

and his source. He also has some curious textual omissions such as the composition of The Northwest Territories Council and the relevant sections of the 1901 school ordinance which later became part of the Sifton amendment. Because they are so intimate with their subjects, neither author feels constrained to emphasize the crucial over the less significant. Nevertheless, the merits of the books more than compensate for the difficulty in reading them.

D.A. LAWR,
University of Western Ontario.

* * *

IRVING ABELLA, ed. — *On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada 1919-1949*. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1974.

DAVID JAY BERCUSON. — *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike*. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.

MICHAEL S. CROSS, ed. — *The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974.

MORDEN LAZARUS. — *Years of Hard Labour: An Account of the Canadian Workingman, his Organization and Tribulations over a period of more than a Hundred Years*. Don Mills: Ontario Federation of Labour, 1974.

The number of publications about the Canadian labour movement and working conditions continues to increase. The object, of course, is to stimulate interest and knowledge of this important element of Canadian society. The four books reviewed include a book of documents on the workingman, a history of the workingman's organization and difficulties for the past 100 years, and two works which concentrate on labour-management conflicts resulting in strikes. Thus they offer a broad spectrum of labour activities.

The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century is part of a series being produced by Oxford University press on Canadian social history. It is, according to Professor Michael Cross, "designed to serve as an introduction to the study of the workingman in the nineteenth century" (p. 1).

In this selection of documents, we are told, "the interested reader will find enough documents on enough aspects of working-class life to begin the process of re-thinking our history from the bottom-up" (p. 1). Included in the collection are excerpts from books, articles, newspapers, government reports and a few diaries, which illustrate the different facets of the working class existence.

The book is divided thematically into five sections: "Farm and Frontier" provides information on the problems of the agrarian workers, "Work" includes material on working conditions as industrialization develops; "Working-class Life" and "The Workingman and Social Institutions," the two briefest sections of the book, offer insights into the workingman's existence and his part in the institutionalization of Canadian society; "Organizing the Workingman," the longest section, concentrates on how workers attempted to organize and the reaction of management and government to such activity.

It is difficult to quarrel with an editor's selection of a book of documents, but nonetheless there are problems with this selection which is weighted with relatively accessible material. Furthermore the last, and presumably the most significant, section ignores a number of important factors. No mention is made of the farmers' organizations, such as the Grange of the 1870's and 1880's and the Patrons of Industry in the 1890's whose membership was greater than the labour organizations considered. The first-class analysis of perhaps the largest strike of the nineteenth century, Ed. McKenna's "Unorganized Labour versus Management: the Strike at the Chaudiere Lumber Mills, 1891" *Histoire Sociale/Social History*,

Volume V, #10, November, 1972, is omitted. Cross states that "American unions expanded into Canada on the invitation of Canadian workers" (p. 232). On the other hand, Robert Babcock's works on Samuel Gompers and the expansion of the AFL into Canada suggest that Gompers and the AFL moved into Canada for a variety of other reasons and not just in response to Canadian workers requests. The title is misleading as it does not mention Canada. Little rationale is offered for the term "workingman." The collection is of limited value.

Morden Lazarus' *Years of Hard Labour: An account of the Canadian Workingman*[,] *his organizations and tribulations over a period of more than a hundred years* is a slender chronicle published by the Ontario Federation of Labour. The author has been recording labour developments since the depression. Unfortunately this production does him little justice. It is the traditional liberal approach outlining the move from trade union success to success. Trade union leadership of the OFL and the TLC and CLC is extolled and lauded. He subscribes to the belief that the American internationals were needed to build Canadian unions. Ignored is the fact that Canadian unionization was conducted most frequently by Canadians with Canadian money. The assertion that Canadian international unions are "completely autonomous" neglects the tremendous fight to obtain recognition as a distinctly Canadian organization, the struggle to educate the American leaders that Canada was not one of the states of the Union, and the weakness of the CLC *vis-à-vis* their American headquarters as evident in the Hall Banks affair. Scorned too are the "commie liners" despite the fact that they were Canadian and helped organize the Canadian workers when few were willing to do so. They are condemned for their international affiliation. No such criticism is levelled against the American-paid organizers or the American dictation or the American ideology that is dumped on the Canadian working class. Neither is criticism made of co-opted or collaborationist union leaders nor of union leaders who, as instructed, expended their energy dividing the labour movement by raiding the communist-led unions rather than attempting to organize the unorganized.

There are other difficulties. Careful editing would have been worthwhile. The organization is slipshod. Labour's opposition to immigration is glossed over as is the vicious internal and jurisdictional disputes. The Berlin Conference which ousted the Knights of Labour from the TLC was held in 1902 not 1903. Footnoting is erratic. On page 4 there are two footnotes numbered "8"; footnotes 15 and 16 on page 6 do not appear in the references, "Roger Babcock" (p. 112) should read "Robert." The book is a disappointment and is not of the calibre to attract interest to the labour movement.

Professor Irving Abella, the editor of and contributor to *On Strike* states that "One of the major objectives of this book, ... is to break through this insidious conspiracy of silence [on labour violence and industrial conflict], to introduce a large number of Canadians to aspects of our history that have been shamefully ignored by historians and to bring alive some of the forgotten, yet significant and colourful events of our labour past" (pp. xi, xxii).

The period from 1919 to 1949 is important because, despite its setbacks, organized labour emerged as a successful institution. The six conflicts are recorded in chronological order: Winnipeg 1919, Estevan 1931, Stratford 1933, Oshawa 1937, Ford Windsor 1945, and Asbestos 1949. Provincially they include three conflicts in Ontario, one in each of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Quebec. They progress from the unsuccessful to the successful or relatively successful. They contain similar elements of labour-management confrontation when management with the collusion of various levels of government, obtain police or militia protection in an attempt to break workers unions and the strike.

The collection is of an uneven quality. David Bercuson's "The Winnipeg General Strike" is a condensation of his book and perhaps suffers from that fact. The long involved sentences hinder the pace of the sequence leading up to and during the strike. The qualified assertion that the strike challenged "areas of authority of legally constituted governments" is an interesting hypothesis; but that the strikers or strike leaders ever saw themselves as

usurping governmental authority is not evident in the essay. S. D. Hanson's "Estevan 1931" is a copious and judicious narration of the coal miners' strike at the Souris coalfields. Their union, which was formed with the assistance of the communist organizers of the Workers' Unity League, struck to obtain higher wages and improved working conditions. Strikers were shot and killed by the local police, the RCMP or the special constabulary force provided by coal operators. Other strikers and leaders or supposed leaders were tried, jailed and fined, or charges were later dismissed. The strike and the union were effectively broken. Desmond Morton's "Aid to the Civil Power: The Stratford Strike of 1933" emphasizes the role of the militia who were called in to assist the provincial police control this strike by discontented furniture workers and chicken pluckers who were organized successfully by the WUL. Negotiated settlements included higher wages, shorter hours of work and shop committees; union recognition was not granted. How many strikers were involved remains a mystery as is the fate of the union activity.

The last three studies are more appealing than the first three. Abella's essay on the General Motors strike at Oshawa neatly assesses the events and significance of the strike for Canadian labour. Canadian Communist and non-Communist organizers unionized the automobile workers and relied, perhaps to their detriment, on the prestige of the CIO to assist them. Company profits were their highest in their history; nonetheless worker's grievances of low wages, long hours, job insecurity, and demands for increased production were rejected by management resulting in the strike. Opposition to unionization and the infiltration of the CIO into the northern mining camps was headed by wealthy and influential mining magnates Sir James Dunn, J. P. Bickell, Joe Wright, Jules Timmins, Jules Bache and George McCullagh who urged Ontario Liberal Premier Mitch Hepburn to defeat the strike. He called out the OPP and received RCMP support from a reluctant federal government. The peaceful activities in Oshawa, the booming business in neighbouring pubs, and the backing of local businessmen demonstrated the activities of and support for the strikers. Hepburn called out his "Sons of Mitches" made up of university students to preserve order. Cabinet ministers David Croll and A. J. Roebuck who were sympathetic to the strikers were fired. Despite the lack of money and financial support from American CIO headquarters, and close to defeat, the strikers won, even though the union was not recognized. Success was accomplished through Canadian organizers and Canadian money yet provided the CIO with a fruitful starting point for future organizing.

David Moulton's "Ford Windsor Strike" indicates the labour movement's attempt to obtain union recognition and the differences between the local and national union leaders. The UAW demanded a union shop and the check-off because of threatened lay offs, which were rejected by management. The CCL was split in their attitude towards the strike. Mosher and Millard refused to endorse the strike; George Burt and Roy Edwards did, and they were supported by other unions and the OFL. Requests for a sympathy strike were rejected by Pat Conroy of the CCL. The divisions were further confused by the vigorous anti-communist campaign of the CCL leaders which ousted communist leaders from the locals. Management and politicians obtained support from the OPP and RCMP; the strikers ingeniously instituted a road block around the Ford plant closing it down. The strikers won when Chief Justice Ivan Rand handed down his famous Rand formula: the union shop was not granted officially but was in essence as the check-off was granted; fringe benefits were improved and a more elaborate grievance procedure was outlined.

"Asbestos, 1949" by Fraser Isbister complements and summarizes *La Grève de l'Amiante* edited by P. E. Trudeau and now translated into English. The main issues were wages, working conditions, improved fringe benefits, consultation regarding promotions or disciplining of employees and implementation of the Rand formula. Negotiations broke down and arbitration was rejected by the Johns-Manville workers who struck. Management took out an injunction to stop picketing and filed a suit against the union; the QPP were sent into a peaceful situation; strike breakers were brought in protected by the police and harassed by

the strikers. It is pointed out that the strikers also used coercion and force to counter that of the police. Public opinion favoured the strikers who received food and clothing from other Québécois; the local clergy, many of the lower orders, and some of the hierarchy endorsed the strikers. A compromise settlement granted appreciable gains to the workers and clerical union leaders increasingly gave way to lay leaders in Québec.

These studies have a number of consistent themes. It was difficult for unions to gain acceptance. Management and politicians claim that police or the militia are called in to maintain law and order is a myth; law enforcement agencies generally provoke violence. Management, politicians and supporting labour leaders used the hoary spectre of a 'red' menace or foreign agitation to defeat strikes and oust non-conformist labour organizers. The violence within unions is either ignored or played down as is the class division that contribute to evoking the strike or prevail in the conflict. Whether a greater interest will result from this book depends on which essays the reader first selects.

The Winnipeg General Strike has increasingly attracted attention. D. C. Master's *The Winnipeg General Strike* (1950) has been supplemented recently by the documentary compilations of A. Balawyder, ed. *The Winnipeg General Strike* (1967), J. E. Rea, ed. *The Winnipeg General Strike* (1973) and Norman Penner, ed. *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike* (1973). The strike also bulks large in H. A. Logan, *Trade Union Organization in Canada* (1928) and *Trade Unions in Canada* (1948), Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959* (1968), Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930* (1968) and Stuart M. Jamieson, *Times of Troubles: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (1968). The strike also receives considerable coverage in the biographies of A. A. Heaps (Leo Heaps, *The Rebel in the House* (1970)), J. S. Woodsworth (Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics* (1959), Grace MacInnis, *J. S. Woodsworth, A Man to Remember* (1953)) and Arthur Meighen (Roger Graham, *Arthur Meighen, Volume I, The Door of Opportunity* (1960)). W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (1957) and James A. Jackson, *A Centennial History of Manitoba* (1970) contain brief narrations of the strike. A number of articles in 1969 commemorated the strike and others subsequently appeared. Most recently David Bercuson and Kenneth McNaught produced *The Winnipeg Strike: 1919* (1974). The productions are evidence of the varied interpretations of the strike and of its significance in Canadian history. And since some of the most important questions remain to be investigated, one can expect additional material in the near future.

Confrontation at Winnipeg purports to be a "survey of the history of the labour movement in Winnipeg from the late nineteenth century to 1919" (p. ix). It is more than a study of the Winnipeg Strike; indeed the author contends that "the roots of the general strike may be traced as far back as 1906" (p. ix); thus approximately one-half of the book is devoted to the pre-1919 situation. The strike, therefore, was the culmination of the chronic unsettled industrial relations which evolved during the period.

The classic struggles in Winnipeg between labour and management and their victory-losses score sheet is well recorded. Labour's successes, such as in the street car workers' strike of 1906 or the civic employees of 1918, were not so much the result of union tactics as the public support they gained or the urgency of the war-time situation; invariably union recognition was omitted from the attendant successes. It is suggested, however, that the threat of a massive strike influenced management to yield to labour's demands in 1918. Yet contradictorily this did not happen in the open shop iron works. Management victories were achieved by a variety of methods: lock-outs, strike breakers, private and municipal police, the NWRMCP or the militia, court injunctions outlawing picketing, and filing charges against unions and union members for \$25,000 to \$50,000. The latter methods earned Winnipeg the title of "injunction city". The owners' methods crystallized and intensified the class antagonism that developed. The capitalists, such as T. R. Deacon and the Barrett brothers, refused to capitulate to unions and combatted them, maintaining their open shops.

Although early labour organizations by 1911 had made Winnipeg "one of the most heavily unionized cities in Canada" (p. 20), labours' position was onerous. Low wages, long hours, poor working conditions and a surplus cheap alien labour force were the rule and this situation was aggravated by the pre-war depression. Moreover the Norris Government's attempts at labour reform were rejected as inadequate. The cost of living spiralled during the war.

Radicalization of the labour movement occurred. Western labour leaders disenchanted with conservative eastern leaders urged the establishment of a western national labour organization. Encouraged by the success and near successes of 1918 when the threat of a general strike was used, men like R. B. Russell of the Metal Trades Council supported the proposal. In Winnipeg the Metal Trades Council became the driving force urging a general strike to obtain workers demands. The most important were union recognition, collective bargaining, and higher wages, which were rejected by the metal shop owners.

The strike that resulted received overwhelmingly support from 30,000 to 35,000 workers including non-unionists. It was broken by the collusion of three levels of government and management. They used coercion and force: special police and machine-gun armed militia, and labour leaders were arrested and imprisoned. To support their action the "establishment" misconstrued and distorted reports of the situation in Winnipeg. Their actions successfully broke the strike.

The concluding chapter presents an assessment of what the strike was and was not. It was not held solely to win collective bargaining and union recognition but rather to obtain a certain type of collective bargaining in a particular industry. It was not a revolution; it was not led by socialist aliens; it was not led by the radical OBU. It did involve returned soldiers who were pro and anti-strike supporters. It did threaten the *status quo*.

Little of this is new. What is new is the view that the strike was "a modern version of the Children's Crusade and was marked by the same lack of planning, religious zeal and plethora of causes that characterized the original" (p. 188). And considerable emphasis is given to the class divisions that contributed to the intensity of the strike. It is also argued that by using the general strike "they [labour] began to rival capital's power to expert leverage on the government" (p. 179) and challenged "at least one level of government" (p. 180) which made "the political implications of a general strike ... far more widespread and potentially serious than those of more ordinary industrial disputes" (p. 180). This may be. It would be useful, however, to see what leverage labour exercised and with what results. The challenge to any government existed only in the minds of opponents of the strikes; that the strike leaders ever conceived of the strike in these terms is not evident from this study; more than a single quote from a Dick Johns' letter is required to substantiate such an assertion.

There are, as well, additional problems. What were the workers conditions? "Some" did well (p. 34); "many" were unable to keep up their standard of living (p. 33), "a large number hardly improved their position ... or else saw their wages eaten away by inflation" (p. 192). The figures cited on pages 33-34 indicate that most wage increases were far less than the increase in the cost of living, thus the workers generally had a valid complaint. There are a number of other questions to be considered. What was the estimated income necessary to live on? Was the income of \$1,000 per year high or low? If unions waxed during the boom, why were they so weak by the depression of 1913-1915? How many joined unions in Winnipeg from 1916 to 1919? What other indications are there of the hardening of class lines? Did the circulation of the *Voice* or the *Western Labour News* increase during this period and how did it correspond to the increase in unionization? Why did management not resort to injunctions in 1919 to try and break the strike in its early hours? The answer to these questions would remove much of the fuzziness that exists regarding Labour's situation in Winnipeg. One can also ask whether the repetition of Rigg's position (pp. 24, 28) or Armstrong's background (pp. 25-6, 28) is necessary.

The study does offer another perspective to the strike, but it is not the last word on the Winnipeg struggle.

Foster J. K. GRIEZIC

* * *

JACQUES DROZ *et al.* — *Histoire générale du Socialisme*. Tome II: *De 1875 à 1918*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.

The second volume of the *Histoire générale du Socialisme*, which is to be completed by a third has now appeared. Like the first, its format is sumptuous, and together with the third, the three volumes will approach or exceed 2,000 pages of text and include 144 well-chosen plates. In the first volume, Jacques Droz and his collaborators divided their task by looking at the distant origins of socialism in the ancient Orient, Greece and Rome, in the context of medieval and Renaissance society, in the struggles of peasant protest and war, in its further elaborations by some of the thinkers of the Enlightenment, in the experience of the French Revolution, and in its transmutations by the Utopian Socialists of the earlier nineteenth century who were quite consciously trying to create a science of society. The most original features of the volume are to be found in these sections of the volume and also in those which skilfully deal with the great complexity of the workers' movements from the time of the revolutions of 1848 to the tribulations and end of the First International. That part of the volume which concentrates on the England of those economists and the Germany of the philosophers is less challenging, if only because it is more familiar.

The present volume considers problems much closer to us in time, though they are still far from being well understood despite the existence of venerable studies on the regional, national and international socialisms covering the period from the dissolution of the First International in 1875 to the close of the first international industrial war. This middle volume also extends its gaze beyond Europe to other parts of the world where socialism was beginning to make some impression, but with the exception of the United States which receives fairly extended analysis, the principal focus is European, because of course the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, the Arab world and Asia remained largely resistant to the diverse forms of Socialist doctrine and organization until after 1918. It should also be pointed out that the treatment accorded the major European Socialist movements is not always consonant with their importance, a reflection of the state of the historiography; it is certainly not due to editorial direction or individual caprice. The rich and suggestive essay by Madeleine Rebérioux on the French labour movement and the proliferation of Socialist, anarcho-syndicalist sects and other forms of socialism owes a great deal to the solid, persistent and well-established research of French scholars. By contrast, the new directions taken by German scholars have not been sufficiently mirrored in the volume; and while British labour and social historians have often quite successfully widened their approaches and suggested new explanations of social and ideological conflict, François Bédarida's contribution centres on well-worn issues. The same may be said of Roger Portal's chapter on the Russian awakening to Socialist ideologies. In those areas of European socialism which are less well known, such as in Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, Belgium and Holland, readers will doubtless benefit from having at their disposal a compendium of information and intelligent comment. Concluding sections on the Second International and on the response to the first World War, the first by Annie Kriegel and the second by Rebérioux, raise general questions about the nature of Socialist penetration in the industrial and non-industrial worlds, as well as the philosophical structure of socialism, its internal conflicts, and its organizing strengths and weaknesses particularly at the international level. The problems which thus emerge serve, inadvertently as it were, to stimulate an assessment of the volume, beyond noting its obvious merit of providing a convenient source which is encyclopedic in its intent, elegant in its presentation, and thoughtful in its execution.