the Internet. Some commentators suggest that the company may have to be sold or seek bankruptcy protection.

However, CanWest Global's troubles are not unique to it. Canadian media executives have been quoted recently as saying the business model of broadcast TV is "broken." In this time of "credit crunch,"

the already existing vulnerability of media companies that spent big to maximize share when the trends were toward smaller audiences and specialized media is made visible and worsened. The survival of Canadian media arguably lies in rejecting convergence – expensive, clumsy, and built to scale for large audiences that no longer exist – and seeking transformation instead. The wholesale conversion of analog to a digital television system in Canada in 2011 gives a technological incentive to this change, and the means to address a more fragmented public with rich and diverse content, through new hybrid and mobile media forms, and with an eye to social media's interactive appeal to the Facebook generation.

Edge, the author of a previous history of the Pacific Press, and an admitted "disillusioned former journalist," has written this book almost exclusively using published material from news accounts, government commissions, and academic scholarship. The absence of interviews doesn't reduce its value or appeal, but it does limit Edge's ability to get some of the more vivid CanWest personalities off the page. Notably, the sensibility and genius of Izzy Asper – whose views live on in CanWest papers like the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Calgary Herald* – is missing here. Those wanting a closer look at Asper and a book with more insider texture might read Peter C. Newman's 2008 authorized biography of Asper, *Izzy*.

The best kind of book is one that identifies a gap in the research literature, then fills that gap convincingly. *Asper Nation* does just that. Edge addresses a comment by Peter Desbarats, a journalistic icon, that Canadians suffer a shortage of "historical perspective and reliable data" that weakens debate about media here. Edge's fine book, with its closely argued historical analysis, enlightened with media theory, should encourage the creation of

more such research for Canadian scholars and citizens. Such perspective beats a helicopter ride over Toronto traffic, no matter the view up there.

DAVID BLACK

Royal Roads University

**Donald Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2005)

IN *THE PROFESSIONALIZATION of History in English Canada*, Donald Wright recounts the story of how the historical profession gained many of the trappings we recognize today: the advent of Canadian specialists in university history departments, the founding of the Canadian Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Review, and the necessity to complete elaborate training processes in graduate schools to practise as a historian in universities. Yet Wright goes far beyond a progressive “road to here” narrative of professionalization. His story asks other important questions such as who was excluded in this process. What have been the social consequences of professionalization and, when compared to other professions, how successful was the professionalization of history? Wright’s answers are smoothly written, at times presenting thoughtful comparative analyses and intriguing paradoxes that bring us closer to understanding what was at stake in the making of the historical profession in Canada.

The story begins in the 1880s and 1890s when the first university appointments of historians took place. At that time, men and women writing history had day jobs. Wright argues that the advent of university-based historians was not a story of natural progress towards a more accurate discipline. Amateur historians evaluated primary evidence, were sceptical and sought to present truths,

whether it was through historical fiction, museums collections, or works of history. They were not much different from the first professional historians at Acadia, University of Toronto, or McGill. And amateurs continued to play influential roles in the Canadian historical profession throughout the period studied here. Indeed Wright insightfully points out that university-based historians were never as successful in monopolizing their profession as other groups like medical doctors or dentists and tensions between amateur and university-based historians continue to today, frequently replaying the same issues.

That said, the boundary between amateur and professional became clearer after World War I. Wright situates these changes as part of the larger turn in English-Canadian society from a faith in the Social Gospel to a belief in the social sciences. While this did not mean that they rejected their Protestant beliefs (following Michael Gauvreau), it did mean that historians were expected to do primary research on limited subjects using specialized methodologies. This apprenticeship involved formal graduate training with language requirements, courses in methodology, and oral and written exams – to be up to the standards, less of Oxbridge like the pre-war generation, but more like German-influenced American history departments. Increasingly those who wanted to have careers in history felt it necessary to have a doctorate. Many promising Canadian history students went to the US or England to do their graduate work, though numerous Canadian universities established Masters and PhD programs to stem the exodus. The graduate school and the National Archives of Canada became important spaces of socialization for historians where social bonds were created and a growing sense of the discipline was fostered.

After graduate school, professional historians were expected to continue to research and publish. In Canada there was little money for research. Nor were there profits for historical publications (outside of school textbooks which did have a lucrative market in Ontario), making it difficult for historians to find publishers. South of the border opportunity loomed and during the 1930s and 1940s the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, among others, financed numerous classics of Canadian history. Was this cultural imperialism? No, Wright maintains. For the most part, the agendas of most Canadian historians (outside of Stanley Ryerson) fit neatly in line with American interests and no censorship and little conflict occurred over the contents of these books. The independence, so valued by professional historians, was not compromised through this sponsorship.

In addition to new methodologies for research and greater disciplinary awareness, beliefs about the social utility of history also changed with World War I. In the late nineteenth century, writers of history had believed their goal was to inspire and give direction to the nation and provide a link to a British past. Similarly, the first generation of professional historians also held to the belief that history had to teach moral lessons: historians were to be more than professional "fact checkers." Yet, after the war amateur historians were frequently constructed as the "other" who helped professional historians to define themselves. Historians were to be university-based experts who had learned a trade that made them almost uniquely qualified to interpret the past. They were not "history buffs puttering away at their pet projects in their spare time." (83) Underlining the point, professional historians publicly attacked the writings of amateurs for not living up to their standards.

With World War II, some like Donald Creighton would come to believe that history had become too much like a science. The discipline had been privatized within the university and had little impact outside of academe at a time when Christian western civilization was in peril. For Creighton, historians needed to take up the role of myth-makers and path-finders for the nation. Here is a paradox today's historians know only too well. At the same time as historians are trained to use new methods and sources to better understand the past, they are accused of abandoning the moral function of history. Wright argues that the opposition between "fact" and "value" has long been an unproductive debate in Canadian history and recognizing the proximity between the two is an important step for historians to play a more significant role in society.

Wright's work goes further than outlining the development of the official characteristics of the historical profession. He also shows that some groups were excluded from the profession, not because of a lack of qualification, but out of prejudice. Prominent members of the Canadian Historical Association were not eager to open their doors to French-Canadian nationalist historians like Lionel Groulx because he saw the country in a different way than they did. Historians also discriminated against Jews, though apparently this was not widespread since few Jewish students sought to do graduate work or to take up positions in history departments.

The most significant and well-documented case of limiting access to becoming part of the historical profession was based on gender. In the late nineteenth century, women took up history as amateurs, at times forming their own women's historical societies or playing key roles in the formation of local, provincial, or country-wide associations.

While at times taking up female subjects, some with a pro-suffrage agenda, most of these women shared with male amateurs a general strain of Canadian British imperialism that guided their interest in history. With professionalization came the masculinization of the study of the past. In numerous ways, women were not allowed into the profession, receiving fewer scholarships than men, and facing discrimination in grad seminars and discouragement from taking up careers in history. They were unfairly excluded from shortlists for jobs and when they succeeded in reaching a shortlist, they saw less qualified male candidates chosen over them. In sum, history, in the way it was to be professionally practised, was gendered as male, and women faced discrimination when trying to find jobs in the profession. When they did find work as a historian, in today's terms, they faced a hostile workplace. Obviously, Wright's research addresses questions of importance for readers of the journal.

Readers of this journal will no doubt also be interested in the question of the public perception that history as done by historians has little social utility. And to this problem, Wright has no easy answers. Does recognizing the proximity between fact and value make history more relevant? I'm not sure. Other lines of questioning might be useful here. If historians are no longer playing the role of pathfinders of society in English-speaking Canada, who is, why, and how have they achieved this authority? These, however, are less critiques of Wright's work than suggestions for further comparison to engage questions posed here. Indeed, Wright has produced a compelling history of the professionalization of history in English Canada that should open new comparative subjects for future scholars.

JARRETT RUDY  
McGill University

**Karen Pastorello, *A Power Among Them: Bessie Abramowitz Hillman and the Making of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)**

SIDNEY HILLMAN'S name is synonymous with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), but author Karen Pastorello argues that Bessie Abramowitz, who later became his wife, was "more instrumental" (xii) in establishing the union than Hillman, and that she nominated him as president. Pastorello teaches at Tompkins Cortland Community College in Dryden, New York. This book, her first, stems from the childhood influence of her grandmother, an Italian immigrant and member of the ACWA who sewed buttons for thirty years at Timely Clothes, a men's suit manufacturer in Rochester, New York. Through this comprehensive and very readable biography, Pastorello traces Bessie's many contributions to the union and ensures that she cannot continue to be overlooked in future histories of the Amalgamated.

Pastorello acknowledges the challenges of writing the biography of a woman who left behind few written records. She relies upon a variety of sources including union records, speeches, newspaper accounts, and oral histories. In her discussion of Bessie Abramowitz's childhood years and immigration to the United States, she extrapolates contextual information about the experience of *shtetl* (small-town) life of Russian-Jewish women in the early 20th century and the emerging activism within Jewish *kases* (study circles) in the workplace, suggesting how Abramowitz would have responded to the influences around her.

She traces Abramowitz's immigration to Chicago, where she became one of 10,000 women working in the men's clothing industry, in her case as a hand button sewer. She credits Jane Addams

and the settlement activities of Hull House, with inspiring Bessie Abramowitz to “act upon her principles,” and stand up to her foreman when he undervalued her work. In 1909, while sewing buttons on pants at Hart, Schaffner, and Marx (HSM), she was “at the centre of the walkout” that began when women’s piecework wages dropped from 4 cents to 3 3/4 cents for a pair of pants and the company refused to pay overtime. The failure of the United Garment Workers of America (UGWA) to provide assistance to the Chicago workers during this protracted strike was remembered in 1914 when the UGWA fractured and the ACWA was established.

Pastorello suggests that Bessie could have been president of the ACWA but she acknowledged that “it was a man’s world” and “used her power and influence among the workers to support Hillman rather than promote her own leadership.” (45) When Bessie and Sidney married in 1916, they agreed “that only one of them should earn a union salary.” (56) So Bessie resigned from her position as business agent for Chicago Local 152 and from the General Executive Board and continued her union activities on a voluntary basis until Hillman’s death 30 years later, “a two-for-one deal that [Pastorello suggests] was most likely crucial to the union, especially in its early days.” (124) Bessie had two daughters in 1917 and 1921 and, with full-time help, continued to volunteer for the union, walking picket lines, organizing, and attending national conventions while raising her family.

Pastorello demonstrates Bessie’s effectiveness as a labour organizer, bringing “runaway shops” in Pennsylvania (and later Connecticut and New Jersey) into the union in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and organizing the mostly African-American women laundry workers in New York during the late 1930s. She understood the need to develop specific approaches for different ethnic and racial groups. She

introduced labour education programs. Pastorello outlines the contributions Hillman made during World War II, promoting childcare facilities for working women, conducting book and clothing drives, sponsoring blood donor days, etc.

Hillman fought for basic human rights for working-class people, for immigrants, and for African Americans, both men and women. She did not fight for equal rights but for specific legal rights for women, for equity, fair treatment in traditional women’s roles, and the ability to fill the same roles as men for equal pay. Pastorello explains the challenge Bessie faced in determining which strategy would be most effective in improving women’s lives and overcoming the sexism inherent within the ACWA. While the National Woman’s Party supported the Equal Rights Amendment, other groups fighting for women’s rights, including the ACWA, did not want to lose the protective legislation they had fought so hard to have implemented. The ACWA recognized that many women were supporting their families, not just working for pin money. The struggle for women’s rights was not as simple as gaining suffrage; issues such as minimum wages, maximum hours, and equal pay for equal work, education, child care, and health care all required ongoing energy. Pastorello presents Hillman as a strategist, who developed and maintained an extensive network of influential associates who supported her causes.

Throughout her ACWA activities, she deferred to her husband Sidney. Pastorello skims over the surface of the relationship between Bessie and Sidney, and their family situation. It must have been very difficult for a woman of independent spirit and great ability to put up with his long-term affair with his secretary, Tecia Davidson, but the relationship merits only two mentions in the book. Their children were raised largely by a housekeeper;

during busy campaigns “Bessie and Sidney tried to make it home every weekend” (92) but the housekeeper often brought the children to their parents. Pastorello says that “hardships at home enhanced rather than diminished her activist convictions.” (84) She refers to Sidney as Bessie’s “supportive husband” and writes about “the balance she achieved between work and family life.” Yet it wasn’t until after her husband’s death in 1946, that she became vice-president and argued for equal treatment within the union. She remained active until her death in 1970 and was well respected both within the union and in the circles of power in the United States.

One gap for a Canadian reader is that while the book addresses the different issues in the North and South of the United States, it does not even mention the many Canadian locals within the ACWA. Canada is not mentioned until the final pages of the Epilogue, where Pastorello notes that its successor, the ACTWU, played a leadership role, joining with workers in Canada and Mexico, to fight for international workers’ rights. Hillman may never have visited Canada, which is disappointing given how involved she was in American politics. It suggests that the Canadian locals were not paid much attention by the Amalgamated.

*A Power Among Them* is a lively account of the life of Bessie Hillman, a woman who has previously not received enough attention given the important role she played in improving rights for women, immigrants, African Americans, and the working class in the United States through her long involvement with the ACWA.

Readers interested in knowing more about Canadian women in the needle trades might be interested in viewing *Piece by Piece: The GWG Story*, a virtual exhibition forthcoming in Fall 2009 on

the Royal Alberta Museum’s website: <http://www.royalalbertamuseum.ca>.

CATHERINE C. COLE

Curator, *Piece by Piece: The GWG Story*  
Edmonton

**Lawrence Richards, *Union-Free America: Workers and Antiunion Culture*** (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

THE READERS OF THIS journal undoubtedly know the numbers: the American labour movement has undergone a precipitous decline in union density since the mid-1950s; whereas unions once represented more than one in three American workers, they now include barely one in ten. Traditional explanations for these patterns fall into two broad categories: those focusing on external forces and those focusing on internal weaknesses. A mature scholarship in law and history has showed how the structures of the American legal system, particularly the openings that it affords to employer anti-union activities and the narrowing effect it has had on the agenda of the American labour movement, have worked to cripple US unions. Another school posits that the secondary status afforded to labour unions reflects a more fundamental weakness of class consciousness in America which stems from material abundance, social mobility, or the ethnic and racial diversity of the working class.

Lawrence Richards, visiting professor of history at Miami University (OH), rejects both sets of traditional explanations in this groundbreaking book. Richards holds that scholars have erred in assuming that workers have an innate preference for union representation. Rejecting accounts that emphasize the causal importance of legal impediments, employer hostility, union performance, or the



erosion of the American industrial sector, Richards argues that the fundamental explanation for the comparative weakness of the modern American labour movement lies in “negative attitudes towards organized labour” of workers and the “pervasive antiunion culture” that these attitudes represent.

The main thesis of *Union-Free America* is that American unions have historically been forced to combat an underlying cultural antipathy to their very existence, an antipathy evident in cultural tropes of unions as corruption-prone, strike-happy, and narrowly-focused special interests whose agenda is fundamentally at odds with society as a whole. During extraordinary moments, particularly the 1930s, the labour movement was able to overcome the perception of unions as “alien” agents of anarchy and revolution by framing itself as the “champion of the underdog,” a force for raising the material standards of the lowest-paid workers and limiting the worst excesses of capitalism. However this acceptance was always both contingent and conditional, limited to situations in which unions were able to utilize a “legitimization myth” that framed unions as mechanisms to protect exceptionally exploited workers for the benefit of all society. By the 1950s, the success of the labour movement in improving the material status of its members undercut this founding myth, leaving American labour in a paradoxical quandary: unions were viewed as legitimate only insofar as they remained relatively powerless in contests with business; when unions were sufficiently strong to launch meaningful challenges to the capital-dominated status quo, they lost their “underdog” status and, by extension, their public support. In the decades after the end of World War II, anti-union activists capitalized on the growing gap between perceptions of how unions ought to behave (as underdogs) and the growing power of “Big Labour.”

Richards thus shows how the success of the labour movement sowed the seeds of its demise by confirming the public’s suspicion of union power. The emergence of high-profile scandals in the house of labour (racketeering, union corruption) as well as the growing opulence of national union leaders and headquarters combined with the proliferation of strikes to sour public opinion towards organized labour. Racial minorities and women replaced blue-collar workers as the perceived “underdog” of American society by the 1960s, while unions’ success at winning higher wages for their members was widely blamed for the country’s economic ills. The result was that unions came to be seen in the public mind as just another “special interest,” a representative of the “haves” rather than the “have-nots.” At the same time, and somewhat contradictorily, unions continued to be identified with blue-collar workers, limiting their appeal to the growing ranks of salaried professionals, the workers most likely to have absorbed the antiunion bias of the “dominant culture,” leaving them increasingly marginalized in an increasingly post-industrial economy. By the 1970s and 1980s, workers, by a margin of more than two to one, told pollsters that they opposed the unionization of their workplace.

*Union-Free America* follows a straightforward and accessible structure. Part I treats the emergence and resiliency of the antiunion culture in American society from its “Anglo society” origins through its post-1945 maturation. The implications of these cultural tropes during the 1970s and 1980s are treated in Part II, which consists of three case studies – two chronicling failed union drives and one treating the conflict between the “trade union” American Federation of Teachers and the “professional” National Education Association. In all three cases, Richards finds that anti-union

sentiments among workers, not repression by employers, was decisive in limiting union organization. He also uncovers a remarkable similarity between popular antiunion images and ideas and the concerns expressed by workers about unions, particularly the fear that unionization would lead to strikes and a more rigid and confrontational workplace.

Richards employs a diverse array of source materials – media accounts, editorial cartoons, popular commentary, and polling data – to sketch the dominant cultural conceptions of labour unions, along with union and employer records and local newspaper sources to construct the three case studies. Richards' use of the pamphlets and literature of non-union employee organizations, particularly the No-Union Committee at New York University, offers an inventive counterpoint to the more traditional union and employer records.

Though Richards does well to document the effect of anti-tropes in union organizing campaigns, the overarching argument about the centrality of cultural impediments to weakness of the American labour movement is unpersuasive. For all of the treatment of cultural obstacles to unionization, it is the familiar combination of legal impediments and employer hostility that wrecks the organizing drives at Frank Ix & Sons in Virginia and NYU. Union support in the textile firm plummeted after the issue was brought into the National Labor Relations Board process precisely because that process afforded the employer an opportunity to flood the workplace with deceptive literature and anti-union films, to conduct one-on-one meetings with employees it had identified as union supporters through spying on union meetings, and to retaliate against organizers. Though the employer activities were less dramatic in the NYU case, its effect was more obvious: a plurality of clerical

workers voted to support the union in the spring of 1970 (when, for a variety of reasons, the university adopted a stance of relative neutrality); when the election was re-administered a year later, under the authority of the NLRB, the combination of a strategic pay increase (which brought wages into parity with other institutions) and a concerted anti-union campaign reduced union support by at least 20 per cent. Whatever the degree of convergence of these anti-union messages with broader cultural tropes, it seems fairly obvious that the most decisive factor in both campaigns was legally sanctioned employer anti-unionism. The third case study fares better, but even here significant questions remain, since the NEA's shift towards a more traditional set of union activities coincided precisely with the maturation of American anti-unionism. In fact, the dramatic success of white-collar and public-sector unionism since 1945 raises fundamental questions about Richards' "underdog" thesis for periodizing American labour history.

Yet there is much to be gained from this book. Richards' ideas about the labour movement's "legitimization myth" offer a compelling and provocative framework to reassess the long-term decline of popular support for unions in American society. The existence of anti-union cultural tropes in American society has never been particularly contested, but Lawrence Richards' work offers one of the fullest treatments of it to date. The origins and existence of this cultural antipathy are now well established. It will remain for other work to more fully flush out its practical implications and effects.

JOSEPH HOWER

Georgetown University

**Rebecca M. McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941*** (New York: Cambridge University Press 2008)

THIS SPRAWLING, unruly, complex, frequently repetitive, and yet highly informative work offers a welcome turn in the study of American punishment. *The Crisis of Imprisonment* posits the exploitation of convict labour as central to the broad sweep of US prison history, and reminds us of punishment's character as "a species of involuntary servitude." Rebecca McLennan insists that the contract penal system proved extremely profitable to entrepreneurs who invested in prison workshops, and that this profit motive did a great deal more to shape 19th century prisons than many historians have acknowledged.

Moving beyond previous accounts that juxtapose the actions of reformers and penal administrators, McLennan takes us inside the prisons, and demonstrates how the convicts themselves took actions that impinged upon the carceral state at different phases in its history. Convicts repeatedly posed challenges to their condition as *workers*, not just prisoners. Indeed, McLennan argues that the prison's growing emphasis on productive labour during the 19th century "had the effect of empowering" (10) the prisoners, and the growing relationship between private contractors and convicts reduced the power of the state.

McLennan builds on a well developed historiography of the important place of penal servitude in the prison labour regimes established in the earliest years of the republic, as well as the forced labour regimes that passed for punishment in the convict camps of the postbellum South. *The Crisis of Imprisonment* makes a novel contribution, however, by insisting that forced labour remained "of foundational

importance"(53) to the emergence and then transformation of the "industrialized prison contracting systems"(6) that defined punishment in America, regardless of region, during most of the 19th century. In particular, McLennan zeroes in on Progressive Era abolition of the semi-private prison contract labour system, a reform that finally "carved a wide moat between the sphere of the market and that of legal punishment." Yet, as she shows, the abolition of contract labour inside America's prisons merely generated a new phase of "the prison labour problem" during the first two decades of the 20th century. The removal of a productive penal labour regime threw the prison system into crisis, she argues, as it "destroyed the linchpin of everyday prison discipline"(5) and deeply eroded the fiscal basis of punishment.

Focusing primarily on New York state, often in the vanguard of prison development and reform, McLennan offers a detailed reconstruction of three successive eras of penal labour management – hard public labour; penitential, solitary labour; and finally congregate contract labour under factory-like conditions. In the second phase, the revolutionaries of the early republic developed a system of punishment blending the tradition of penal servitude with the imperative of isolating the convicted from society – the penitentiary. But, as McLennan notes, "laboring republicans wasted no time in registering their alarm at this strange new system."(43) Neither convicts themselves nor ordinary working citizens fully accepted the premise that the state could make of them involuntary servants, or fully isolate the convicted from their social world.

Thus it was not long before this initial "failed experiment"(51) in American penology was supplanted by the reformist "Auburn plan," in which convicts remained isolated at night, but congregated

in workshops to be put to hard labour in enforced silence during the day. This is a familiar story, but McLennan revises it in important ways, primarily by insisting that labour “became indispensable to the financial and disciplinary order”(58) of mid-19th century American prisons. Inviting private labour contractors to set up shop behind prison walls, the Auburn system soon melded the prison authorities’ desire for discipline, the state’s fiscal constraints, and manufacturers’ search for a cheap and captive labour force. Nevertheless, McLennan suggests that convicts still managed to defeat their keepers’ efforts to maintain silence and discipline. Indeed, she notes, such resistance “stemmed in large part from the very activity that was supposed to instill a respect for order – productive labor.”(70)

Legitimized by the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), which authorized penal servitude as punishment for crime, the convict labour system expanded even further after the Civil War into a “highly rationalized and remarkably profitable” system, notwithstanding the continued protests of organized labour and the efforts of prison reformers. The growth of consolidated large-scale, single-industry prison factories shifted the balance of penal power away from the state and towards the private entrepreneurs profiting from the use of convict labour. In McLennan’s view, the brutalities of the southern convict lease system, in which employers had complete control of convicts, was merely “the extreme limit of a national norm” in the postbellum era. (119) This may overstate the case, as under the northern contract system state employees still oversaw prison labour. Yet in prison factories “the state’s prison keepers effectively became auxiliaries to the contractor.”(125) As a consequence, labour discipline on behalf of the contractors became the central punitive aspect of the carceral regime and penal

administrators came to regard the contract system as “indispensable to prison order.”(132)

Yet this state of affairs stimulated both convict resistance to labour and a concerted effort on the part of reformers and organized labour to abolish contract prison labour. As McLennan observes, such protest was more than just objection to unfair competition. Gilded Age critiques of penal servitude represented a moral indictment of the degraded nature more generally of dependent wage labour in the new corporate political economy. By the turn of the century, New York and many other states thus banned private exploitation of prison labour and shifted to production for state use only. Removal of convict labour from the marketplace accompanied a bureaucratic rationalization of the entire penal system, and a systematic effort to “make good citizens of imperfectly socialized offenders.”(195)

Readers who get this far will find that McLennan’s dialectical account of a recurring cycle of prison system consolidation, crises born of prisoner revolt, and reform are so tightly packed together that it is hard to tell when one period leaves off and another begins. This renders her insistence that the reform of the “high progressive Era”(1910–1917) marked a decisive break with past patterns, as a “a new concept of human subjectivity” (323) emerged, somewhat less persuasive. Under the “new penology” pioneered by Thomas Mott Osborne, prison labour was transformed from forced penal servitude to a means of self-improvement. The last few chapters of *The Crisis of Imprisonment* seem like another book altogether, as McLennan recounts Osborne’s controversial attempts to instill “self-government” among convicts in New York’s Auburn and Sing Sing prisons. The establishment of these prisons’ “Mutual Welfare Leagues” and prison newspapers is a compelling tale, but the thread

of McLennan's central argument about labour gets buried under in a morass of detail about Osborne's experiments with "new, nonlaboring forms of discipline." Too much of this latter part of the book bogs down in a needlessly lengthy account of the political factionalism besetting New York prison reform efforts, a battle that touched off a riot by inmates in the state's notorious Sing Sing prison in 1913.

McLennan concludes that the Progressive Era reform generated by the moral exhaustion of productive penal labour and the removal of convict-made goods from the marketplace laid the groundwork for the "modern penal state" that emerged after World War I. By this she means that the Progressives' thwarted attempts to make "good citizen-workers out of prisoners" were eventually supplanted by the desire to make "good prisoners out of inmates." (441) As prison discipline was reduced to a "managerial" problem, she concludes, "the goal of social justice" envisioned by the new penologists was "eclipsed by that of institutional stability."

The creeping privatization of prisons in the United States today suggests that we may have come full circle, as crises – of cost, of overcrowding, and of internal prison discipline – continue to generate new systems of penology. Only now the "managerial" control of convicts, more than their labour power, has become the commodity outsourced by the state.

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN

Florida International University

**Hazel Dickens and Bill C. Malone,**  
*Working Girl Blues: The Life and Music of Hazel Dickens* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

AS ONE OF THE foremost women in bluegrass, Hazel Dickens' music has served as a beacon of activism in the roots music

scene since the 1960s. Dickens and renowned country music historian, Bill Malone, have teamed up to provide the only volume dedicated to Dickens' musical relationship to the labour movement. The collection sets out to provide a brief biography and commentary to 40 of Dickens' songs about coal mining, love, and personal relationships. It will surely serve as a resource to any scholar of music and social movements as epitomized in American roots music traditions.

Hazel Dickens is known to most as a feminist singer whose collaborations with Mike Seeger and Alice Gerrard broke down major barriers for women in old-time music. Nevertheless, few scholars have written on her music and her role in American music history. Most volumes and articles briefly mention her alongside other female innovators and musicians from the rust belt. Malone's volume aims to draw more attention to her songwriting craft and influence. Thus, it is an example of a different kind of music scholarship that gives more attention to the songwriter's own words than it does to rigorous textual research. The brief biography of Dickens is the first of its kind. Malone's adoration of Dickens' work prevents him from containing himself; often unnecessary value-laden phrases describe events that Malone could have treated with considerably more scholarly distance. Although this collection is evidently a labour of love, Malone makes few gestures towards a critical intimacy with Dickens' musical life.

In a mere 27 pages, Malone uses sharp prose to outline the major highlights of her life. Malone traces her development as a musician from her birth in West Virginia, to her famed meeting with the Seeger clan in Baltimore, to her present-day status as an alt-country icon. Scholars of the folk revival in the early 1960s will especially appreciate the attention Malone gives to this part of Dickens' life.

He describes the origins of Hazel Dickens' feminist repertoire in the Baltimore clubs: the men treated her like a prostitute when she performed on stage and that pushed her to treat the topic of women, labour, and justice early in her career. Thus, Malone sets Dickens' musical trajectory apart from the women's movement to emphasize her performance experiences above associations with the contested territory of women's liberation.

Malone also highlights Dickens' transition to writing about topics important to workers' rights and broader themes of social justice. Dickens wrote many of her most important songs about working-class people only after her divorce from Joe Cohen in the late 1960s. She wrote her most politicized song about coal mining, "Black Lung," after her brother died of the ailment. This association is what led numerous unions to invite Dickens to perform in their halls, further validating her transition to treating labour topics in her songs. Perhaps of most importance to her developing social consciousness was her transition from Folkways Records to Rounder. Often, popular music histories downplay the relationship between producer and performer in the recording process; yet, Malone emphasizes this relationship and uses the label's reputation to treat Dickens as the most important representative of the third generation protest songwriters in the 20th century (with Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger before her).

Curiously, Malone discusses Dickens' professional relationship with Alice Gerrard while consistently keeping Gerrard's contributions to the famous duo at a distance. He is careful to note that they inspired many other women in country and bluegrass; however, he never discusses Gerrard's contributions beyond that of harmonizing partner. For example, did Gerrard push Dickens to explore different aspects of song-writing or performing?

Generally, long-term collaborations have the potential to transform musicians and artists. Malone's adoration for Dickens actually prevents him from exploring such a crucial component to his subject's development. Unfortunately, Malone does nothing to dispel the myth of the song-writing process as something that only occurs when pencil hits paper. This, I would argue, is the greatest flaw in an otherwise important contribution to protest music scholarship.

Many fans of Dickens' music will appreciate the extensive collection of photos that immediately follows Malone's biography. He included family portraits, as well as publicity photos from her earliest days as the sole woman in her bands. There is also a photo of Dickens' first public performance of "Black Lung" (a rare find) as well as numerous candid shots of her life in folk festivals. These images help bring Hazel Dickens' story to life and I am happy that University of Illinois Press took so much space to include them.

Dickens' stories behind her most socially conscious songs form the majority of the book. Alongside lyrics, Dickens tells us such informational nuggets as how audiences responded the first time she performed a particular song, or where she was in her life when she decided to take on a new topic. For example, Dickens tells us that she was actually at work when she wrote "Working Girl Blues." Songs like "Don't Put Her Down, You Helped Put Her There," an overtly feminist song, came from Dickens' frustration at how men treated her when she refused their advances and the overall double standards in the profession. For songs about the broader labour movement like "Black Lung" and "Mannington Mine Disaster," Dickens describes her own relations with the workers' movement and the personal reactions she had to seeing so much injustice. In sum, many of these stories of musical creation and inspiration provide



an important insight into the creative process for social activists.

The book also includes an annotated, comprehensive discography that will help any roots music scholar in search of her recordings. Many of the entries contain comprehensive track listings alongside production information. Although there are no images of the album covers to accompany the listing, Malone and Dickens included information on Dickens' recordings that are not commercially available. In this regard, Malone and Dickens elevate the book beyond a life story and musings on the music. It is a resource as well as a celebration of Dickens' music.

This collection represents a very different kind of musical scholarship where the musician has much more control over how she is represented than is typical. As opposed to oral histories and ethnomusicological approaches to music of the last 50 years, this book allows readers to hear Dickens' stories in her own authorial voice, thereby removing the scholarly filter and guidance that occurs when someone else is involved. Fortunately, *Working Girl Blues* does not pretend to be the definitive work on Hazel Dickens. Instead, it is merely a beginning and will hopefully provide a necessary first step to more critical treatments of her place in the world of music and social protest.

KARIANN GOLDSCHMITT

University of California, Los Angeles

**Anthony W. Lee, *A Shoemaker's Story, Being Chiefly about French Canadian Immigrants, Enterprising Photographers, Rascal Yankees, and Chinese Cobblers in a Nineteenth-Century Factory Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008)**

ON JUNE 13, 1870, 75 Chinese men disembarked from their train in North Adams, Massachusetts. Having endured a

long journey from San Francisco, the new arrivals faced a hostile crowd of local residents and French-Canadian immigrants. Determined to break a strike by the local Knights of St. Crispin, shoemaker Calvin T. Samson had made arrangements for the new workers to take up residence inside his factory. However, once the men were escorted under armed guard to their new residence and workplace, the first order of business was to stand along the outside brick wall in order to have a group photograph taken. At a time when his former employees were threatening violence and Samson himself was wielding pistols to ward off the crowds, the proprietor had nevertheless found time to make arrangements for a photographer to mark the occasion. As Anthony W. Lee asks, "Was he mad? What could he possibly have had in mind?" (7)

The resulting stereoscopic view serves as the frontispiece for Lee's *A Shoemaker's Story* and anchors a vivid narrative which pivots around this remarkable encounter. After describing how the photograph came to be taken, each of the following chapters explores how the photograph was "seen" by various parties: the shoe manufacturer, the photographers, the French-Canadian Crispins, and the Chinese workers. The opening image serves as an echoing refrain for what follows as the chapters carry the reader chronologically and geographically across a vast expanse in order to understand the unique intersection of economic and diasporic forces that met in North Adams. Lee situates his work as "richly local" (10) and yet its scope is also national and international, dealing with "large forces, understandings, and personalities." (7) From Guangdong province to Lower Canada, from the construction of the Hoosac tunnel to the erection of the shoe factory to the rise and fall of local photographic studios, *A Shoemaker's Story* offers a deeply textured account of places and spaces

made and unmade by economic dislocations, wars, the mobility of workers, and fluid class and racial identities.

And yet, is Lee's use of the photograph marking the arrival of the Chinese workers in North Adams merely a convenient narrative device or does it really serve as the centre of his analysis? Although photographers make an appearance in the book's evocative long title, photographs themselves are conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, Lee states that "Pictures are not incidental to the story but central, not merely illustrative of events but objects of key historical meanings. Telling this history would be impossible without them."

(8) If *A Shoemaker's Story* presents a layered social history of industrialization in a New England town, its larger ambition is to make visual culture an integral part of the "story." Not only did the various constituencies "read" the photograph of the Chinese workers differently, but the taking and circulating of photographs were the result of the very industrializing processes that structured class and racial tensions. In this view, photographs emerge as "not merely illustrations but sites of historical struggle." (9)

The conflicts and contests of representation take place at the factory, in studios and within newspapers and magazines. Provoked by Samson's actions, the French-Canadian Crispins returned to the factory's brick wall to have their own photograph taken despite having established a separate shoe-making cooperative. Both the Crispins and the Chinese shoemakers spent some of their earnings at photographic studios, purchasing portraits marked by poses and objects that signaled their own sense of identity. Local photographers struggled to represent and accommodate their clients and competed with each other in rendering marketable views of North Adams and the surrounding vicinity. Samson commissioned the original photograph and then continued

to send his workers to the studios for individual portraits, always conscious of the wider struggle over how he, his factory, and his workers were perceived. Illustrations, engravings, cartoons, and photographs, which are expertly reproduced in this book, were all part of a wider visual culture that enwrapped and mediated the dramatic encounter between the Chinese workers, the Crispins, the photographers, and the entrepreneur. *A Shoemaker's Story* foregrounds these acts of seeing in order to prompt us to reconsider how we approach visual sources and interpret images as material "deposits" of these interactions. (10)

Innovative and ambitious, *A Shoemaker's Story* is a lucid and detailed account that is sophisticated in its methodology. Given the wide-ranging subject matter, Lee has produced a remarkably disciplined text, presenting the reader with a distinctive narrative tone that is mature, confident, and occasionally playful. Unfortunately, the laudable desire to perfect the prose appears to have also led to a considerable thinning of the endnotes. A great deal more consideration of theory and secondary material lies behind the text than Lee allows us to see, and since the book provides no bibliography, this is truly a loss for an interdisciplinary audience. Nor does it inspire much confidence for Canadian readers when the literature on the 1837 Lower Canada Rebellion is reduced to Stanley Ryerson's *Unequal Union* (1968) and one article by Allan Greer from the early 1980s.

There are other quibbles that emerge from some of the broad strokes that the book reaches for. Lee's discussion of *Evangeline* frames Longfellow's poem as a literary interface between New England perceptions of French-Canadian immigrants and the promotion of an Acadian identity, at home and abroad. However, the distinction between francophones from Quebec and those from

the Maritimes blurs once the scene shifts to Massachusetts, and the evidence that *Evangeline* served as “a rough sort of identity” (156) for all is sketchy.

Such issues, however, do not detract from what this important work accomplishes. If the photographs that richly illustrate Lee’s account are “social relations momentarily hardened into images,” (10) the story of the shoemaker is that of a social world in flux, reshaped by the interlocking realms of industrialization and de-skilling, immigration, a growing national mass media, and enterprising photographers who struggle to survive the volatile cycles of economic activity. Opening with the arrival of the Chinese workers, *A Shoemaker’s Story* ends with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the passage of which “is one of the photograph’s most bitter legacies.” (11) And yet, the jacket for the hardcover edition of the book does not carry the stereoview of the Chinese workers along the factory wall. Instead, we encounter an 1874 studio portrait of one of the Chinese cobblers, whose black and white image has been manipulated to include gold leaf on his slippers and buttons, and a “dollop of red to top the pompom on his hat.” With one leg crossed, the portrait offered an identity that “was wholly fabricated ... and intended for friends who understood the boldness and humor and perhaps even the absurd remoteness of any kind of dandyism from the reality of their daily lives.” (244) *A Shoemaker’s Story* challenges us to consider how identities are made, re-made, and contested in and through visual culture, not by isolating photographs from a broader social world of economic reality, but rather by integrating them.

JAMES OPP

Carleton University

**Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916–39*** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2008)

EVEN THOUGH Mexicans in the Chicago area have attracted the attention of a great number of scholars, this is the first history monograph on the subject. We have learned about the Mexican experience in this region from numerous journal articles, dissertations, significant discussions of Chicago in more general history tomes, and in books from other disciplines. As a consequence Professor Arredondo’s book provides one of the most ample assessments made of the early Mexican experience in Chicago thus far.

The study’s main contention is that between 1916 and 1939, Chicago Mexican immigrants attained a unique level of foreignness in comparison to the numerous Eastern and Southern European immigrants in the city. This is quite a statement considering that in the early 20th century Americans considered Chicago as among the most foreign populated cities in the United States. Mexicans, according to the author, had not accrued the necessary qualifications to be accepted as Americans that other marginalized ethnic groups such as the Irish, Italians, and Poles had amassed. Foremost among these credentials was a white racial status and United States citizenship. The official racial classification of Mexicans, as many scholars have pointed out, remained murky and confusing until 1940 when all federal agencies decided to classify Mexicans as white.

Regardless of official race classifications, according to the author, general American attitudes constructed Mexicans in coloured categories of race, along with African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans. Other Chicago ethnic

groups suffered prejudice and were often seen as non-white, but not to the same degree as Mexicans. Consequently these groups enjoyed greater advantage: municipal employment, easier access to jobs, especially during the Great Depression, to housing, and to the acquisition of social and public services. Moreover, because Mexicans hovered at the bottom of Chicago's ethnic pecking order, other immigrants and their US-born offspring often subjected them to violence and demeaning rejection.

This hostility resulted in Mexicans retreating into their own society, often by refusing to acquire citizenship and by recreating a semblance of Mexican culture within their enclaves. I identified a similar criterion for immigrant nationalist characteristics some decades ago, denoting it as the *México Lindo* (Pretty Mexico) identity. Nonetheless the study elaborates considerably on this process by discussing a more complex nationalistic fervour created by the Mexican Revolution which reached the expatriate immigrants in Chicago through extensive contact with Mexican diplomatic figures and Mexican major politicians who visited Chicago regularly.

The book's most significant contribution is its discussion of gender. In Chicago, Mexican men outnumbered Mexican women by more than two to one. This unbalanced ratio, of course created unique conditions for Mexican women, which, according to Dr. Arredondo were important in fashioning the role they played in Chicago.

I would offer one major theoretical consideration not addressed in this study. The majority of European immigrants settled in Chicago before 1915. Mexicans came after World War I. Thus, adult unilingual immigrants comprised the vast majority of the Mexican community in contrast to the large population of adult children of European immigrants in the

other ethnic enclaves. One can imagine how this demographic reality affected the ability to compete for resources. Professor Arredondo joins other scholars who, in the rush to prove whiteness theory, at times ignore such structural niceties.

Also, to reinforce the whiteness paradigm, the author contends that Mexican workers showed little interest in joining the intense labour organizing efforts of the 1930s because they felt alienated even from white-dominated unions. Daniel Simon and I published in *Aztlán*, over 30 years ago, compelling evidence demonstrating that numerous Chicago Mexicans committed to unionism joined up in large numbers and assumed leadership positions mainly to offset the very prejudice they faced in the workplace. Dr. Arredondo provides anecdotal evidence for her own claim, but from my vantage point, not enough to counter our conclusions.

F. ARTURO ROSALES  
Arizona State University

**Pernilla Jonsson, Silke Neunsinger, and Joan Sangster, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Women's Organizing in Europe and the Americas, 1880s–1940s*. Uppsala Studies in Economic History 80 (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University Press 2007)**

AS THE TITLE OF this collection suggests, the editors have brought together papers from a 2006 workshop that focused on global connections among feminists and socialists in Western Europe and the Americas. In the introduction historian Joan Sangster sets the context for this collaboration that addresses the "global historical connections shaping women's lives, particularly the unequal colonial relations of power." (9) In addition to the introduction there are six papers that address feminist internationalism. Swedish

authors include Ulla Wikander who examines the international debate on night work for women, Silke Neunsinger who probes the boundaries for women involved in the Labour and Socialist International (LSI), and Pernilla Jonsson who studies the finances of middle-class women's groups in Sweden, England, Germany, and Canada. In addition to the introduction, Sangster looks at "Political Tourism, Writing and Communication: Transnational Connections of Women on the Left, 1920s–1940s," mainly in Canada while US-based historian, E. Sue Walmsley, examines the Pan American women's movement and the creation of the Inter-American Commission of Women. Finally, Karen Hunt, professor of modern history at Keele University in the United Kingdom, writes about well-known suffragist, socialist, and later communist, Dora Montefiore, whose political life and transnational practice involved significant international travel. As Sangster explains, all the authors focus on the transnational, a concept that is related to internationalism though debate still rages about their exact relationship to each other. Sangster suggests that these are "parallel categories that change over time." (14) Although some authors more than others clearly do research across national boundaries, all the authors deal with political communication of some sort. Some authors study international organizations and meetings, obvious sources for transnational communication while others find the transnational/international in publications, private letter writing, travel, iconography or ritual.

Clearly material resources mattered; to engage in international travel to meetings or to be involved in political tourism (such as voyages to the Soviet Union in the 1930s by left-wing women described by Sangster) required financial means. Thus class mattered as only women of means like Dora Montefiore could afford

to travel internationally. What the international arena offered to progressive women was the opportunity to explore new political space beyond the national. While such travel contained possibilities for solidarity it also presented the possibility of perpetuating colonial relations and thus involved conflict and negotiation. (18) What is not explored in these essays (with one exception), however, is any sustained discussion of how these experiences actually empowered the women involved, at a personal level.

While all of these essays are of high quality, a few stand out as particularly effective in conveying the nature of transnational/international activities. Wikander's examination of two international Congresses sponsored by the International Council of Women in 1899 and 1904 demonstrates a clear shift internationally from an interest in women's equality in the labour market to arguments that stressed women's differences from men and their roles as mothers and family members, thus supporting the call for protective labour legislation, a debate that continued to resonate in later decades. Because the debate over the appropriateness of women's night work occurred in every industrialized country, the transnational links are very clear. So too are the links explored by Karen Hunt in her essay on Montefiore, a colourful character who travelled widely and perhaps most clearly illustrates the personal side of international involvement. Having lived in Australia with her husband who died early in their marriage, Montefiore was exposed to radical and labour politics in the 1880s; moving to England in the early 1890s she traveled frequently to Europe, the US, and South Africa. She used her tour of Scandinavia and especially Finland where women got the vote in 1906 to good effect on British audiences when campaigning for the vote. In addition, Hunt points out that Montefiore was

very successful in making connections between socialist women's organizations and women's international groups.

Some authors are explicit about their use of terms; Neunsinger attempts to differentiate between internationalism and transnationalism in her essay on women and the ISI. Her essay suggests that internationalism involves a community of women actively trying to create change at the international level. Transnationalism she describes as the "process of transfer and exchange of political communication between the international and national/local levels as well as between groups from different nations." (122) While Neunsinger provides a much more focused definition of transnationalism, other authors do not agree. Hunt, for example, defines it very broadly as the activities, organizations, and practices that cross national boundaries. How this is distinct from internationalism is not clear. Thus one of the unfinished pieces of business in this collection is a clearer understanding of these terms and how they might be used more consistently. Internationalism of course has a long history and is perhaps most closely linked with Marxism and its vision of workers as transcending their national identities for something larger. Transnationalism's pedigree is more recent, stemming partly from interest in international migration within the social sciences and post-colonial perspectives within cultural studies. It is now a term used very widely and imprecisely, a buzzword to be found in many calls for papers, including that of the International Federation for Research in Women's History which is to meet in Amsterdam in 2010 as part of the International Congress of the Historical Sciences. In short, *Crossing Boundaries* reflects the current fascination with things transnational and while there are some missed opportunities, it does open up new perspectives and spaces within

women's and gender history. In addition, the authors themselves certainly have been engaged in fruitful transnational communication in their scholarship for this volume.

LINDA KEALEY

University of New Brunswick  
Fredericton

**Fernando Ignacio Leiva, *Latin American Neostructuralism: The Contradictions of Post-Neoliberal Development***  
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2008)

CONCEIVED BY economists and others in the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) – long a centre for left development modeling in the Americas – neostructuralism first emerged in 1990 as a set of challenges to the explosive impact of the Washington Consensus and neoliberal economic reform in the hemisphere. Fernando Ignacio Leiva probes theoretical, economic, business, and political implications of neostructuralism in the region. More specifically, if briefly, he considers Chile after 1989 and Brazil after 2002, the two national cases where neostructuralist eggheads came into government with the chance to help craft development reform. Almost perfunctorily, Leiva touches on Bolivia and Venezuela which he cannot quite place as either neostructuralist models, or as something more radical. In a curious twist, the author also frames his analysis in literary theory. Here he seeks to remedy the failings of economics as a discipline in comparison to other social sciences; economics, he argues, lacks methodologies to contemplate language in reaching conclusions on truths. This in turn restricts how economics as a discipline can offer an understanding of knowledge meanings as socially negotiated. It's a



wonderful proposition, but inexplicably the book never follows through on the promise of an integration of literary theory with economic analysis. Where Leiva excels is on the intellectual economic history of developmentalism and the synthesis of broad arrays of national and international data on economic change.

Leiva hits hard. He reasons that the appeal of neostructuralism in Latin America has precisely the same explanation as its inconsistencies – “a sanitized analysis of Latin American economy and society scoured clean of conflict and power relations.” (xxvi) Here is an early sledgehammer of a clue to Leiva’s sensibilities on economics and development; he is dismayed at the shift to the right of a left economics in Latin America that once saw revolutionary possibilities in the government of Salvador Allende. He’s right, of course, but Leiva’s ferocious campaign against neostructuralism as an inadequate remedy to poverty and repression in Latin America limits this very good study conceptually. The criticism of neostructuralism as an answer to neoliberal economics and politics is not new. The Chile and Brazil case studies are entirely appropriate measures of the neostructuralist development model; but as presented here, they are disappointing for their brevity and for their lack of attention to the mechanics of how neostructuralism specifically impacted upon policy implementation and its results.

The importance of neostructuralism rests in its meteoric rise among intellectuals on the left and in a host of political parties, many tied to the Socialist International. For Leiva, neostructuralism simply never went far enough in breaking the Washington Consensus. While neoliberalism envisioned markets and prices as mechanisms for assuring economic efficiency and international competitiveness, and while neostructuralism rejected that slavish adherence to the market, the

latter proved tepid in not discarding the market as a key determinant of economic progress. While the role of the state in neostructuralism went far beyond what neoliberals envisioned, Leiva rejects the limited neostructuralist notion that the state might simply complement the market as a determining factor in development, rather than asserting authority over the market. Perhaps most serious, neostructuralists were not interested so much in finding the class causes of social conflict as subordinating conflict as a social problem to a common objective of competitive international trade and finance. Leiva lambastes neostructuralists for their having discarded key tenets of the economic left in Latin America, particularly the centre-periphery model and the framing of development problems in the hemisphere in the context of the capitalist world economy.

There have been notable successes. Neostructuralism won important political and intellectual backing marked by electoral triumphs in Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay; the reintroduction (despite flaws) of political and cultural problems to economic development models; and the creation of “a cadre of intellectuals, mid-level state managers, and practitioners who are reproducing and contributing to the further refinement of the neostructuralist paradigm and its foundational myths.” (186) These listed successes point, in a nutshell, to the book’s most important success. As a review of the theoretical and intellectual background to neostructuralism, and as an overview of how neostructuralism took form academically and intellectually, this study is expert analysis.

Moreover, on the connection of theory and practice in Chile, Leiva shows the continuities between neoliberalism and neostructuralism. Leiva notes, for example, that by the year 2000, Chilean neostructuralists had been forced to consider

their nation's supposed economic success story in a context of ongoing poverty and uneven growth. An effective use of statistical data suggests the transient nature of poverty reduction in Chile – numbers that link the economic failures of dictatorship-era Chile to those of the post-1989 period; by 2001, for example, more than 76 per cent of households below the absolute poverty line had been above it only five years earlier. Despite a decade of neostructural adjustment, Chilean poverty was among the most extreme in Latin America and reflected an enormous concentration of wealth in the hands of very few. Leiva's analysis of Chile highlights Allende's Chile as having been a potentially workable model (once supported by ECLAC economists) eliminated by the Pinochet dictatorship, the false promise of a Chilean dictatorship era's market-driven cold capitalism, and the neostructuralist postscript to Pinochet that, in the end, did too little to break down the ills of international capitalism and to distance itself economically from Pinochet era policies.

Analysis of Bolivia and Venezuela is disappointing, in part because these revolutionary socio-economic national projects are relatively new; data in the book are drawn from up to four years ago (ancient history as far as reform in each country is concerned); change is ongoing and rapid; and much of what the author states is speculative. Moreover, an approach that is macroeconomic and works well elsewhere in the book fails in these two national cases. For Venezuela, the author notes, for example, that 75 per cent of the arable land is controlled by five per cent of the nation's landowners and that to his discredit, president Hugo Chávez announced that expropriation would be limited only to those holdings greater than 5000 acres where ownership could not be legally demonstrated. Here and elsewhere, the assessment of Chávez and

the new Bolivian model is rigid and confining, with no reference to precisely the intersection of culture, politics, and economics that Leiva promised at the outset. The premise behind the approach to Bolivia and Venezuela is reductionist. How long, the author asks, can the two nations "hold in check the contradiction between a neodevelopmentalist strategy seeking to support the development of capitalism and choosing to move toward socialism?" (231) In fact, both presidents have since announced their adoption of a socialist model. More important, the so-called contradiction is a blindered and reductionist approach to the successes and failures of each national project. It also erases Bolivian and Venezuelan working people as reasonable, intelligent political actors in choosing and continuing to back the governing social movements in each country.

There is no real conclusion to the book. The author uses a final chapter on prospects for the future of neostructuralism to repeat with greater force the key argument of the book – that by discarding structuralism's most important element, the destructiveness of the world capitalist system, neostructuralism has thrown the baby out with the bath water. As for how neostructuralism will evolve, the author predicts (predictably) that it will follow a path of least resistance and continue to occupy a mildly centre-left theoretical position. What the Bolivia and Venezuela models demonstrate is that neostructuralism may not be as significant a model on the left as the author argues, and may be best regarded with the passage of time as a dangerous offshoot of *pinochetismo* and its neoliberal predecessor.

DAVID SHEININ

Trent University

**Katrina Honeyman, *Child Workers in England, 1780–1820: Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Labour Force* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2007)**

TWENTY YEARS AGO, E.G. Thomas wrote that “the lives of pauper apprentices constituted a social limbo” and that “only isolated narratives like that of Robert Blincoe” threw “any light on the early lives of these children.” [“Pauper apprenticeship,” *The Local Historian*, 14 (1981): 405] Uncovering an impressive array of parish and business records and combining these with more familiar printed sources, Katrina Honeyman’s excellent book demonstrates how careful archival research can shed new light on seemingly familiar yet under-researched issues. Moreover, by focusing on pauper children apprenticed to textile manufacturers in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England, she makes a powerful case for the fundamental contribution made by such “flexible labour” to early industrial development and shows how the topic illuminates many areas of history in this period. The strength of her work goes beyond the fruitful juxtaposition of different primary sources. She carefully crafts her argument in response to a vast body of existing literature, introducing findings and analytical methods from childhood and welfare studies. Thus, she feeds into a wider trend in British labour studies towards greater engagement with other historical fields.

Traditionally viewed as short-lived and insignificant, Honeyman argues that parish factory apprenticeships were in fact vital to pauper policies and textile manufacturing, well into the nineteenth century. (chapter 1) She first explores the administration of such indentures. Chapters 2 and 3 indicate that parishes and textile enterprises made similar financial arrangements as in traditional trades and established regular lines of

communication, suggesting that factory placements were better regulated and more fully integrated in the apprenticeship system than traditionally assumed. Chapters 4 and 5 provide convincing evidence that parishes and businesses across England participated at local and inter-regional levels, at least until the 1810s and often thereafter, suggesting that the system was more widespread and more sustained than previously suggested. And chapter 6 shows that such indentures were financially more significant than hitherto believed, providing a vital kickstart for many enterprises and a long-term workforce for a rapidly growing sector.

Three analytical strategies underpin these findings. Firstly, Honeyman juxtaposes parliamentary papers and business records that have traditionally dominated child labour studies with incredibly rich but largely unexplored poor law records, including indentures, apprenticeship registers, visitor reports, vestry minutes and correspondence. Secondly, she brings together evidence from different parts of the country, highlighting national patterns and local variation. And thirdly, she uses these materials to reconstruct relations between pauper policies and early industrial activity, topics normally studied separately.

Further research is needed on other parishes and enterprises. Also, the origins and subsequent fate of apprentices should be studied to contextualize these placements within the life-course of paupers. And, finally, comparisons should be drawn with child labour in other industrial and traditional trades – parish indentures and ‘private’ or ‘free’ labour.

That these inquiries may go beyond structure and economic significance is illustrated by the second part of Honeyman’s study. Focusing on the apprentices’ experiences, she again revisits several “conventional wisdoms,” but also explores new themes. Chapter 7 examines

the skills acquired by factory apprentices and education provided by manufacturers and parishes, suggesting that child paupers were better prepared for a career in manufacturing than commonly assumed. Chapter 8 explores how girls were constructed as “lesser workers” through associations with domestic duties. (165) This suggests that boys and girls were equipped with gendered working identities, despite working alongside each other for most of the day. Chapter 9 deals with abuse and exploitation, themes that have traditionally received much attention. Honeyman adds to existing understandings by emphasizing the “collusion” that took place between parish officials and employers (176) and by suggesting how forced binding, corporal punishment, long working hours, and minimal nutrition were all part of the industrial “experiment” – tested on pauper apprentices and applied to industrial workers for decades to come. (178)

Chapter 10 is most innovative. Through careful reading of various sources that capture the words and actions of apprentices, Honeyman challenges the dominant image of child paupers as passive victims. The children indeed expressed complaints, and triggered response for selected topics of discomfort. Whereas nutrition and education *were* seen as legitimate areas of complaint, grievances with emotional roots were ignored by overseers and employers alike and working conditions were avoided by all as too sensitive. Following on from here, chapters 11 and 12 show how apprentices participated in complex systems of protection and negligence. Honeyman reveals an interesting paradox in parish policies: many parishes took protective measures while, at the same time, colluding in exploitative practices. She relates this to the fact that “the period of parish factory apprenticeship [in her view essentially exploitative] coincided with the

growth in judicial concern about conditions of apprentices.” (237)

The strength of Honeyman’s analysis lies in its breadth and focus. While covering various aspects of the apprentices’ lives, she connects these all to pauper policies and early industrial development. Although this makes for a coherent argument, there is a downside, too. Though she enriches her analysis with insights from childhood, welfare, and health studies, she fails to elaborate on what her study has to offer to these and other fields in return.

Three themes in particular deserve more systematic treatment. Firstly, Honeyman notes the difficulty of uncovering “the voices of the past,” particularly “if they belong to the poor, the dispossessed and the young.” (199) Juxtaposing different accounts of apprentices expressing satisfaction and distress, looking beyond recordings of the spoken word, she discerns a range of “implicit value systems.” (200) Although this approach has relevance to others working on marginalized groups, she fails to draw such wider implications.

Secondly, Honeyman points to the dynamic partnerships formed in protecting and exploiting apprentices. While parish officials sided with apprentices for better instruction and nutrition, they backed mill owners when children ran off from a regime of “correction.” (183) Also, manufacturers repeatedly disputed with each other over the need for legislative intervention, with both sides drawing support from medics, MPs, and parish officials. These findings hold lessons for other historians working on exploitation and care, discipline and assistance – suggesting the need to step away from bipolar models (above vs. below; reformer vs. reformed) and cease thinking in terms of fixed, collective interests. But again, these lessons are not explicated.

Thirdly, Honeyman indicates that

parliamentary evidence and visitor reports suggest a growing concern for the “peculiar physical susceptibilities of young girls,” (168) the effects of “incessant labour on fragile young bodies and spirits,” (188) and connections between “poor diet and growth.” (193) She concludes that “Medical priorities changed over the first three decades of the nineteenth century.” (188, footnote 88) These observations seem to invite medical historians to her field – encouraging them to look beyond disease, which has dominated their engagement with work-related well-being. Yet, the invitation remains implicit.

This lucidly written study provides important groundwork for child labour studies for years to come, directing attention to a new set of archival records and drawing fruitful connections between pauper policies and early industrial activity. But Honeyman’s approach also sets an example for labour historians more generally, particularly in introducing methods from related fields. Yet, a final important step still needs to be taken: labour historians should be bold and explain how their analytical methods could in turn enrich these other fields.

NIELS VAN MANEN  
University of York

**Ben Jackson, *Equality and the British Left: A Study in Progressive Political Thought 1900–64*** (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2007)

SINCE 1997, BRITISH Labour governments have resolutely set their face against the acknowledgement or pursuit of ‘traditional’ social democratic aims. ‘New’ Labour did not simply eclipse ‘Old’ Labour: it shoved it out the door with all the haste of getting rid of an embarrassing relative. Ironically, only a partial collapse of capitalism in 2008 forced the Labour

party to consider a return to its heritage. The long-held ideals of social justice and equality were among those social democratic values if not left behind, at least not spoken of very loudly, regularly or coherently since 1997. This is both a pity and a tragedy. It is a pity because Labour governments did, in fact, make some inroads on the reduction of child poverty at least until relatively recently, but without a willingness to talk about the aim of social justice, such achievements made little difference to changing a political culture shaped by eighteen years of Conservative rule. It is a tragedy because Britain remains a deeply unequal society, in which inequality affects life chances, health, and economic potential as a number of recent social surveys have shown. It is difficult to underestimate what kind of political chance has been blown and what political capital has been wasted in the last decade or so by a nominally social democratic government too timid or too rigid to talk about or think seriously about equality.

This makes Ben Jackson’s fine book all the more important for those interested in the British Left, chronicling as it does the “innovative and sophisticated body of egalitarian thought” (1) developed by leftist intellectuals over the first half of the twentieth century. Jackson argues that a “dominant ideological force” in early and mid-twentieth century Britain was an “egalitarian tradition associated with left liberals and gradualist socialists.” (3) At the end of his book, Jackson returns to the present dilemma facing Labour: “if the Left does not strive to narrow economic and social inequality, and to tackle the multiple injustices of a class-riven society, then in what sense does it remain ‘the Left?’” (226)

Jackson’s book is an account of how seriously the question of equality was taken by what he terms ‘progressives’ on the left of British intellectual life between

the turn of the century and the advent of the Wilson government in 1964. The other major work on this question, Nick Ellison's *Egalitarian Thought and Labour Politics* (1994), was an exploration of how the idea of equality mutated through the labyrinth of policy discussions within the Labour party since the Second World War. Jackson casts his net differently, examining equality as an intellectual problem debated by a network of intellectuals and economists over the entire twentieth century. This is intellectual history of a very high order, admirably nuanced and clear in its argument, which recognizes both the historical circumstances of ideological change and the complex links between political ideas.

The starting point for Jackson's study is the late 19th and early 20th centuries when 'new' Liberals and socialists argued, with greater and greater force, that the inequities of British society were not only an affront to ideas of moral justice and personal freedom but a drag on the healthy development of the economy and society. Social justice and efficiency became two poles around which the equality debate revolved. What is striking is how few voices were raised in support of complete equality. Bernard Shaw was the leading proponent of leveling society in terms of income, but most other writers on the question believed that some measure of inequality had to be tolerated for the sake of maintaining the motor of personal incentive even if there was a "civic minimum" (70) below which no one would fall. At the same time, social equality would depend upon a reciprocal relationship between citizen and society; citizens would be expected to contribute to society for the reward of equality.

In the 1930s, faced with the spectre of capitalism's apparent collapse, the argument about equality on the Left created a split into two camps. Marxists took up class struggle as the vehicle of

egalitarianism, while non-Marxist socialist economists such as Evan Durbin, drawing upon a utilitarian legacy, argued that economic efficiency and equality could be complementary ideals within a democratic context. Though this material has been covered by other historians, Jackson is particularly good on the influence of Keynes upon a younger generation of Labour economists and intellectuals and judicious in his analysis of the persistence of a Marxist tradition. The Marxist approach proved something of a cul-de-sac. The most powerful and influential strand of egalitarian thought was developed by those positioned between Marx and Keynes, creating a fabric that wound together ethics and economics. This was the tradition promoted by the likes of Anthony Crosland, Douglas Jay, and Hugh Gaitskell, the so-called 'revisionists.' Some have seen these figures as precursors to New Labour, but Jackson makes clear that such intellectuals were not interested in the establishment of a mere meritocracy, but remained committed to the pursuit of social justice in new economic and social circumstances; hence, their interest in education for example.

As already suggested, this is an important contribution to our understanding of the political thought of the British Left. There is much to commend: a chapter on sociology and the idea of community in the fifties is particularly original and stimulating. There are some limitations to the book, many of them acknowledged by the author himself. As already suggested, it is a study of ideas rather than policies, so that we get a partial sense of how such ideological changes found their way into the party program and the statute book. It is perhaps unfair to ask more of such a strong book and perhaps this is more an agenda for future work than a criticism, but we also need a sense of how egalitarian ideas permeated political



parties, not simply in terms of policy, but in terms of the ethos of party members. One thing I wondered, for example, was how such ideas were represented by both leaders and led at Labour party conferences throughout the 20th century. What of elections? Ben Jackson has given us a compelling vision of how egalitarianism proved a vibrant ideological force in 20th century Britain, but we also need to know whether or in what ways it had life as a social or cultural force.

STEPHEN BROOKE  
York University

**Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women, 18th Century Bluestockings***  
(London: National Portrait Gallery 2008)

*BRILLIANT WOMEN: 18th Century Bluestockings* was an exhibition that originated in the work of Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz at the Huntington Library in Pasadena in 2001 where they both held Library Research Fellowships. The exhibition and its accompanying catalogue studied the influence of the Bluestocking Circle, with particular focus on the group around Elizabeth Montague in the 1770s; traced the development of the work, social organization and public reception of the Circle through the 1780s; outlined the political reaction and its effect on the Circle in the 1790s; and finally examined the legacy of the Bluestockings in the early nineteenth century, with some comments on the twentieth.

The exhibition and its accompanying catalogue brought the art, literature, poetry, philosophy, classics, language, drama, correspondence, history, and political writings of the Bluestockings together through the visual mediums of oil, pen and ink, watercolour, pastel, pencil, hand-tinted etchings, engraving, mezzotints, sculpture, pottery, and the penny press. The artistic genres exhibited

included a broad range in each medium, from the academic tradition to the new eighteenth century printing technologies. Most works exhibited were drawn from the collections of the National Portrait Gallery, the British Library, and the British Museum.

The exhibition participants at the National Portrait Gallery in London in 2008 attempted to portray visually in miniature 35 years of academic scholarship on the Bluestocking Circle. The exhibition combined tightly arranged wall displays of paintings, prints, and drawings with glass cabinet displays of books, letters, and manuscripts. The smaller floor plan of the exhibit created the impression of an intimate circle of friendships among the members of the Bluestockings while perhaps not reflecting the rather grander scale of their achievements. The larger paintings in the exhibition such as Angelica Kauffmann's *The Artist Hesitating Between the Arts of Music and Painting*, (1791–94) and Richard Samuel's *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo*, (1778) would have benefited from a larger exhibition space.

The exhibition served well to illustrate how members of the Bluestocking Circle wielded their pens and brushes to reflect their professional interests, both in the subject matter and content of their art and literature, and in the materials and form that would assist them to practically make a living wage from their work. The scale of the objects in the exhibition was physically grand in the case of the academic paintings of Angelica Kauffmann, and the technical distribution large in the case of the small penny press publications of Hannah More. This reflected the desire of the women in the Bluestocking Circle to leave the limited roles for women of upper-, middle-, and working-class life in the eighteenth century, to enter into paid employment in the arts and letters. For upper- and middle-class women the

ambition to establish careers was seen by some opponents, as a move down the social ladder into paid employment. For working-class women, on the other hand, making careers in arts was a necessary improvement to hard manual labour. In reality, for all, it was an attempt to find employment and financial independence through the work they loved. The work of the Bluestocking Circle displayed on the walls and in the cabinets of the National Portrait Gallery spoke measurably of a group of women taking their place in the world as translators, poets, writers, artists, singers, critics, playwrights, and historians.

Brought together in this way, the work of the Bluestocking Circle demonstrates how such a formation of women could assist in raising a larger group of women into new forms of economic independence without concern for the social origin of the participants. Not only did the Circle cut across social backgrounds, it also cut across political boundaries with the shared interest of moving women into careers in the arts and letters. The fact that their efforts were bolstered by the political moment of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and criticized in the political reaction to the Enlightenment didn't erase their legacy for the next generation of women who struggled to achieve the same goals under different circumstances.

*Brilliant Women*, the exhibition catalogue, produced by the National Portrait Gallery stands on its own as a solid, small volume on the scholarship of the Bluestocking Circle punctuated with reproductions of some of the artwork and writing of the Circle. The catalogue contains four chapters, two by Eger and two by Peltz. The first chapter discusses the manner in which the Bluestocking assembly came together as a grouping with particular attention to the support of the literary critic and industrialist Elizabeth

Montagu in the 1750s. Biographical references focus on the moment in London society when Elizabeth Montagu hosted events to provide a setting for intellectual discussion among a broad range of career-minded women.

Chapter one emphasizes Montagu's role as patron in securing work in subscriber publications for women writers such as Ann Yearsley and Hannah More. Her role in granting annuities to Elizabeth Carter, Hester Chapone, and Sarah Fielding in the 1770s is also discussed. The chapter also explores the reception of the assemblies in the literary community, where they were admired for their diversity of opinions, reasoning, and argument, and inclusion of women for their skills and abilities rather than their social rank.

Chapter one also discusses the transformation of the eighteenth century publishing trade that opened outlets for both middle- and working-class writers through the introduction of the penny press, a cheaper means of technical reproduction that enabled individuals to distribute their writing to a growing literate audience. It allowed writers to receive a comparatively decent income from their writing, which could be supplemented by a presence on the lecture circuit.

Chapter two discusses the high period of the Bluestocking Circle in the 1770s when the individuals in the Circle were well established and made a solid contribution to the arts and letters. The chapter discusses the growth of the political mood in London and abroad in support of women's economic, social, and cultural advancement. Whether it was the striving from below for the advancement of democracy in society or a striving from within established society for a national rival to women of standing in France and elsewhere, society increasingly allowed an assembly of women to move forward into the centre of the arts and letters community.

Chapter three covers the period between the American Declaration of Independence and the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1776–1815) when the political moment of the Enlightenment was at its height internationally. This chapter introduces three political writers contemporary to the Bluestocking Circle, Catharine Macauley (writer and Whig republican), Mary Wollstonecraft (writer), and Hannah More (playwright and Tory), and illustrates the social climate women encountered during the years of political change. The chapter largely examines the career and public reception of Macauley accompanied by the celebratory neoclassical portraiture, engraving, and sculpture of her.

Chapter four, a shorter chapter also serving as the conclusion, focuses on the Bluestocking legacy from the end of the Napoleonic War to the beginning of the 21st century. This chapter is intended to demonstrate how at the opening of the nineteenth century the Bluestocking Circle, now in a position of prominence after a long period of social organization, ended as one formation but found continuity through a different generation of women bolstered by a renewed climate for suffrage in the 1830s and 1840s. This new generation of women working as writers, artists, playwrights, and politicians addressed their own moment in a variety of genres built on the efforts of the Bluestocking Circle. Their moment was different and in some ways more difficult being in a period of economic decline in the aftermath of centuries of war, but the work of Mary Shelley, Elizabeth Moody, Maria Edgeworth, Anne Hall, Letitia Landon, Mary Mitford, Harriet Martineau, George Eliot and others illustrates their strong presence and success.

The final chapter briefly examines the contrasting critics Leigh Hunt and William Hazlitt and discusses how the nineteenth century novel superseded the

penny press for many women writers in the period. The novel, as a literary form, provided a better income for women writers, could be written under a wider range of social circumstances in regional as well as urban settings, and had a vast appeal with a growing female readership. The catalogue concludes with a short survey of the successors of the Bluestockings in the twentieth century from Virginia Woolf to Germaine Greer.

One strength of the *Brilliant Women* project was its bringing together of a wide variety of artistic and literary genres and media to create the feel of a wealth of women's professional contribution to the late eighteenth century. The catalogue tries to give a voice to the breadth of the research that has been underway across disciplines on the Bluestocking Circle over the past 35 years. There are substantial notes at the end of each chapter and a three page select bibliography and further reading listing at the end of the catalogue.

The chapters vary greatly in style and presentation of research. Careful editing would have reduced this unevenness. There is a tendency to introduce ideas in the catalogue essays without developing them. The chapters are weighed down with catalogues of names and small facts and the argument is often lost. Many topics are initiated or insinuated and then not developed. The chapter headings are sometimes disjointed from the chapter content and some sub-headings appear as afterthoughts. The personal attacks on Bluestocking women that focused on assumptions about the women's personal lives seem redundant at this stage in scholarship on the Circle.

Contemporary criticism of the Bluestocking Circle reflected the success of the Circle and their impact on society; much of the satirical portrayal of Circle members was a direct compliment to these individuals as meticulous attention

was paid to their appearance, far more than their male counterparts. Their visages were often less distorted and more care taken to their individual details than, say, Samuel Johnson or Robespierre. Even Thomas Rowlandson's *Breaking up of the Blue Stocking Club* (1815) was scarcely harsher than satirists' treatments of parliamentarians at the time. The term "bluestocking" has a fine lineage in English history and would not have entered everyday use in the language positively or negatively after Cromwell's parliament in 1653 had not a small group of women in eighteenth century London decided it was acceptable for a few men of casual attire such as Benjamin Stillingfleet and Samuel Johnson to entertain them wearing their blue-worsted stockings.

The development of the term "bluestocking" is no doubt part of the movement that recognizes that "well-heeled" attire and social class were not the principal content of the Enlightenment and that the women of the Bluestocking Circle managed to span the social classes. The criticism of the Bluestocking Circle was also without regard to the social class or party politics of the individual members as evidenced in Rowlandson's satire. Change the gender of the satire and it is little different than a brawl by men in parliament and to be given little more significance than that. Undoubtedly the intention of such attacks was to discourage any further efforts at collective organizing of women.

The *Brilliant Women: 18th-Bluestockings* exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery contributed to an important discussion about the role of interdisciplinary work in art history in the past forty years. While the cross-fertilization of knowledge among the disciplines of art, literature, and history (amongst other fields) has enhanced scholars' work, it has also made scholars aware of the importance of retaining a solid knowledge

base in their own discipline. Without such a base, interdisciplinary work can lack development and direction and the resulting scholarship can seem highly generalist or without significance. Scholars working in different disciplines need a clear understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of their own discipline and knowledge and a clear understanding of the intersecting boundaries between the various disciplines in order to work together.

While the new technology that has gone hand in hand with interdisciplinary work has had the *potential* to be a useful tool to scholars in their research and publication, its 25 year implementation period has sometimes used an increasingly large portion of institutional budgets and valuable scholarly time. Like any new technology, its value will ultimately be assessed by its contribution to the *quality* of the final scholarship by having freed up time for scholarly thought, enhanced access to research material, or improved the physical appearance and quality of the published volume. If it has not done this, it will not have been a useful exercise.

In the meantime, most scholars try to retain and develop the knowledge base and skills associated with their particular disciplines and continue to meet other professionals in conferences, seminars, meetings, and less formal settings. The individuals who met in the Bluestocking Circle provided an early example of this prior to the modern academy.

The *Brilliant Women* exhibition and its accompanying catalogue create the sense of the ingenuity of a group of women who were emerging in London at the time of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and who left a legacy to women professionals in the arts and letters for the following 150 years. The National Portrait Gallery, Elizabeth Eger, Lucy Peltz, and Clare Barlow are to be commended for

organizing an interesting and enjoyable exhibition of the Bluestocking Circle. In time, perhaps, the work of the Bluestocking Circle and their successors will find an even larger and more permanent expression in British galleries and museums, and become part of an international renaissance of the contribution of women to the intellectual life and cultural wellbeing of people.

ELLEN L. RAMSAY  
York University

**José A. Piqueras and Vicent Sanz Rozalén, eds., *A Social History of Spanish Labour. New Perspectives on Class, Politics and Gender* (New York: Berghahn Books 2007)**

A COLLECTION OF this sort is long overdue. Modern Spain, and especially anything that is not the Spanish Civil War, is one of the great unknowns of European history as it is done in North America. Stranded in a no person's land between the paucity of Spain specialists in Canadian and US universities, on the one hand, and the lack of interest among historians in Spain in publishing their work in English, on the other, very few books or articles on the social or cultural history of Spain in the 19th and 20th centuries see the light of day. This volume, edited by labour historians from two different generations, provides English-speaking readers with a sampler of the work in the field over the last two decades.

The editors have chosen the articles to be representative of the social history of labour done since 1990 when, according to the editors, "there was a significant change in the direction" of the field, away from institutional and political history in favour of "specific problems and processes involving the formation and evolution of class." (8) At the same time, there were new academic organizations and

new journals. Key among the latter was *Historia Social*, where Piqueras and Sanz Rozalén have leading roles and where eight of the fourteen articles originally appeared (In the interests of full disclosure, I must mention that I have been on the journal's advisory board since its launch in 1988).

The editors understand representativeness in a number of ways. Methodologically, they approach their subjects through the lenses of class formation, gender, culture, and politics. Thematically, they address both newer concerns as well as such "classic subjects" as standards of living. Chronologically, the articles cover the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Only one article deals with the Spanish Civil War, a good decision as this is the period non-specialists are likely to know about, while there are six about the little-known 19th century and two on the Franco period, which has become the subject of a burgeoning literature in recent years. Geographically, they deal with various parts of Spain, rural as well as urban, although given the numerical importance of agricultural labour until well into the 20th century and its prominence in labour organization and labour protest there is less on rural Spain than one would expect. The total absence of Andalucía, which does not even have an entry in the index, is hard to explain. Finally, there are articles devoted to specific occupations: laundresses, sandal makers, and miners (3 articles).

The fact that the editors were able to pick and choose from a vast field of previously published pieces means that there is less disparity in quality than is often the case with edited collections. The book begins with two think pieces: Manuel Pérez Ledesma's article on the working class as a cultural creation and Pilar Pérez Fuentes' methodological considerations on women in the workplace in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Pérez Ledesma admits that the debates about the nature of the working class, with the exception of the work of Patrick Joyce, were well known in Spain but that the theoretical positions had been little integrated into actual studies. He examines the changes in vocabulary used to describe social realities: the meanings of the word “people,” the introduction of “exploitation” as a moral term, and the use of rituals and symbols to make working people into a “historical subject,” the working class. He concludes that this process, by which “sectors as diverse as agricultural day labourers, craftsmen in traditional professions, miners and a small number of industrial workers” came to accept that what united them was more significant than what divided them, began in the last twenty years of the 19th century.

Pérez Fuentes starts from the position that industrialization in Western Europe always meant the creation of “a new regulatory and symbolic framework... by means of which new female and male identities were developed which were considerably different from those in pre-industrial societies,” (44) but that the actual nature of the transformation varied greatly among societies. She devotes much attention to censuses, and particularly to the way their changing construction, in other European countries as well as in Spain, suggested “a universal and mythical absence of all [workplace] activity.” (49) More useful as sources, in large part because they permit a more sophisticated understanding of immediate contexts and how these connected with family strategies, are the municipal registers.

The remaining articles are monographic treatments of the questions raised in the two opening pieces and they are arranged in chronological order, starting with Carmen Sarasúa’s study of laundresses from the 18th to the

20th centuries and concluding with José Babiano’s reflections on the Franco dictatorship’s so-called “vertical unions.”

All the articles were originally published in Spanish and had to be translated for this volume. The translation is generally acceptable but does stumble at times. In the introduction alone, for example, we read about “non resident lecturers,” (6) *profesores no numerarios* in Spanish, a phrase which means nothing in English and should have been translated as “contract faculty, and about “associate workers” (8) of the First International, probably a translation of *obreros asociados* which should be rendered as “members.”

ADRIAN SHUBERT  
York University

**Martin Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France*** (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press 2008)

THIS COMPACT collection of ten essays, six of which have already appeared in journals or, in one case, as a chapter in a book, is worth reading, even if you have previously read one or two of the essays in article form. In the new introductory essay, Martin Lyons explains that together, the essays address French reading and writing practices over the course of the (long) nineteenth century, 1815–1919. They are also ordered in a broadly chronological manner. Furthermore, all the essays address the development of a mass market in fiction publishing, as reflected in an increase in the number of titles and the size of the print runs, and the acquisition of popular literacy that ends, as the book does, with the “explosion” of popular letter writing during World War I. The approaches vary from historiographical and methodological, to the application of quantification and cultural history techniques, especially Stanley Fish’s notion



of interpretive reading communities. The essays are sensitive to both class and gender differences in reading and writing practices.

One of the explicitly methodological essays, entitled "Why We need an Oral History of Reading," critiques the popular methods of reader reception theory, with its conception of an "implied reader." Lyons proposes, instead, an oral history of actual readers, asking them about their reading practices and trying to understand the literary culture that they bring to their reading. Indeed, he cites three studies, not only of French readers, that demonstrate that French workers were more likely to read detective fiction, Jules Verne, and about World War I, while (not so originally), English and other Protestant readers were more likely to read religious tracts. This essay also notes gender differences in reading practices, notably of newspapers, and women's inclination to underestimate or deny reading as an idle pursuit. This reader would have liked more on the attractions of Jules Verne, as well as of women's reticence to acknowledge their reading.

The first substantive chapter, "In Search of the Bestsellers of Nineteenth-Century France, 1815–1850," discusses evidence of bestsellers in lieu of sales records, in the form of production statistics based on print runs and printers' declarations, and documents the persistence of classical literature (seventeenth century works like Fénelon's *Télémaque*) and enlightenment texts (eighteenth century works by Buffon, Rousseau, and Voltaire). The absence of major nineteenth century novelists publishing at the time – think of Balzac – is also noted. Numbers feature prominently in the third chapter, on the rise of a national literary culture, established, in large part, through the appearance of large publishing and distribution firms and the decline and eventual disappearance of the colporteurs who carried

books to distant villages. Numbers play a less prominent role in other chapters, such as the one on worker-autobiographers. Here Lyons begins with a count of the number of French worker-writers (and a comparison to the larger number of their British counterparts), and follows with a content and style analysis of the autobiographies. Lyons identifies a high degree of deference to and imitation of the literary canon but also a culture of resistance among French worker autobiographers. The conclusion about these writers adopting a pedagogical role or acting as cultural intermediaries for other readers is familiar to anyone who reads worker autobiographies but useful nevertheless, for the argument is unusually well documented.

Other chapters are more systematically cultural in interpretation. Thus a chapter on book burnings and Catholic missions in the Restoration (1815–1828) contends that the missions and the book burnings were inspired by an attempt to neutralize a historical memory, in particular the works of Rousseau and Voltaire and the French Revolution. The essay on the Gutenberg Festival in Strasbourg in 1840 identifies the rhetoric about spreading truth, freedom, and enlightenment, but also the importance of celebrating local traditions and engagement in municipal rivalries (over the right place to fete Gutenberg). A third essay on *veillées* argues that these evening work parties in rural areas involved telling stories, especially ghost stories and memorized literary texts, and as such, remained in the peasant world of oral culture. Lyons also finds that these work parties declined dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century, to be replaced by cafés and bars, where the newspapers were read and the written word was more important.

*Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France* only takes

up the subject of writing practices in the final two chapters, and leaves this reader, at least, wishing for more. The essay on intimate writing, of letters and diaries, draws heavily on previous scholarship in its insistence on the relatively public nature of writing, not only of letters, which were often signed by more than one family member, but of the plethora of spiritual diaries composed by Catholic girls, usually under the supervision of their mothers. More satisfying, but also just a beginning, is Lyons' analysis of soldiers' letters from the front lines during World War I. Here he notes the ritualized nature of this correspondence, as soldiers tried to conceal, not only their positions to avoid censorship, but also their suffering, although they did write about bodily discomforts and inquired about the home farm or business frequently. Others have examined smaller subsets of soldier correspondence and discovered some discreet expression of sentiment. Lyons has drawn attention to a subject that deserves much more scholarly analysis.

MARY LYNN STEWART  
Simon Fraser University

**Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses. The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books 2008)**

IN HIS HISTORICAL and political analysis of Vienna's Ringstrasse and the Ringstrasse zone from the Imperial Decree of 1857 down to its completion in the first decade of the 20th century, Carl Schorske drew attention to the fact that the removal of the earlier fortifications around the centre of the city and the construction of the Ringstrasse ostensibly opened up the city's connections to its suburbs. At the same time, he pointed out not only that virtually all the major buildings along this new street faced inwards but also that

this Ringstrasse acted as a new barrier to the outer suburbs. This was no more true than for the working-class suburbs, such as Ottakring and Favoriten, whose social, cultural, and political circumstances remained spatially and substantively marginalized around 1900, and have received scant attention in most of the recent explorations of modernity in Vienna.

This 'other' modernity, located far away from the modernist avant-gardes of fin-de-siècle Vienna, has long awaited attention. In their path-breaking exploration of this 'other' Vienna, Maderthaner and Musner have excavated the dynamics not merely of the working-class urban culture of the late 19th and early 20th century, but also of the often overlooked dynamism of the social and political movements of subordinate classes in Vienna. And here this also means revealing neglected aspects of the labour movement in Vienna. The authors have gone back to original historical sources in order to uncover and illuminate dimensions of this other way of life in the working-class suburbs, as well as the dynamics of their political intervention in the inner city, culminating in the September 1911 uprisings emanating from deteriorating housing conditions and inflationary food prices in working-class districts such as Ottakring. Indeed, the whole volume brings to life a sense of crisis in the two decades or so leading up to World War I. In the case of Ottakring, there is a rich analysis of the interface of working-class and ethnic culture, in the context of later 19th century migration of rural workers, especially from the Czech territories. The interplay of possibilities for the maintenance of a rural culture in an urban milieu, the emergence of a more general mass culture around leisure spaces in the Prater and elsewhere, as well as the construction of a working-class political culture around the Social Democratic Party and the developing unionization of an

increasingly industrial workforce, is explored in detail and with commendable theoretical sophistication.

The authors explore in depth the location or sites of this 'other' modernity in the outer working-class suburbs such as Favoriten, Meidling, and Floridsdorf, with their often distorted landscapes of primitive accumulation, sometimes retaining elements and traces of village and semi-rural life. At the same time, in their 'modern' version, there were other areas where the constraining grid system contributed to the monotony of deprived, lived-out existences. There, the creation of spaces of production was not conceived as an aesthetic exercise as in the Ringstrasse zone (though there too urban capital accumulation was not insignificant). The spaces of dwelling for this other modernity were small in size with rentals per square metre often higher than in the Ringstrasse zone itself and a cubic metre of space less than the minimum in military barracks.

In their search for data on this population of the outer suburbs, the authors cannot turn to the literary modernists of the period around 1900 because they are largely and strangely silent. Rather, it is reports by early urban ethnographers such as Max Winter and others, social-democratic reformers, as well as occasional social scientists who provide the most comprehensive and vivid images of grinding poverty, a poverty often hidden behind ostensibly imposing facades that give an apparent, but illusory, aesthetic affinity to the grander facades of the inner, bourgeois city. The life of these 'dangerous classes' inhabiting the outer workers' districts, with their threatening unregulated desires, was played out not merely in their spaces of production in factories and workshops, and in the street culture of such districts, but also in the 'free time' of emergent and multifaceted dimensions of mass culture, symbolized

in Vienna by the originally popular culture of the Prater. And from 1895 a 'Venice in Vienna' themed park offered a variety of amusements as commodified spectacle, initially with replicated facades of Venice, later of other cities, and a mass of restaurants, shows, displays, refreshment halls of every variety, and so on.

If one dimension of the emergent mass culture pressed, not always successfully, in the direction of a homogenized culture through commodification, in the spaces of the street culture in the workers' suburbs, and in the spaces of production a culture of resistance could be discerned. But it was not only the street that could be marked out as working-class territory in the suburbs. Any open space could be appropriated by adolescents, their gangs, and others, such as the unemployed. The control of such liminal spaces opened up the possibilities for all manner of marginal and deviant activities. This was nowhere more the case than on the largest of those 'empty' spaces: the open heath land of the Schmelz in the fifteenth district (Fünfhaus) adjacent to Ottakring.

This is at least part of the context within which the authors explore and bring to life another side of the 'dangerous classes,' namely, the profusion in the decades around 1900 of competing adolescent and deviant gangs, most often rooted in distinctive working-class localities. Each had fights over leadership positions, and none was more acclaimed in this period than Johann "Schani" Breitwieser, the "king of Meidling," the Robin Hood of popular acclaim in Vienna. His resistance to the state and to urban misery, along with his scientific approach to break-ins and safecracking allowed Breitwieser to embody the anti-capitalist hero and the modern craftsman. Eventually shot by the police in 1919, an estimated crowd of 20,000 to 40,000 accompanied his coffin at his funeral.

Of course, working-class revolt was also in evidence at the economic site of production. The authors explore the example of strike activity (organized by Victor Adler) at the Vienna Tramway Company in 1888, where the employers soon responded with the introduction of strike-breakers, which only accentuated the workers' hostility. The violent clashes with police and troops at and around the depots were notable for the role played by women and adolescents. The broader spaces of political mass movements in Vienna in this period are not neglected. The volume concludes with a striking contrast between the leaders of the two most powerful mass movements, the leader of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, Franz Schuhmeier (assassinated in 1913), and Karl Lueger (died in 1910), mayor and leader of the Christian Social Party. If Schuhmeier was the iconic figure of organized labour intent on both universalizing the earlier liberal program of progress and universal enlightenment for the working class and maintaining popular, local culture of the suburbs, Lueger, with his lower middle-class support, sought to fuse a radical conservative Catholicism with an anti-Semitism that created a new 'other,' an 'outsider' who could never be truly Viennese. If Schuhmeier anticipated the 'Red Vienna' of the 1920s, then Lueger represented the possibility of a more threatening mobilization of the urban masses.

It is difficult to do justice here to a work that brings together a substantive and rich contribution to the neglected 'other' Vienna, to the 'other' side of modernity, while at the same time doing so with new theoretical interpretations and insights into the dynamics of working-class culture and resistance in the outer suburbs. The text is accompanied with often striking photographic illustrations, unfortunately not matched with some corresponding maps to guide the reader

through the extensive coverage of working-class suburbs and other areas. But this absence is compensated for by the rich original textual sources upon which the authors have drawn. In short, this is an original and critical recuperation of 'another' Vienna around 1900, cutting against the grain of orthodox interpretations of this crucial period in Vienna.

DAVID FRISBY

London School of Economics

**Yan Hairong, *New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China*** (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2008)

IN POST-MAOIST China, young rural women have been a significant part of a migrant army of over 100 million. Many of them leave for urban centres to work as domestic labour each year. Focusing on an appreciably affected area, Anhui Province's Wuwei County in her book, *New Masters, New Servants*, Yan Hairong examines questions of recruitment, work experience, goals, and obstacles facing rural girls engaged in family service. In addition, in *New Masters, New Servants*, Yan pays special attention to a number of issues of theoretic significance.

Yan approaches post-Maoist China from a postmodernist perspective, identifying herself with a group of left-wing Chinese scholars ("New Left"), who emphasize the negative effects of globalization and westernization. Yan characterizes China's strategy for development as an "emaciation of the rural," (25) i.e., a usurping of surplus value created by rural migrants. (128–129) In comparing the Mao Era modernization project with that of the post-Maoists, Yan demonstrates how state investment in agriculture dropped off dramatically, from over 10 per cent during the Maoist period to only 2 per cent throughout

the 1990s. The Gini coefficient for rural and urban incomes reached 0.59 in 2002, well over the 0.4 danger level. (41) In addition to suffering material “emaciation” of the countryside, rural China has been negatively reinvented as a wasteland, and a repository of those attributes deemed undesirable, i.e., “traditional,” “feudal,” anti-market, and of low “suzhi” (quality). Given this destructive context, Yan says it is hardly surprising that educated rural youths migrate to the cities, while the old, children, and married women are left behind to do the farming. (43)

The state was instrumental in the transformation of China’s planned economy to a market economy, an approach representing the embrace of neo-liberalism (as opposed to classic liberals, neo-liberals depend on government to regulate markets, but rely on a liberal theoretical discourse to establish cultural hegemony). In the face of numerous urban middle-class complaints regarding migrant domestics, family service companies were founded in the early 1990s in metropolitan centres to organize a contract-based system, and to provide advertising, recruiting, and training, while serving as a clearing house for domestic workers. With the Women’s Federation and labour bureau of migrant counties involved, family service companies have been able to keep track of domestics’ movement in and around cities. (123–127)

In addition, state and social elites have constructed the notion of *suzhi* to pressure domestic workers of rural origin into behaving more docilely, “endur[ing] various grievances and humiliation.” (112) Ascribing to rural girls “low *suzhi*,” while members of the urban middle- and upper-class elites are deemed of “high *suzhi*,” allows interested parties in the cities to present the grueling migration as a process for rural women’s self-development. To be held worthy of higher *suzhi*, i.e., a new “subjectivity” approved

by educated elites and government economic policies, rural girls are deemed apt to play the part of virtual “blank slates” onto which authorities and their intellectual masters may pour at their discretion abuse and ill treatment. The training lecture given to new recruits by the family service companies admonishes them not to bargain for wages with prospective employers, and to accept sole responsibility for preservation of a good relationship with the family that employs them, as well as to strive always to be accommodating and apologetic once conflicts occur. (166–169) The discourse of *suzhi*, Yan asserts, not only conceals the fact that coastal cities have developed rapidly at the expense of the rural hinterland, but also minimizes the value and importance of migrant workers with regard to urban development. (122, 129, 137)

In a style reminiscent of other China scholars such as Jonathan Unger, Yan characterizes China’s well-educated middle class as a conservative force, a bulwark of the post-reformist regime. The domestic labour market arose in the 1980s in response to a nationwide discussion of “intellectual burdens.” This discussion acknowledged that busy work schedules and private responsibilities were leaving intellectuals exhausted. Soon afterward, the government began a campaign to bolster the prestige of the intellectual, and provided money for pay increases to intellectuals. Large numbers of young women from the countryside entered urban centres to “liberate intellectuals from manual domestic work,” (69) so that intellectuals could use their cognitive abilities to better serve the modernization cause. In this way, post-Maoist discourse abandoned the Maoist mass line of exalting the wisdom of workers and peasants, and returned to the pre-Maoist ideological stance emphasizing “opposition between body and mind, between manual and intellectual labor.” (79)

After recording frequent complaints among intellectual employers regarding the ineptitude of domestic workers, and the “low suzhi” among rural women, Yan notes that, in descriptions used in worker training sessions, the intellectual class is likened to a “mind” striving to mobilize a “body” (the domestic worker class).<sup>(105)</sup> Only after “a proper subjectivity” is nurtured in a rural girl so that she becomes “one heart and mind” with her employers, can she finally be regarded as having acquired the appropriate attitudes necessary to successfully complete her domestic chores. For a domestic worker, therefore, the process of subjectivity transformation (of suzhi enhancement) amounts to allowing herself to be set apart from her peers, and to lose herself in her employer’s identity. The suzhi discourse, Yan remarks, “has a profoundly negative implication for class consciousness.”<sup>(188)</sup>

Out of the more than 100 million rural migrants only a small number have accumulated suzhi and property and become business owners. *New Masters, New Servants* draws a bleak picture of the daily lives and destinies of ordinary migrant women. Viewed collectively, rural women’s urban dream proves bankrupt.<sup>(231)</sup> From 1995 to 2005, metropolitan centres excluded migrants from many low-skilled jobs in favor of unemployed urbanites. Although the ban has now been lifted, tension between urban workers and migrant labourers is readily apparent.<sup>(238–239)</sup> Migrant women are alienated from their employers. Yan recites a story of domestic worker Xiaohong, who tried eagerly to gain suzhi and win the trust of her employer, the wife of a famous writer. However when, after Xiaohong had already quit her job, her employer demanded to inspect Xiaohong’s personal belongings, Xiaohong realized the “hypocrisy of intellectuals.” As a result, she felt compelled to renew

her involvement in her class brothers’ and sisters’ cause, that of the struggle of migrant labour.<sup>(209–210)</sup>

Most migrant women neither strive for self-promotion coherently, nor resist it consistently. Many distract themselves by focusing on their poor rural families. Can they, Yan asks, realistically hope to be compensated later on for their sacrifices, which enable their younger siblings to attend college and pursue more rewarding careers? Rural youth fortunate enough to have benefitted from the financial support of migrant women, “like many intellectuals and professionals of rural background,” may view these women’s suffering as a necessary sacrifice, essential for their own success and modernization of China. They may also use suzhi discourse to downplay the importance of migrant women’s contributions, Yan speculates. When migrant women’s urban dreams founder, should they return to their home villages? “[T]he countryside must serve as a last base for the retreat of bodies injured, souls trampled, and hopes lost in the city.”<sup>(227)</sup> Yet post-Maoist development strategy has transformed rural China into a “deeply sick” and enervated place. Young people and middle-aged men are rarely seen in villages. Women who return to the countryside after marriage are hardly able to readjust. Rather, they “experience a double alienation.”<sup>(232)</sup>

China’s development demands migrant labourers to replace Maoist workers who enjoyed the benefits of socialism. Compared to Maoist workers, migrant labour is cheap, docile, mobile, and more competitive. Migrant women, therefore, are in an ambiguous position, inasmuch as they are “between the city and the countryside, between disposable and necessary, between possibilities of absence and those of presence, and between disarticulation and articulation.”<sup>(248)</sup> Successful migrant women have achieved



a permanent presence in the city, whereas the majority of them face the possible fate of disappearing from the urban scene. When migrant women narrate their experiences in ways that attest official views of development, their voices are celebrated; otherwise, they are stifled. In accordance with their ambiguous status, migrant women have adopted what may be a similarly ambiguous tactic: They refuse to go back to their home villages. They remain in the city, in the hopes of overcoming obstacles before being “completely consumed and depleted.” (247)

*New Masters, New Servants* offers a sweeping critique of China’s reforms. It is politically and ideologically engaged, packed with insightful and brilliant discussions of relations between “state and market, countryside and city, mental and manual work, and gender and domesticity.” (24) Yan draws on primary sources including: individual interviews, literary works, personal letters, and diaries, and subtly narrates in a sophisticated manner. In this way, she is trying to deconstruct and reconstruct a number of keywords, such as “development,” “self-improvement,” “consumption” and “suzhi.” Along the way, Yan makes use of a variety of postmodernist and critical methodologies.

One of the generations of younger scholars from China who received graduate education, and conducted research at American universities, Yan perhaps had little personal experience of the economic hardship and authoritarianism that the Maoist regime presupposed. Attributing to China’s post-Maoist development strategy the rural stagnation and suffering of migrant women, *New Masters, New Servants* not only rejects the “western route” to modernization as the solution to China’s problems, but also casts a nostalgic look at the conditions of relative economic and social parity that were present in Maoist China.

In addition, although Yan reproaches the state and Chinese intellectuals for having replaced Marxian class analysis with Weberian theories of social stratification, she uses the concept of class loosely, with little reference to the productive relations into which people are born or enter involuntarily. Intellectuals are collectively referred to as a master class, whose interests conflict with those of the class of domestic workers. Capitalists have arbitrary power over employees and, in the same way, intellectual masters have near absolute authority over domestic workers. Furthermore, referring to *suzhi* as “a phantom child of development,” Yan’s elaboration of *suzhi*, not dissimilar from feminist discussions of skill and sexuality, emphasizes one-sidedly its social construction, and downplays any possibility of its objective veracity, associated with such qualities as intelligence, civility, and self-discipline, that are obtainable through education and training.

Notwithstanding such limitations, Yan’s book, as one commentator indicates, is “unique in its scope and ambition.” It is, therefore, a good read for those eager to understand developments in China over the last two decades.

SHILING MCQUAIDE  
Athabasca University

**John Loxley, *Transforming or Reforming Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Community Economic Development***

(Toronto: Fernwood and Winnipeg: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba 2007)

AS THE EDITOR of the book points out, “in recent years there has been a blossoming of community economic development initiatives worldwide and a commensurate increase in the publications dealing with CED.” (1) Given the proliferation of publications, including books, about CED,

one might well ask what this book adds to the literature. The answer can be given in brief: a short collection (5 chapters) of theoretical reflections and probes into the theory of CED from the perspective of a network of CED researchers and practitioners in Manitoba.

CED is part of a broad movement since the mid-1990s in search for alternative forms of development initiated 'from below' and 'from within' that reach beyond the market and the state into the localities and communities of the poor, the main object of diverse interventions associated with the project of international cooperation. This search for alternative development (AD) has taken the form of attempts to constitute a new development paradigm – new and different ways of thinking about development and putting it into practice.

As mentioned, CED is one of several models and forms of AD. The literature surrounding CED is substantive, generating the need for an evaluation of the theory and an assessment of associated practices. Oddly enough, there are many more assessments of the practice – what works, the growth of CED manuals or 'cook-books' on how to organize CED projects, their funding, evaluation and management – than there is of the theory behind the practice. In fact, there is a dearth of such evaluations, making this small book particularly welcome.

Much of the existing CED literature is very uncritical, laudatory in fact. The concepts and principles of AD behind CED are clear enough. They have been elaborated often to the point almost of ad nauseum. However, the theory that ties together these concepts, which are constructed on the basis of and with reference to these principles, is by no means clear. In fact, one could say that the practice of CED is woefully undertheorized, supported with no end of simple

restatements and superficial discussion of fundamental principles without any analysis of the driving forces, the obstacles and the agency for change, and most importantly, no appreciation of the context of CED as practice. Most distressing about this literature is the lack of context – the inability to connect strategy to the broader picture – to see or show how CED relates to various agendas at play. How, for example, does it fit into the post-Washington Consensus on the need for a more sustainable form of development, a more inclusive form of neoliberalism? In this context it could be argued that the guardians or architects of Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC) have appropriated the framework of CED, taking over its concepts and principles while emptying them of their original content. What is useful about this book is that it attempts to provide a historical, structural, and institutional context for the emergence and practice of CED, allowing for a much-needed critical assessment of the associated 'practice.'

This is where this book comes in: with a set of theoretical probes into CED practice. Chapter 1 sets the stage for this project by distinguishing CED from other forms of community development, which have received much more attention from development theorists. At issue here are concepts such as 'community.' Since much community-based development is in fact localized but not community-based, the concept of 'community' is highly problematic and this chapter provides a useful discussion of the issues involved, particularly those of class formation and class divisions which, in many contexts, extinguish any sense of community or prevent the existence or formation of communities. CED or community-based development (CBD) is predicated on a sense of community, i.e. social bonds or a culture of social

solidarity that allows for community-based development and is used to construct social capital. On the whole, this is a good chapter, perhaps the best.

Chapter 2 engages some of the same issues but from a sociological rather than economic perspective, although the authors are not as clear on the difference between locality and community for example, or how local spaces are often constructed in class terms rather than as a community. Sharing a local space is indeed an important condition for 'communities to form' and act collectively in their own interests. What the book does well, and this is an important contribution, is point out how CED and CBD concepts and strategies have indeed been appropriated by the overseas development associations in a project of imperialist intervention disguised as 'international cooperation.'

In a different connection the authors of this chapter usefully argue that the ideal view of community as being coherent, engaged, democratic, economically self-sufficient, and non-alienating overlooks the diversity of communities, assumes the superiority of local knowledge, and plays down the repression of women and the potential for the local to be bureaucratic and elitist. Community development vehicles can be used by the state to help fix the deficiencies of capitalism and can be locked into mainstream models of development.

Chapter 3 turns from the sociological to more strictly economic theory. But because of the lack of a theoretical foundation for CED the author is forced to reach in to the repertoire of preexisting economic theory, vainly attempting to construct a theory where one does not exist. It is the least successful chapter, not so much because of the technical representation of economic theory as because there is a rather forced discussion

very removed and abstracted from CED in actual practice.

Chapter 4 turns to the political dimension of CED. It provides a useful discussion of the political theory implicit in CED, raising questions about forms of participatory development and the relation of CS to the state. The problem with this discussion is that it does not adequately 'deconstruct' the extensive theoretical literature in this regard in terms of the neoliberal model and the efforts in the 1990s to correct the deficiencies of the 'new economic model' by creating more socially inclusive forms of neoliberalism in terms of decentralization, good governance, empowerment of the poor, etc. Much of the literature in this regard focuses on or relates to Latin America but unfortunately the chapter does not review or connect well to this literature.

Chapter 5 attempts to tie together the ideas and points made in the different chapters regarding the sociological, economic, and political dimensions of the theory, not to construct a general theory of CED (it does not exist and the authors do not attempt to construct one) as much as to reflect on the economic, sociological, and political issues involved.

Overall, the book is a definite step forward in the right direction, a good antidote to the fashionable concern for any alternative to neoliberalism, even one that is not really an alternative but parades as one. It would be a useful adjunct to the study of the different ways in which CED is put into practice. It is worth reading as a primer on the thinking behind this practice.

As the editor notes, CED relates to "an ambitious, long-term, project to help build a society which is more equitable, more democratic, more nature-friendly and more people-oriented." As such, the "project is difficult but ... worthwhile

... capturing and clarifying the theory underlying CED is but one small, albeit important, component of that project.”(6) Indeed it is.

HENRY VELTMEYER  
Saint Mary's University

**Lars Svendsen, *Work*** (Stocksfield: Acumen 2008)

AT THE OUTSET, Lars Svendsen states that there isn't a thesis in his book. In a “Wittgensteinian style,” the author aims to provide “a collection of snapshots of various aspects of work, of what it has been, of what it is and what it perhaps will become.” (11) However, there is more of a thesis in this book than the author prepares us for, to which he actually confesses at the end. In view of his thesis, the spirit of the book seems to owe more to the political philosophy of Hegel than to the relatively apolitical Wittgenstein. What Svendsen in effect advances is a conservative Hegelian *reconciliation* with work in our capitalist age. The central claims of his thesis seem to be that we are much better off than workers in the past, we underestimate the goodness of current work, and we should be sceptical of philosophers who argue for revolutionary changes to the work that we have. I'll say something about each of these three aspects of his thesis.

First, contrary to what one might expect and what Svendsen seems to promise, there isn't a historical account of the forms of work, or kinds of workers through the ages given in the book. There are the occasional remarks about slavery of antiquity and the long working hours of the Victorian factory worker which seem to feed his view about how good work is these days. Apparently we should consider ourselves lucky and ‘part-timers’ in comparison to the work shifts of the Victorians. The chapter length treatment

of the past which Svendsen does provide actually contains a narrative about attitudes to work that we get from various philosophers and theologians through the ages. From this history he makes much of the Protestant work ethic that we get from Luther and Calvin. They came to consider the conduct of all forms of work (even the lowly, menial, and mundane) as virtuous and as part of the good human life. For them, dedicating oneself to one's work tracks God's will. Rewards in the afterlife await those who knuckle down and get on with the work that society throws up. Thus we should not really question the drudgery of work or misery that it might induce in us. The alternative is idleness, which is a greater evil for the individual and society to suffer. Weber famously argued that this ethic had a major part to play in the productivity of industrial capitalism.

Svendsen accepts Weber's thesis and broadly celebrates the opportunities for work, income, and consumption that capitalism has delivered. He also seems to subscribe to a ‘secular’ version of the Protestant work ethic. However, instead of pinning our hopes for rewards in the afterlife, the ‘real’ return for knuckling down to the work that we have, and for not pushing against the capitalist system that throws up various forms of work for us, is that it provides us with a means to engage in other activities which make life worth living – family, friendships, consumption, and ‘self-realizing’ hobbies. This said, Svendsen does not think that most of us are condemned to drudgery and misery in work. We don't have to consider our work in purely instrumental terms. He asserts that there are intrinsic rewards (‘fun’ and ‘personal development’) contained in most, if not all, forms of work. To support this view Svendsen makes much (too much) of his own happy pre-philosophy work experience as a cleaner. Towards the end of the

book his claims include that: "We do not experience our jobs as sources of disappointment." "Job satisfaction is consistently high in the Western world." "Eighty to ninety per cent of employees say that they are either completely or mostly happy with their jobs." (109)

Svendsen does not provide us with references to any empirical studies to back up such incredible claims. Indeed such claims seem to conflict with other claims that he makes about present-day work. He tells us that Manpower Inc. is the largest private employer in the US. (41) He also tells us that "permanent temp" work ends up being highly frustrating and ultimately intrudes on our ability to plan for and succeed in those things that make life worth living. Such a clash of claims and his approach to serious studies of contemporary work create the impression that Svendsen has a confused, reluctant, and superficial grasp of what is going on and that he just helps himself to enough 'facts' (including his seemingly unique experiences as a happy cleaner) to support his conservative thesis. Svendsen is unfairly dismissive of serious attempts by journalists to report the nature of work for those at the bottom end of Western society such as Polly Toynebee's *Hard Work* and Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel & Dimed*. He completely ignores what Madeline Bunting documents about the pressures of long working hours (which includes workers higher up the socio-economic order) in her book *Willing Slaves: How the Overwork Culture is Ruling Our Lives*. It is questionable what he draws from studies that he does use to support his conservatism. He cites Arlie Russell's *Time Bind* to show that we are mostly happy with the hours that we work. Apparently, when asked, 10 per cent of workers want shorter working hours; 65 per cent wanted the same and 25 per cent wanted more hours at work. Svendsen concludes from this that we are not overworked. However, it seems that what

we want in terms of work hours is a function of the income that we need. Russell's survey might just prove that two thirds of workers want to sustain the income which their current working hours supply and that a quarter of workers could do with more income hours. Such surveys do not necessarily prove that workers are happy with their work hours in themselves. If Svendsen had conducted more charitable engagement with the studies he swiftly dismisses and ignores, and been more critical of the studies that he does use, then I suspect he would be less confident in his conservative and complacent views about the state of modern work.

Svendsen's conservatism drives his reaction against those who argue for, first, the empirical claim that work *is* in the process of being radically transformed by technology and second, the normative claim that it is *good* that this technological revolution is taking place because of the badness of capitalist work and the opportunity it affords us to restructure work in the future. Karl Marx argues for both of these claims and is something of a *bête noire* for Svendsen. Marx claims that capitalists are in the process of replacing labour factors by capital factors of production. This claim has recent support from Jeremy Rifkin in his book *The End of Work*. Furthermore, Marx claims that capitalism should deliver capital-intensive technologies to human society so that we can consign mundane, menial, and alienating wage-labour to the dustbin of history. Humans should be left free to perform those aspects of production that computers and machines can't do, that is, work which requires the development, exercise, and expression of our generically human capacities for creativity and judgement. It is from such work that humans can derive a measure of meaning and self-realization.

Svendsen is sceptical about the truth of the empirical claim and the worthiness

of the normative claim and unconvincingly tries to challenge Marx and Rifkin. Against the wealth of argument that Rifkin presents in favour of the empirical claim, Svendsen provides a couple of weak counterexamples. Against the normative claim, Svendsen suggests that Marx overblows the miseries of capitalist work and mistakenly invests work with aspirations, meaning, and self-realization. These ideals should be sought and secured in other aspects of our lives and not necessarily in the work that we do. For Marx, work cannot be neatly sectioned off from the rest of our lives. Indeed the problems that we have at work do seamlessly affect other aspects of our lives, especially our personal relationships. For Marx the good life necessarily requires us to secure self-esteem and self-respect from the work that we do and it requires that we use the technological opportunities that capitalism presents us with in order to deliver conditions of freedom and the good life to each and everyone. Svendsen does not take such ideas seriously enough.

Svendsen should have been more upfront with the conservative thesis of his book and more respectful of those he disagrees with. As it is, the book is too frustrating for my academic mind and I suspect it will infuriate those who think that there is much wrong with the state of work these days and it's worth the struggle to put it right.

RAJEEV SEHGAL

Roehampton University

**Tito Boeri and Jan van Ours, *The Economics of Imperfect Labor Markets*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008)

IN THIS TEXTBOOK, aimed at advanced undergraduates, Tito Boeri and Jan van Ours provide an overview of the economic theory of and the empirical findings on

the workings of a variety of labour market institutions. The authors define a labour market institution as "a system of laws, norms or conventions resulting from *collective* choice and providing constraints or incentives that alter *individual* choices over labor and pay." (3)

Chapter one presents the analytical framework around which the remainder of the book is built. The theory of the labour market is concisely presented, both graphically and mathematically. The authors argue that the various labour market institutions to be studied may generally be understood as either price or quantity interventions. In their view, labour market institutions arise as a response to market failure, as a means of addressing equity concerns, or as a result of interest groups capturing the political process. As the title of the book suggests, the emphasis is on the extent to which these institutions either distort the outcome in the labour market, or serve as a remedy for another distortion. Boeri and van Ours also stress that institutions evolve as economic circumstances change. As an illustration, the reforms undertaken within the European Union are briefly described. The authors conjecture that many of these reforms were undertaken in response to increasingly competitive product markets.

Chapters two through twelve cover the economics of eleven different labour market institutions. The institutions that are covered are: the minimum wage (chapter two), unions (chapter three), payroll taxes (chapter four), regulation of working hours (chapter five), retirement (chapter six), family policies (chapter seven), education and training (chapter eight), migration policy (chapter nine), employment protection legislation (chapter ten), unemployment benefits (chapter eleven), and active labour market policies (chapter twelve).

Each of these chapters follows a com-



mon organizational framework, and begins with a brief discussion of how to quantify the institution in question. Once measurements are established, data (usually for OECD countries) are used to illustrate the diversity of the institutions across countries and in some cases, time. Economic theory is then employed to predict how the institution in question will affect observable outcomes and the welfare of both employers and workers. A summary of the main empirical findings on the effects of the institution is then presented. This is followed by a discussion of policy issues relating to the institution and an attempt at explaining why the institution exists. These chapters include a number of exhibit boxes that are used to discuss the findings of key papers and explore the implications of the economic theory in more detail.

Chapter thirteen concludes by discussing how the various institutions interact. This is done by plotting one institutional measure versus another for each country in the applicable sample. In one figure, the authors plot active labour market policies against the generosity of unemployment benefits and find that those countries with more generous benefits tend to have more active policies. The authors argue that these patterns are consistent, as policies that actively provide training and job opportunities allow officials to identify opportunistic behaviour by unemployment benefit recipients, thus countering the risk of moral hazard. After discussing the nature of various interactions, the authors conclude by discussing the future of the various institutions as they face pressures arising from globalization and other developments.

The international scope lends richness to the work by illustrating the value of cross-country analysis and reminding readers that the systems of their home countries are not universal. However, this broadness comes at a cost; the description

of the institutions of specific countries is necessarily brief, making it difficult for readers new to the subject to fully appreciate how the institutions differ across countries. For example, in the chapter on unions, the authors make reference to the Ghent system without providing a description of the features that characterize it. This is likely to be confusing to North American readers without prior familiarity with industrial relations regimes in Europe. There is also limited information on the historical evolution of institutions. For readers interested in a detailed summary of cross-country differences or a thorough history of the development of institutions of a specific country, additional sources will be necessary.

A major strength of the book is that the various institutions are analyzed using a straightforward formulation of the neoclassical theory of the labour market. This theory plays a prominent and recurrent role throughout the textbook. The advantage of using this rigorous formulation is that the distortions and effects on employment and/or wages arising from various institutions can be carefully related back to either the underlying market structure or the elasticities of supply and demand prevailing in either the labour market or the product market. The textbook is still accessible for readers without the training needed to understand this material, but various nuances associated with the interaction between the institution and the economic environment will not be fully appreciated.

Although the book itself contains only limited discussion about the empirical methods used to obtain some of the reported findings, the authors have made several data sets, along with corresponding STATA files, available online. These data sets are from a number of seminal papers, including the famous minimum wage study by Card and Krueger (1994) using fast food restaurant data from New

Jersey and Pennsylvania. The online files are well documented and allow the reader to easily replicate the results of several of the seminal papers that are summarized as exhibits throughout the book. It would be straightforward to design a course around this book in which students with previous training in econometrics are introduced to selected topics in the book and then proceed to explore each topic in more depth by reading the journal articles and working first-hand with the data.

In my judgment, this is a welcome addition to the textbook market. A full appreciation of the material requires a familiarity with intermediate-level microeconomics, calculus, and some statistical training, making the book best suited for use in senior undergraduate courses in labour economics. The focus on imperfect labour markets is unique among labour textbooks written for this audience. The book would be ideal as the basis for either a specialized topics or reading course, perhaps for honours students. Given that the book is relatively brief (319 pages) and covers a number of institutions in a relatively short space, the book serves primarily as an introduction, providing one with the economic theory needed to understand institutions, while giving the reader an appreciation for the variation in the form that these institutions take across countries, and providing a very brief survey of some relevant empirical findings regarding the influence that these institutions have on outcomes such as wages and employment. After reading this book, readers will be ready to pursue the suggested readings at the end of each chapter and obtain a deeper understanding of the economics of these institutions.

JAMES TOWNSEND  
University of Winnipeg

**Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Citizens to Lords: A Social History of Western Political Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*** (London: Verso 2008)

POLITICAL THEORY is the rigorous and systematic analysis of the relations between leaders and the people they lead. It asks: who should govern and how? What form of government is best? What assumptions about human nature underpin the answers to these prior questions? To us (post) moderns, such questions might appear obvious, but the invention of political theory is actually quite hard to explain. That principles of government or the obligation to obey the state might be possible subjects for systematic reflection assumes that human beings can *control* their social and political world in ways that were *not* obvious prior to the establishment of democracy in the ancient Greek polis. While other ancient civilizations may have surpassed the Greeks – technologically, architecturally, artistically – , they did not treat politics as an object of systematic critical speculation. In short, a new mode of political thinking emerged in the very particular historical conditions of ancient Greece. It then developed over two millennia in Europe and its colonial outposts, and what we now think of as the canon of Western political philosophy belongs to this tradition initiated by the Greeks.

In her latest book, Ellen Meiksins Wood elucidates the specific historical conditions that first prompted this innovation and also the subsequent changes that both sustained and modified it, especially the antagonistic but also mutually supportive relationship between appropriating and laboursing classes. She calls this the “social history of political theory.” Methodologically, this prism is a form of “historical materialism,” a broadly Marxist approach whose premises are that human beings enter into

relations with one another to guarantee their survival and social reproduction, and that to understand the social practices and cultural products of any time and place, we must understand the specific ways that people gain access to the material conditions of life, particularly how they gain access to the labour of others, as well as the forms of property that emerge from these relations. This perspective avoids two equally implausible extremes: on the one hand, a tradition of analytical/normative political philosophy that interprets political principles and ideals in quintessentially ahistorical and acontextual terms (What does it mean to be truly human? What form of government is best? What is justice?) and, on the other, the backlash to this approach that emerged during the 1960s and 70s, and which came to be known as the Cambridge School. The Cambridge School reacted to the analytic project by radically historicizing the works of political theory and denying them any wider meaning beyond the local moment of their creation. To “contextualize” a text, then, is to situate it rather narrowly among other *texts*, thus ignoring wider social and economic developments during the relevant periods, and also the distinctive historical processes at work. For Meiksins Wood, historical materialism remedies both defects; through its lens, we come to recognize the humanity and passionate engagement of great political thinkers.

The book has two primary aims: to illuminate a selection of classic texts and the conditions in which they were created; and to explain by example a distinctive approach to contextual interpretation. It is divided into three substantive (and rather long) chapters. The first chapter deals with the Greek polis and the birth of political theory. Meiksins Wood argues that political theory arose principally via the liberation of Greek peasants from any form of servitude or tribute to

the lord or state. Ultimately, this produced a new conception of freedom – not freedom from labour but, rather, the freedom *of* labour, a kind that applies equally to the masterless individual and the independent polis governed by a citizen body owing tribute to no other state. She illustrates this new culture of democracy with subtlety and elegance via sophisticated discussions of both its proponents and enemies – Plato, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, the Sophists, Protagoras and, finally, Aristotle. In their own ways, each of these towering figures of antiquity came to terms with newly emerging problems of human agency and responsibility, those occasioned by the conflict and debate that characterized the polis, with its constant challenge to prevailing political relations and values.

The second chapter covers the Hellenistic period, generally dated from Alexander's life to the late second century BC. This was a period of sustained political and social crisis, and the pervasive unrest, together with the fear it inspired in propertied classes, form the background against which Hellenistic thinkers embarked on their philosophical projects. Meiksins Wood argues convincingly that Stoic and Epicurean philosophies derive their special character from a confrontation with the joys and fears of autonomy and self-determination but, this time, in the absence of the polis. With the decline of the polis and the emergence of the Roman Empire, the political sphere both shifted and receded – on the one hand, *inward*, to the private individual, as in Epicureanism; on the other hand, *outward*, to the universal order of the cosmopolis, as in Stoicism. For Meiksins Wood, however, what is most striking about the history of Rome, and what is most important for our understanding of its political and cultural life, is the Roman preoccupation with private property. The ancient Greeks tended to share an

underlying conviction about the centrality of civic equality; this is why democrats and anti-democrats disagreed so fiercely about access to the political sphere for the poor and labouring classes: did a life of necessary labour disqualify people from politics, or not? The Romans, by contrast, combined a sharply delineated private sphere in which the propertied classes had exclusive dominion over their wealth with a hierarchically structured public/political sphere. Meiksins Wood carefully outlines how this combination is reflected in two philosophical accounts allegedly designed to justify it: Cicero and Pauline Christianity. Cicero's ideal ruling class combined the enjoyment and enlargement of their estates with the demands of civic virtue. In the end, he theorized the relation between public and private spheres to sanctify private property while simultaneously stressing public duty. Similarly, St. Paul adapted universalism to blunt its potentially egalitarian implications, and in a way that made it more congenial to Roman elites. His central innovation was a kind of dualism that allowed a separation between the moral or spiritual sphere, in which a universal equality obtained, and the material world, in which social inequalities and even slavery prevailed. The economic requirements of the Empire led Christianity to assert the equality of all human beings before God, while condoning inequality, oppression, and slavery in this world.

The third chapter examines the redefinition of the political sphere that occurred during the Middle Ages. Between the sixth and tenth centuries, during the period commonly identified as the era of feudalization, the Roman Empire was replaced by what has been called the "parcellization of sovereignty." Meiksins Wood explains how feudalism combined the private exploitation of labour with the public role of administration,

jurisdiction, and enforcement. In effect, this was a form of politically constituted property, a unity of economic and extra-economic power, one that presupposed the uniquely autonomous development of private property in ancient Rome. In her discussions of Thomas Aquinas, John of Paris, Marsilius of Padua, and William of Ockham, she illustrates with exceptional clarity how the displacement of civic by legal relations reinforced the dominance of property.

This is an excellent book – beautifully written, impressively researched, and carefully argued. It should be essential reading for anyone interested in a (of late) fairly neglected period in the history of political ideas. It is also one of the better examples of historical materialist analysis. If the book has a central weakness, however, it is precisely this: it is unlikely to persuade anyone not antecedently committed to Marx's theory of history and, in the end, unfortunately, Meiksins Wood makes very little effort to acknowledge, let alone address, the many powerful objections to that theory. Central and contentious terms like "exploitation," "labour," and "surplus value" are used relatively casually in the book, but there is an enormous extant literature disputing the meaning of these things. In fairness, the book is *not* meant as a contribution to normative political theory, but the repeated and implied criticisms of exploitation and private property under capitalism, and its historical antecedents, usefully invite such debates. The book's central argument would have been more persuasive had Meiksins Wood either engaged the interesting normative issues that are raised by her subtle historical reading or omitted the passing references to liberal democracy, capitalism and exploitation.

STEVEN LECCE

University of Manitoba

**Wolfgang Sachs and Tilman Santarius, eds., *Fair Future: Resource Conflicts, Security and Global Justice*** (London: Zed 2007)

THIS BOOK ADDRESSES one of the most critical issues of the 21st century, namely equity concerns in relation to the international allocation of environmental burdens, wealth, and natural resources. It is a comprehensive review of the different aspects of environmental justice, and it covers discussions about energy, trade, resource consumption, and geopolitics, among others. The book targets a broad audience (not particularly scholars), though the arguments are supported with abundant academic references. Overall, it is a highly recommendable piece of work for those interested in the future of the global environment.

This is a timely work. Global capitalism is in the middle of one of its most severe crises, triggered by uncontrolled speculation, malpractices in the financial sector, and misleading public policies in the US exacerbated by one of its worst administrations ever, all of which have contributed to the deterioration of global relations in several domains. The crisis is also a signal of the economic and environmental unsustainability of the present American economic model, based on consumption and structural deficit. These features make the American economy very vulnerable to internal (for instance, the performance of the housing sector) and external (a decision by the Chinese to change their reserves to another currency) shocks. Moreover, we are witnessing the most important rearrangement of geopolitics since the fall of European communist regimes. This change is reflected in the fact that the G20 seems to be consolidating and gaining legitimacy (and hopefully it will replace the G8 soon). Definitely, new rules will emerge in the process. It is

really unbearable, for instance, to continue with the current governance structure of Bretton Woods institutions. How can it be justified nowadays that the president of such an influential institution as the World Bank is selected unilaterally by the president of the US? As correctly stressed by the authors, to change the global governance structure and the rules of the game of international economic and environmental relations is an unavoidable step towards a "fair future."

Nonetheless, the book, as any work, has some pitfalls. It is a pity for example that some of the provided data is outdated, such as Figures 1.1 and 1.2, which describe the evolution of global income inequality only until 1998. The world has witnessed enormous transformations during the last two decades, which these figures do not take into consideration. As well, the reported trend towards declining prices of important agricultural goods during the period 1980–2000, which led to a deterioration of the trade balance in many developing countries, was also reversed during the last five years. Furthermore, even though the discussion about "new consumer countries" and the emergence of an international consumer class is tackled, the book remains attached to the world vision that sees the triad of developed regions (US, Europe, and Japan) as the cores of the world economy and as the main drivers of global environmental transformations. This is yet the case according to some indicators, but the picture is changing dramatically and very quickly, particularly after the recent global economic crisis. In addition, the distinction between the global "North" and "South," abundantly used in the book, is becoming rapidly blurred and outdated. Are Russia or China part of the global North or South? Some Chinese companies are already among the biggest in the world, and the strategies of these companies to appropriate and trade, for

example, African natural resources are reminiscent of what until recently have been considered only practices of transnational corporations from the North.

Russia also shows that in an emerging complex and multi-polar geopolitics, considerable power may be exerted through access to and distribution of energy. Recent developments show that the use of energy as a tool for reshaping global allocation of power has considerable vulnerability, since it relies on structural high prices of oil (which almost everybody thought was going to be a new condition of the global economy until the price fell by over 50 per cent at the beginning of 2009). The sharp decline of global demand for oil has plunged Russia into a very deep economic crisis. In summary, things are changing in a way that can be hardly predicted: who would have predicted that an African American would be the president of the US a few years ago? However, what seems to be clear is that old categories, such as South and North, are unable to grasp the complexities of current international relations.

For example, the authors charge that countries of the global North have forced countries of the global South to open their markets to Northern imports,

resulting in a flood of imports. In fact, though, the markets of developing countries have been indeed flooded with foreign products, but mainly with Chinese ones!

I share the proposition of the authors that the European Union – which increasingly sees social, environmental, and redistributive concerns and the notion of rights allocated to European citizenship going hand-in-hand with economic liberalization – may be an interesting model for global integration and peace-building. However, a fairer world would require more than an Eurocentric vision. The metaphorical question posed by them in terms of “why should Europe not become for global society what Rome once was for the Renaissance” is too chauvinistic to acknowledge that quite the opposite is in the process of happening, that is, the influence of Europe will decline to the same extent as other regional powers emerge. This is something Europeans should start to get used to.

ROLDAN MURADIAN

Radboud University, Nijmegen