

abundance, but the best of that had all but disappeared. Unchecked new growth was largely balsam, a wood useless for ships, but with a limited market as mine props and a larger later market for paper making. Deforestation accounts for the early disappearance of shipbuilding in Cape Breton and Pictou, as much as the opportunities which simultaneously opened in the 1860s for investment in coal mining.

Thereafter, Maritime shipyards were celebrated only for their exceedingly fast but ugly rum-runners and beautiful but archaic wooden-hulled sailing schooners. *The Bluenose*, the most famous of these, is thus more a symbol of poverty and backwardness, which characterized Nova Scotia in the 1920s when she was built, than of a vigorous, modern industrialized economy, which so many confident shipowners of the 1860s believed was just over the horizon. This, the authors, with much financial support, scholarly encouragement and cooperation, have so usefully portrayed.

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Adrian Shubert — *A Social History of Modern Spain*. London: Unwin Hyman Limited, 1990. Pp. x, 292.

This is a richly innovative, thematically taut analysis of the formation of modern Spanish society, that process by which Spanish men and women adjusted their lives to the fundamental forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (a market economy, urbanization, industrialization) and to the cultural and social consequences. Spaniards, moreover, had to do so in terms and ways congruent with their traditional institutional and intellectual structures if they were to be successful. Divorced from ideology, the terminology neutral, Shubert's text recounts the adaptation of old and creation of new social groups; the configuration and re-configuration of a system of relationships at the national and regional level; and the conflicts engendered in this process which the Liberal State tried to resolve at the same time it sought to develop an identity and an efficient governing mechanism. Chronologically, Shubert organizes his data in an attempt to explain why these efforts ended in failure with the Spanish Civil War of 1936, and why they have succeeded since 1975.

Spain's progress toward an advanced industrial society and a democratic state (under a monarchy, the only one restored in twentieth-century Europe, as emblem of the traditional) is firmly sited within the European pathway: "Longer and more circuitous, but ultimately it led to the same place" (262). As for the much debated 'bourgeois revolution' of the Marxist proof texts, scholarly evidence now suggests that the transformation of European economies was not carried out abruptly, nor by a new social class, either in its economic or its political phase.

We have now a framework for future research: not that Spain is 'different' (a view so ably exploited by Franco for tourist profit, *inter alia*), but rather a variant of the European experience and as such offering data for social historians that is as valuable as that of France or Germany to flesh out the tired but necessary concept of 'Modernization'. Balancing statistics with anecdotes and enriching it with workers' autobiographical perceptions, Shubert recounts the way that men, women and children began to live longer; moved to cities or emigrated to Latin America or Europe

from the rural agrarian communities where they had lived for centuries; learned to work in factories; paid for their leisure instead of participating in community-engendered fiestas. Much to be respected is his attention to the prominent role of women in society (in contrast to their enforced absence from politics) in all its extent and diversity.

He is clearly reacting to the political history which has predominated (and for a reason. Accurate, scholarly, archival-based modern political Spanish history has been written only over the past decades and even then, ideological as well as literary conventions have persisted). Therefore, he begins with a pragmatic description of the changing population and economy (careful always to emphasize the regional variations that make impossible a single demographic much less cultural pattern). Only then does he move on to the analysis of social groups (the working class; rural tenants and day laborers; the amorphous 'middling class'). This approach sheds new light on the formation of the new privileged corporations: the Officer Corps ('the army'), the professionals (with their recent decline into salaried employees). From there, he goes on, even more cautiously, to trace the formation of organizations, 'the fourth layer of class' as Ira Katznelson termed it (130). His data leads clearly to his conclusion; that in a predominantly agrarian economy anarchism — and not a radical Marxism — would be the rival to the mainstream Social Democratic movement, one of the oft recorded differentials of Spanish labor politics.

The keystone of structural change in Spain was the disentailment of the property held in *mortmain* by the privileged corporations of the Ancien Régime and the resulting creation of private property (1833-1856). Reflecting current historiography, Shubert stresses that this was a *legal* revolution and not an *economic* one. He proceeds from the base established by Richard Herr: despite the massive sale of the lands of the Church and Municipal governments by a state desperate for revenue (and not concerned with social engineering), there was no major change in the identity of the landowners, nor in their social class, nor in the structure of property. What was new was 'Absolute ownership', the radical transformation of the nature of property ownership, and of property itself as a commodity. Unfortunately, Shubert does not explore the process of codification, significantly more decisive than constitutionalism (although the legal can never be disengaged from the political). Codification is the key to the regional problem of the nineteenth century as state officials and representatives of historic and privileged regional polities attempted formulation of a single Civil Code; begun in the 1820s, it was formally achieved in 1889, but even then, a final resolution of the 'appendices' (containing regional *fueros*) was not resolved until the 1950s.

What Shubert does with great skill is show the emergence of a new 'Agrarian Elite' only in part a result of the changing social composition as old nobility fused with new rich who bought land (a process of co-optation occurring not only in Spain but in Germany); in larger part because they acted and thought in a new fashion. He has synthesized much important recent scholarship on the nobility, many of whose members emerged strengthened from the disentailing process at state expense: in exchange for offering no opposition to the Liberal State, nobles were compensated for loss of seigniorial dues (especially on lands which they had not owned, but merely administered). Over time, the hybrid social group formed a new corporate entity to defend their interests as they deployed land and agricultural products in a market economy. Some distinguished wealthy nobles failed in the attempt: most dramatically,

the Duke of Osuna. While those who did succeed, together with small farmers and tenants in rural Spain, produced goods that in turn created much of the capital needed for a modern industrial society.

These profits which eventually enriched the national economy impoverished the lives of the rural poor and finally uprooted them from rural society. The tensions of politics and civil wars are traced directly to specific grievances of workers: absentee owners; lack of credit, presence of usury; mega-agrarian enterprises described as 'latifundia' (in shorthand fashion). The South was the center of social conflict, so profound that it defied all political solutions. In the end, it 'resolved itself' (229): able to find employment elsewhere after 1950, workers left; wages rose for those remaining; so did the attitude of landowners who no longer had an inexhaustible supply of labor.

The link of attitude to changing social relations is a thread in the entire text and dominates the section entitled *Identities*, a discussion less of the institutional than of the system of beliefs and values of the collective identity Spaniards sought in modern times. The Liberal State never met the need for community and meaning, not simply in the regions which reformulated their historic identities, but for the nation at large. The state was 'weak' in the specialized sense that it relied on coercion, unable or unwilling to create loyalty among its citizens by offering justice. Nor did it temper force with social services, not even education. Ironically, as repressive as it was, the Franco regime had no alternative in the context of the desire for international status at mid century, but to extend social services and thereby the jurisdiction of the state, a legacy for the constitutional regime to build upon since 1975.

The historic identity of 'Spanish Catholicism' offered one alternative. Its distinctive character has been made manifest through decades of recent scholarship. Carefully distinguishing the institutional from the spiritual, the political power from social influence, Shubert traces the way the church and the clergy responded to the loss of land and revenue through disentanglement, and to the need to formulate a formal relationship with the Liberal State if it was to endure. This ran parallel to the loss of real social influence in a secularizing society.

A study of the identities offered by local communities concludes this section. Excavating in anthropological fashion to find what remains of authenticity, of historic local culture, Shubert tries to examine also the way that mass commercial culture has penetrated through the television and through the experiences of community members who left and then returned to visit or to live. At the end of his long, separate section on the Franco regime, Shubert briefly explores the emerging overarching identity of Spaniards (above class or region); "European", the vehement defenders of EEC 'cohesion' (in both its metaphorical and precise budgetary meaning to describe the future community).

Still another identity which Shubert mentions but does not explore is 'the quest for a secular society', truncated until now and thus unable to combat a pure Consumer Society, riddled with largescale public and private corruption (as elsewhere in Europe). One might also describe this as the quest for a 'Civil Society,' standing free of church and state, but nurturing it; the need to build such a society in the wake of a dictatorship may be the most difficult of all tasks as the eloquent, but ultimately unsuccessful Vaclav Havel has found. One might even venture here to talk about the need for a post modern 'civic culture' as the only means to ensure the survival of the democratic, pluralistic society whose formation Shubert has so well described.

Shubert's book, behind an anodyne cover and unpretentious printed format, constitutes a major work which should initiate a new era of scholarship — post ideology, post historic eras defined by power relations at all levels and before a new one begins. For Spain, there now exists a firm foundation of fact and process as studied by economists, anthropologists and historians. The neutrality and objectivity of Shubert's synthesis can lead both to a new conceptualization of this complex nation as a whole and of the problems still to be explored.

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Max Swerdlow — *Brother Max: Labour Organizer and Educator*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1990. Pp. xv, 129.

Memoirs (often ghost-written) of politicians, industrialist, film and sport stars have become commercialized commonplace. However, when a memoir of a union leader makes its appearance, it is truly an event, and the Committee on Canadian Labour History is to be congratulated for its involvement in this venture.

Brother Max traces the life of a highly pragmatic labour bureaucrat who is quoted as saying: "You can't organize successfully without educating: you can't educate effectively without organizing." And it is this underlying duality around which Max Swerdlow articulates his twelve chapter testament.

Born in Odessa of a family of Jewish theatre performers, the Swerdlow's would "almost by accident" make their way to Winnipeg in the mid 1920's where young Max would soon find himself fashioned by the crucible of the Great Depression. It was poverty, it was the end of school at grade 8, it was riding the rails, it was the Young Communist League, it was attendance at the Regina Convention of the CCF..., it was, in essence, an apprenticeship in activism that would instruct his future.

By the mid 1930's, Max had found his way to Montreal where his nascent career as an union official became closely alligned with the unionization of that city's needle trades. After landing a job as a clocker in a ladies hat factory that had recently been organized by the United Hatters, he made his way through the ranks: shop steward, local secretary, recording secretary, and at the ripe old age of 20, representative on the Montreal Trades and Labour Council and the recently established Quebec Provincial Federation of Labour. From here, and under the mentorship of such legendary union figures as Maurice Silcoff and Robert Haddow, Brother Max really came into his own. Special assignments with the hatters' union led to organizational work under the banner of the International Association of Machinists that was in full expansion due to the war effort. Next, Max found himself appointed the first full-time Trades and Labour Congress organizer in Quebec, a post he would hold until 1955; he was 27 years old at the time.

For two decades, Brother Max was a privileged observer of the Quebec union scene, and his memoir is exceptionally valuable in this respect since it covers a period of time that is only now starting to obtain the attention of historians. It fleshes-out, so to say, many of the major developments affecting the international and pan-Canadian