

peacekeeping as a part of Canada's national identity. These themes are central to this book, but there is much that can be done to investigate these issues in more detail. It will be for others to pick up where *Warrior Nation* leaves off to help us better understand the production, dissemination and reception of messages about war and peace, particularly after the end of World War Two in Canada.

The audience McKay and Swift seek to engage on their polemical road is not limited to foreign policy experts, though. The authors recognize the public nature of memory and commemoration and the dissonances that can exist between what individuals remember and what their government wants them to recall. All Canadian historians are called upon to recognize and challenge those right-wing historians who have gained prominence in the nation's media and who have helped initiate changes in how Canada's past is commemorated. It is far too easy to dismiss the ideas of 'new warriors' as being unrepresentative of current historical thinking or to laugh at their simplistic and macho conceptions of the past. *Warrior Nation* properly refutes these right-wing conceptions of Canada's history as factually flawed while noting that efforts must be made to reduce the alarming influence of this martial conception of history.

Because this book wears its politics so proudly on its sleeve, it does leave itself open to dismissal from those it seeks to attack. In particular, the choice of the term "Caesarist" to describe the current Harper government seems misplaced (25). Though they make a case for rising authoritarian tendencies by Harper, the book also offers convincing evidence that the Harper government is trying to situate Canada firmly within the sphere of both the past British and current American Empires. If this is so, then Harper can aspire to be little more than a provincial governor rather than a "Caesarist." Ultimately, the subject matter of *Warrior Nation* is so important that one hopes more conservative historians, as well as those who are inclined to support McKay and Swift's initial premises, will be willing to read all the way through to the end.

McKay and Swift have taken on an expansive topic and a host of historians and government officials in *Warrior Nation*. There is a call to action that deserves to be widely read and thoroughly discussed.

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**Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell, *When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).**

*When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the*

*Winnipeg General Strike* is that rare and welcomed book which uses new evidence and provocative arguments to reignite the historiography of a major event. Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell draw on the previously unstudied correspondence of Citizens' Committee leader A.J. Andrews, particularly Andrews' communications with federal Minister of Justice Arthur Meighen. The study transforms our understanding of how the strike was defeated. While traditional accounts have placed Meighen and the Canadian state at the centre of the repression of labour and the left, Kramer and Mitchell demonstrate how Andrews and his circle united Winnipeg capital behind their leadership and then choreographed the response to the strike, frustrating attempts at mediation and donning the mantle of the state to lend legitimacy to crushing the strike with violence and disciplining its leaders with criminal charges and deportations. Kramer and Mitchell document capital's manipulation and usurpation of the state in such detail that it is surprising that their analysis of the evidence turns on ideology, citizenship, and the state, while downplaying what their evidence reveals were the crucial dynamics of the strike – class conflict and coercion. This error mars what is otherwise a salutary contribution.

Kramer and Mitchell's crucial intervention is to drag the Citizens' Committee of 1000 out of the anonymity of smoke-filled rooms and spotlight this "bashful winner." The Citizens, in this retelling, take shape as more than reactionary bosses. The authors skillfully illustrate the real concerns of the Citizens and many ordinary Winnipeggers about the collapse of their society, linked to the international context of rebellion. Their handling of the radical context is occasionally clumsy (a photo caption that says the IWW "had few links to Canada" is certainly puzzling), but they do an excellent job of outlining some of the liberal ideology proffered as justification for the elite response to the strike. In taking seriously the motivations and actions of this "combination of masters," Kramer and Mitchell make a major contribution to our understanding of how the political dominance of capital has been reproduced in Canadian history, an understanding we sorely need.

However, while their explication of the Lockean ideology of the masters is a valuable contribution to intellectual history, the authors rely too heavily on ideology to explain the defeat of the strike. They demonstrate well how the Citizens used discourses of King, Britain, and individual freedom to counter the strikers' class-based narrative, trying to seize the middle away from opponents they constructed as a gang of dangerous immigrant radicals. However, the focus on this ideological combat obscures two important points. First, while appeals to freedom had some impact (the authors credit it with expediting the removal of "By Permission of the Strike Committee" signs posted by bread and milk delivery), it was the Citizens' class position that allowed them to advance these arguments, and it was nevertheless material force and coercion, specifically the events

of Bloody Saturday, that secured the Citizens' victory over the strikers. The material thrust of capital's counterattack is thus underemphasized. Furthermore, far from teaching us about the strike as the response of that nebulous force, "a liberal order," we see how the capitalists of Winnipeg discarded liberalism, jettisoning all notions of British justice, the separation of the class interest and the state, and individual liberty in their usurpation of the state to crush the strike. In the end, the liberal ideology of the Citizens boils down to Marx's dictum that "the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling classes;" they are evidence of power, not power's source.

This is the missed opportunity of *When The State Trembled*: despite the authors' premises, they account not for the triumph of ideology or the response of that nebulous creature, a liberal order, but for the ability of capital to usurp the legitimacy of the state in order to defeat a working-class challenge. Yet the authors persistently overlook the dimensions of class conflict or capitalism in their analysis, preferring instead to argue that what is revealed by the General Strike's repression is primarily about the state and civil society, languages of rule, and discourses of citizenship. Of course, it is that perceived separation between the "economic" and the "political" that is a key strategy of capitalist domination, and one used effectively by the Citizens' themselves. Ideology and state formation are important, but it is crucial to couple our understanding of the uses of ideology with an appreciation of the material force of class conflict, dimensions often understated by recent constructions of Canada as a liberal order. Nevertheless, Kramer and Mitchell have written a book of enormous value that will no doubt receive the highest honour available to a work of history: to be drawn on and debated for years to come.

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**Peter Campbell, *Rose Henderson: A Woman for the People* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010).**

Historians of the Canadian Left are well acquainted with communist leaders like Becky Buhay, with early architects of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), like Agnes Macphail, and with female parliamentarians like New Democrat Grace MacInnis. Yet, had we had lived through the Great Depression, particularly in Ontario, the name we might have first associated with the cause of socialism was that of Rose Henderson. Henderson led a remarkable life, much of it devoted to politics, writing, and organizing for feminist, socialist, labour, and peace causes, which to her were never distinct, but all intimately linked. Thanks to Peter Campbell, Henderson has been rescued from the 'conde-