

activities of the rapidly changing Party rank and file."

Johnson asserts that Sugar is also significant to an understanding of the relationship between law and the labour movement. Sugar believed that the courtroom could be used as a public forum to educate the public about class struggle. More importantly, he used American constitutional law to further labour's interests. Sugar developed the use of legal procedure and technicalities as tools for the protection of working people. According to Johnson, Sugar thought that although "interpretations of the Constitution naturally tended to reflect the interests of the dominant class, ... nevertheless, procedure specified how right were to be protected." Thus, manipulation of procedure and technicalities were ways in which labour could turn the tables "on the bad guys, as just revenge for labour's past unequal treatment."

Further, because Sugar was actively involved in efforts to reform and implement labour law, the reader of Sugar's life will better understand the consequences of the growing intervention of government between labour and capital during the New Deal. The *Wagner Act* (1935) was "labour's bill of rights," and it promoted the power of unions. But "the growing dependency of labour on the law, limited labour's independence and the *Taft-Hartley Act* (1947) [was able to stifle the labour movement]." Also, labour's acquiescence to Taft-Hartley was based in part upon the anti-communist climate of the Cold War period, and Sugar's participation in the factional fight between Walter Ruether and George Addes of the UAW enlightens that drama.

Johnson also demonstrates how external forces contribute to character formation and in turn affect intellectual development. Sugar's parents owned a small general store in a mill and logging community in Northern Michigan, and his early experiences in this "harsh environment where hard work was only a fragile barrier against poverty [taught Sugar] important lessons for socialism." This chapter on Sugar's early life is one of the most interesting sections of the book.

Christopher Johnson therefore seeks to link Maurice Sugar and his experiences in Detroit to a larger relationship between the law, labour and the Left. The book succeeds in this goal, but it is more effective as a biography of Sugar, an important figure in Detroit history. Sugar's life amplifies the law, labour and the left in Detroit, and contributes a valuable perspective on Walter Ruether and the UAW. Although undergraduates would probably get lost in the details of this book, it should be a valuable source for students of the Detroit working class and the United Automobile Workers of America.

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Ernest Forbes, and Del Muise, (eds.), *Atlantic Canada in Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993).

Given that it takes about seven years to complete a doctorate, three generations of historians could — and have — completed their studies during the birth throes of *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*. Published finally in 1993, it had changed from the initial concept of a two-author volume to a decade-by-decade survey from the 1860s to the 1970s, each chapter by a respected historian of Atlantic Canadian history. The chapters are linked into sections: Consolidating the Union 1867-1890, Transforming Horizons, 1890-1920, Living with Disparity, 1920-1950, The Atlantic Provinces, 1950-1980. Each author wrote from his or her own ideological position, which at once gives the book its strength and weakness. On one hand, the variety of approaches and the number of models permit readers to comprehend the historiography as well as the history of the region. On the other hand, those writers who view history through a narrow viewfinder have sometimes ignored important developments that were essential to their decade. Class and gender issues are usually, although not exclusively, the victims here. The reader is left wondering how the rich tapestry of Atlantic Canadian history would

have been handled by a smaller number of authors, and with periods under consideration rather than decades.

Del Muise contributes the prologue and the opening chapter on the 1860s. Readers must either assume that the period before was unimportant or they must be aware of the historiography of pre-Confederation Atlantic Canada before tackling this book. Given the neglect of the region in many of the available textbooks, one suspects that for many readers that background is limited. The prologue is disappointing, particularly in terms of the 20 years before the union of British North America. This transitional period is vital to understanding the economic, political and social pushes towards union. The impact of industrialization and the severe dislocations that were occurring already in England impacted on the Atlantic region, as did the fallout from workplace transformations in North America. A more profound discussion of the politics of this period would have helped. Muise seems to recognize this; he refers to the differences between the politicians involved in the battle for responsible government and those involved in the Confederation debates, but never elicits why they were different. Joseph Howe, for example, had played a prominent role in the 1840s political scene. How did his ideas and beliefs differ from those of the younger generation of politicians in the 1860s? In all fairness, this is one era that few historians of Atlantic Canada have explored, perhaps because the Halifax clique was overshadowed by the convoluted events in Upper and Lower Canada. It is an age that is most important, however, and a true understanding of the issues of the 1860s may not be possible until this vital work is done.

While Muise's chapter on the 1860s is a comprehensive survey of the historiography of the decade's events, it does not live up to the preface's pledge of giving "ordinary people — workers, women, ethnic and other groups ... centre stage." Women and workers get token paragraphs, but their inclusion is grudging. This opening chapter concentrates on the political events that led to the formation of a federated union. While there is an attempt to use Phil Buckner's inverted question of

why so many *wanted* a union as a focus, there is little new in fact or interpretation. Apparently there was no primary research done specifically for this chapter. This is hardly criminal, but it does not "advanc[e] that scholarship through synthesis, new information, and fresh interpretations," as promised. (ix)

In the chapter on the 1870s Philip Buckner continues the trend of virtually ignoring marginalized groups. Again, there is little new research or interpretation here. While this chapter is titled "Political Integration," Buckner does move beyond the give and take of politics to a discussion of the economic issues that faced Maritime Canada in the 1870s. Concentrating on the impact of that decade's depression, the stage is set for an in-depth exploration of the strengths and weaknesses of the economic, social and political developments of the post-Confederation era.

It is Judith Fingard's chapter on the 1880s, "The Paradoxes of Progress" — a concise and illuminating title — which first demonstrates both the fine work already completed in Atlantic Canadian historiography, and through her use of primary source material, its potential evolution. Fingard has written an excellent chapter which integrates the political, economic, and social, and which bastes together the published historiography and new material and interpretation. One can see the actual impact of uneven industrial development on both society and individuals. Through the concept of paradox, Fingard takes the reader through the giddy surge in economic development and the concurrent marginalization of localities, industries, and individuals. She achieves this without denigrating the region and its development and without magnifying or embellishing its strengths or flaws. Larry McCann's contribution, "Fragmentation and the New Social Order," continues the vitality of the previous chapter. His opening pages integrate the Maritime region with the Canadian experience. This type of regional-national consideration is necessary to an understanding of Atlantic development and it is unfortunately weak in some other chapters. McCann illustrates the fragmentation in the Maritime political consciousness and in a sector by sector examination of the economic

picture. He utilizes the metropolis-hinterland concept for illustration; while this is a valuable contribution, it fails to consider the divisions and conflict between classes, between men and women, between working class women and middle class women. Despite his title, McCann only briefly considers that new social order, and in that section he concentrates on industrial development and the issue of out-migration. Important though that issue is — Fingard noted that out-migration "may have resulted in the decapitation of Maritime society" (96-7) — it results in only a brief discussion of the multitude of gender and class issues that permeated late nineteenth century society, an unfortunate omission given the social and economic dislocations and the hot-house industrialization that was occurring.

Colin Howell's chapter on the 1900s, "Industry, Urbanization and Reform," suggests a decade of urbanization. Beyond the growth in population numbers in a few areas, though, municipal services left much to be desired and in many cases existed only in the demands and dreams of reformers in this decade. As McCann argued in the previous chapter, the cities of Halifax and Saint John failed to industrialize fully and failed to retain control of their banking and financial institutions, and thus, lost claim to true metropolitan status. (149) Howell regains the momentum and innovation that began with Fingard with respect to social and cultural events. Bolstered with newspaper research, Howell offers sections on health and recreation, cultural trends, and rural life. Despite this, women are marginalized in a section entitled "Women," which consists of one paragraph on suffrage, one paragraph on reform ventures, and one on the liberal tendencies of these middle class, often professional, female reformers. There are many times in this chapter of mainly social history where the voices of women should be heard; unfortunately, they remain silent.

The following two chapters aptly demonstrate the passion and vibrancy of recent Atlantic Canadian historiography. At the same time they continue that unending search for explanations for Maritime marginalization and disparity. Ian McKay introduces the 1910s in the "Stillborn Triumph of Progres-

sive Reform" as he details the crumbling foundation of the industrial structure. McKay sensitively sketches the ambiguities of a progressive reform movement trying vainly to transform the unrepentant, whether socialist, prostitute, unionist, or unabashed capitalist. Aptly delineating the implications and limitations of the broader progressive movement, as well as the repercussions in the Maritimes, McKay succeeds in the formidable task of exploring and critiquing the ongoing fragmentation of the region. Gender, racial, and ethnic issues are neither ignored nor marginalized, but integrated into the larger work. McKay manages to knit the fabric of Maritime society, from the diverse threads of a very broad political spectrum. He does this so well that no one should again contemplate the so-called conservative nature of Atlantic Canada nor embroider the true nature and limits of progressive reform.

The excellence of McKay's chapter is carried forward into David Frank's on the 1920s, which succeeds in synthesizing past historiography and offering new interpretations. The chapter begins with the story of a young Welshman newly arrived in Atlantic Canada, and his trials and his subsequent suicide. It is a poignant reminder of the human cost of unemployment, disparity, and 'hard times in the Maritimes.' By the 1920s it was apparent that the promise of Confederation was not going to be fulfilled. Maritimers did not wallow in self pity or passivity but struggled to find solutions in both resistance and accommodation to their problems. By the time the rest of Canada realized the hardships and retardation caused by a fragmented economy, by weak political influence, and by social inequalities, the entire country had plunged into the economic chaos of the Depression. The eloquent handling of the war-weary citizen, the defiant but embattled worker and the disillusioned reformer, combined with the savvy discussion of the economic and political events during "the region's last years of abundant hope" make these two chapters a fine demonstration of the new historiography and new history of the Atlantic region.

Ernie Forbes offers an economic and political evaluation of this period. Of his two

paragraphs on women, the first discusses the political careers of Muriel McQueen Fergusson and Francis Fish, Ph.D. The one sentence on Fergusson repeats, albeit in less detail, the information already given by McKay. (270, 297) Forbes' second paragraph acknowledges the work done by women in the labour movement and in the Antigonish movement. Given that women were the ones who had to make do in the depths of the depression, or work outside the home in the face of their husband's unemployment, or stay behind or move in search of better times, their scanty treatment in this chapter is unfortunate. To his credit, Forbes does integrate the political and economic issues of this period with the attempts to resolve, or at least, temper their impact. Still lagging behind the larger provinces in economic development, infrastructures, and political leverage, the Maritime provinces entered the 1940s and World War II with optimistic fervor, but with little chance of pulling themselves out of the hole they had been forced into after 20 years of depression.

Carman Miller's chapter on the 1940s, "War and Rehabilitation," is divided into exactly those two topics. The first half details the impact of the war on the Maritime provinces. This is a very straightforward detailing of population changes, employment opportunities, and wartime activities. It deals mainly with men. We are told that one woman ran a licensed service club, that others worked outside the home in the armed forces, in factories, and as domestics, and a reader might deduce that the effects of rationing, the work of Victory gardens and volunteering probably fell on the shoulders of women. The second half of the chapter discusses the post-war period and the attempt to redress the social and economic handicaps of the region through the tangled threads of economic development and federal incentives. While there is an attempt to discuss class conflict, there is by no means a class analysis. Again women and gender issues are given little attention in their single paragraph; we are informed that they returned to traditional roles, and that while "domestic technology mitigated the drudgery of female domestic life, the post-war baby boom and the emphasis on traditional family values, en-

forced by government social policy, eroded wartime gains towards gender equality." (343) Without a broader discussion of the issues encapsulated in this paragraph the reader is left with little comprehension of just where and how women fit into the period; indeed, at times it appears that they were not present at all.

Newfoundland historian Jim Hiller was given the difficult job of writing a history of that colony up to its incorporation as a Canadian province. This is rather a daunting responsibility; this chapter sits awkwardly outside of the others. Hiller has written a succinct historical account of the colony's development. There is little new here, in fact or interpretation, but given the scope of the task the work will be valuable. There is a gaping omission. It would appear that there were fewer women in Newfoundland during these years than were present during the days of the migratory fishery. Despite women working in the fishery, in the factories, in the domestic sphere, despite their war work and sacrifices, despite their private and public roles, they do not appear on the pages of this chapter.

Is this the best way to integrate the history of Newfoundland with the Maritime provinces' history? The preface notes the difficulty in handling the issue. It claims "that its perspective and that of Canada's three Maritime provinces diverged sharply after the latter entered the union" and only in the years following Newfoundland's Confederation have similar interests reappeared. (x-xii) Yet in the 1860s did not Newfoundland struggle with many of the same economic decisions as Maritime Canada? True, the Maritime's economy was more diversified than Newfoundland's but throughout the region resources were limited. Did not Newfoundland follow a similar "national policy" as Canada? And while Maritime banks were taken over or centralized by the end of the 19th century while Newfoundland's collapsed, did the results differ much? It would be interesting to see a comparative history, one that looked at inter-regional similarities as well as the unique attributes. David Alexander's claim that Confederation in 1867 would have given Newfoundland a shabby dignity rather than

the indignity of a 1930s Commission government, is probably true; still, one suspects that the collapse of the economic feasibility of the Maritime provinces has cloaked them in apparel almost as tattered as Newfoundland's, and merely decorated longer with the notions of the welfare state. Given that Atlantic historians as a group — and I include myself — complain about the region's lack of inclusion in national histories, the decision to isolate Newfoundland seems to be a rather narrow one. Concluding that Newfoundland is somehow different and separating it from the Maritimes ironically continues the apartheid omissions of centralist tendencies.

With the integration of Newfoundland the 1950s begin. Margaret Conrad's chapter, "The 1950s: Decade of Development," skillfully weaves the dichotomy between the modern and the traditional life and details the chaotic transition of a people bombarded by consumerism, by American culture, and by modern urban lifestyles, out of tune with their memories of their own recent past. Conrad's chapter is impressive in its dealings with political events and their integration with the cultural and economic. There is no class analysis here, but workers and women play an integral role throughout the chapter as they did during the decade.

The 1960s are described by Della Stanley in the "Illusions and Realities of Progress." This chapter is a careful accounting of events, but there is little attempt to comprehend the meanings and issues beyond the facts. A section on minority rights considers Acadian demands, but Natives are given a token paragraph, Blacks three brief paragraphs — appalling considering the ongoing issue of Africville relocation — and women, two. Women are again briefly mentioned in the section on labour, which is mainly a compilation of employment statistics and a salute to the development of a harmonious relationship between the state, labour (ie. union leaders), and business. All-in-all, it would appear that the 1960s were pretty dull in Atlantic Canada.

If the 1960s were lackluster, the 1970s were exciting as related by John Reid, in "Sharpening the Skeptical Edge." It was not a good decade, but in this chapter one can feel

the passion and angst of a region that continues to live, and to live with dignity. The turbulence of Acadian nationalism ignites not a couple of paragraphs but several pages; Natives, Blacks, and the new majority, women, are not only given their due, but Reid integrates the battles for "justice for disempowered groups in regional society" into the entire chapter. Reid has also considered the environmental issues from oil tankers, to budworm spray programs, to nuclear power, all of which claimed the attention of Atlantic Canadians. Jackie Vautour's one-family battle against expropriation of his land for Kouchibouguac park gets as much attention as the entire Africville community received in the previous chapter. Rather than segregate Newfoundland into separate paragraphs here and there, in this chapter the experiences of all four Atlantic Provinces are consolidated. From seals to the Black United Front to *Acadiensis* to K.C. Irving to Brian Peckford, this chapter, clearly the best in the book, and a superb example of Atlantic Canadian historiography, truly integrates the cultural, social, political and economic. Considering that John Reid's area of historical study is actually the colonial era, the depth of research and analysis in this chapter is most impressive.

The book ends with an epilogue by co-editor Ernie Forbes on the 1980s. Like the prologue, its length is unsatisfactory, but it does give a brief glimpse into the political and economic affairs of the region and the continuing battle for dominance and fair play in federal-provincial relations.

Because of the multi-author nature of *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, it has been necessary to address each chapter separately. The quality of the chapters varies, but all are good, and some far better than that. Bill Parenteau, the picture editor, has chosen well; the photographs and cartoons illustrate, explain, and expand the written work. There has been an attempt to integrate the outpouring of work on Atlantic Canada with new research; the tight network of historians who work in the area and who contributed here have constantly referenced each other's work and the work of their students. That is not nepotism, but a tribute to the high standard of work done,

and a conscious building upon each other's contribution. In addition, there has been an honest attempt to integrate gender issues into the text; at times this is merely an awkward paragraph or two, but in many of the chapters women's experiences are skillfully woven into the history of the region. Class issues are more problematic; ideological definitions of just what is class can vary. In this book that can mean anything from a mention of workers, to a discussion of unions or strikes, to a skillful analysis of class conflicts and consciousness. That unevenness, much like an old corduroy road, can make a drive through this book rather bumpy at times. Still, there was a grave need for this volume. Not only does it demonstrate the variety and quality of the

historiography of the region, but it gives a comprehensive explanation of the region's strengths and weaknesses, a recognition that a multitude of factors play into the success and failure of large and small ventures, and that lack of initiative, traditionalist notions and conservatism, and passivity are not now, and have never been, Atlantic Canadian characteristics. This book on the crazy quilt of Atlantic Canadian history has much to offer; this reviewer hopes that more than Atlantic Canadians snuggle up with it.

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