

talist and pro-family activists. If she would dig deeper, Childers would find that these groups' memberships often overlapped and that their official propaganda was quite similar at times, especially concerning gender issues and in promoting a gendered vision of the state based on fatherhood and motherhood. While natalist and familialist groups were quite different in the period preceding the Great War, they often joined forces and shared the same leadership in the inter-war period and Vichy. Talmy's artificial distinction between the two camps obscures this fact and is made, perhaps, for his own political purposes in relation to his position with the National Union of Family Associations at the time of his book's publication in the early 1960s. Further research into the organizations and the men behind them (often fathers of large families themselves) and less reliance on secondary sources such as Talmy's would have gone far in correcting this and other generalizations about those in and out of government who advanced the cause of fathers, large families, and the birthrate.

These minor critiques aside, *Fathers, Families, and the State in France* remains an important book and provides a significant and path-breaking corrective to the historiography of both the Vichy regime and the late Third Republic; it does indeed show how gendered constructions of fatherhood and masculinity indelibly shaped notions of citizenship, political participation, and social value and should be of great interest to European historians interested in questions of gender, family, the state, and social politics.

Cheryl Koos
California State University, Los Angeles

Paola Bacchetta and Margaret Power, eds., *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Like many other areas of history, studies of the right have largely overlooked women's participation. While we might secretly wish for women in the Ku Klux Klan, or Pauline Hansen, founder of Australia's extreme right One Nation Party, to remain "hidden from history," the editors of *Right-Wing Women* warn that we neglect right-wing women at our peril. Unlike earlier studies of women on the right that portrayed such women as "dupes of men" suffering from false consciousness, more recent work, including the essays in this volume, stresses that women are active participants in these movements who knowingly support right-wing agendas. The editors make clear accordingly that their main purpose in compiling this volume is to understand the right's appeal to women and the

challenge it poses to feminism, and to use the knowledge gained to further “anti-right-wing practice” (1).

The collection bills itself as the first “globally comparative, interdisciplinary volume on right-wing women ever” (1). It includes contributions from scholars across the social sciences and humanities on women engaged in right-wing activities from the early nineteenth century to the present day. *Right-Wing Women* contains articles on women who participated in Italian, British, and Brazilian fascist organizations, in Hindu and Afrikaner nationalist movements, in the Spanish and Greek civil wars, as well as women in a variety of right-wing movements in France, Germany, Chile, Mexico, and contemporary Australia, Egypt, Turkey, and the United States. Most of the contemporary articles place the development of the right and women’s participation in these movements in historical perspective. The variety of subjects across time and space will suggest to those unfamiliar with studies of right-wing women how active women are on the right and the richness of this field of inquiry.

In their very useful introduction, the editors discuss many of the themes that appear in the book. This is a difficult task in part because of the range of subjects considered in the collection. One of the first questions the editors address is the problem of defining “the right” across time and space, and in different national contexts that often lack the easy left/right binary to which Western scholars are accustomed. Another question they raise is how to explain the right’s appeal to women and the various roles that women play in right-wing movements. Much of the appeal lies in the fact that the right espouses essentialist ideas about gender that reflect right-wing women’s belief in the “natural” differences that exist between women and men. But, the significance of this difference takes many forms; for example, women and men are sometimes seen as complements to each other and therefore as equal but different, or they can be perceived as dissimilar and inherently unequal. Some right-wing women endorse this inequality as the means to women’s emancipation: by allowing women to embrace their “true nature,” they see patriarchy as providing women with a freedom denied them by the feminist movement. Women play a variety of roles in right-wing movements from grassroots workers to public leaders and political candidates. Interestingly, many of the issues surrounding women’s participation in right-wing groups mirror those of women’s participation in progressive organizations. Questions about women’s relegation to the rank-and-file, debates about the value of separate women’s sections in right-wing groups, and the differences between how women and men perceive women’s contribution, appear in many of the articles. The differences between women’s activism in progressive and right-wing movements can become blurred, particularly when right-wing women pursue goals similar to those of feminism, such as suffrage or equal pay for equal work. The editors, and many of the authors, note the need to distinguish the exercise of women’s agency,

women's empowerment, and their political mobilization from feminist efforts on behalf of women's liberation.

The difficulty the editors face in pulling the collection together also lies in the fact that the authors have such a wide variety of perspectives. Some write about their subjects with clear disdain. For others, there is a sense of grudging admiration for women who exert agency, experience empowerment, and carve space for themselves. (For example, compare Winter's discussion of Pauline Hanson and other right-wing women politicians in Australia with Gallucci's treatment of Margherita Sarfatti or Karam's portrayal of Islamic feminists in Egypt.) The editors' call for feminists to understand the right in order to better combat it would not sit well with all of the authors, particularly those who see right-wing nationalist movements as vehicles for opposing Western imperialism. Some of the authors even suggest that the women they are studying are, in fact, feminist. In an article on Margherita Sarfatti, biographer and lover of Mussolini and active member of the Italian Fascist Party, Carole Gallucci asks whether it is not possible to be both a fascist and a feminist? While she concedes that reconciling the two is "seemingly impossible in practice" (27), she suggests that Sarfatti tried to reconcile women's rights with support for an oppressive regime. Azza Karam, in an article on activist women in Egypt, applies the term Islamist feminist to women who themselves reject the term feminist because of the negative associations the term has with the West. Using the term feminist for women who reject it is one thing, if what we are talking about is feminism by another name. But, as Karam herself observes, the tenets of some of the women she writes about "are a secular feminist's nightmare" (228). The idea that women should be obedient and passive, and conform to "natures" that destine them to be wives and mothers, is hard to reconcile with feminism, even of the nineteenth-century maternal feminist variety.

The editors note that they "...did not produce this book to present a homogeneous feminist perspective on right-wing women; instead we desire to render accessible a heterogeneity of feminist debates and positions within this growing field of enquiry" (2). The articles in *Right-Wing Women* certainly resist easy summary. Yet, while the range of perspectives offered by the authors make the collection eclectic and somewhat difficult, they also render it very thought provoking. This book will be of interest to anyone studying the right for it restores to history women's significant participation in a wide range of right-wing movements over the past century. In addition, *Right-Wing Women* will be particularly useful to those studying women's activism, whether on the left or the right, for it forces historians to think long and hard about their categories. While we need to understand feminism as a living thing dependant on time and place, we have to be careful about stretching the term beyond its breaking point. If we can include women like Karam's Islamist feminists within our "feminisms", then we are conflating women's agency, activism, and

empowerment with feminism and the term begins to lose its meaning and power.

Camille Soucie
Seneca College

Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003).

In his introduction to this well-written, soundly researched, and beautifully illustrated book Craig Heron claims that he never intended to write a book on “Booze.” We are lucky that he did. Heron’s book is a terrific contribution to the histories of working-class culture, masculinity, and alcohol. This masterful survey covers early taverns, social occasions involving drinking, campaigns for moderation, temperance and prohibition, the business of alcohol production, the role of labour and unions, the regulatory regimes that developed in Canada after prohibition, the rise of the “disease” model of alcoholism, the emergence of beer parlours and cocktail lounges, the increase in women’s drinking, the extra regulations and discrimination faced by aboriginal drinkers, and the impact of immigration on drinking patterns. Heron’s carefully organized research accounts for the morass of regional differences without confusion, and he also draws extensive comparisons between Canada, the United States, and European countries.

In pre-industrial Canada, Heron shows, drinking was extremely common. Taverns were ubiquitous and customers helped themselves from a pail of whiskey at the door of their local shopkeepers. Many people made their own alcohol from spruce, dandelions, and hops. Neighbors drank at work bees and canal workers, loggers and fur traders all demanded whiskey in return for their labour. Heron contends that heavy drinking was a way of solidifying bonds between men. He argues that rugged masculinity was enacted through drunken brawls, but that alcohol consumption gave license to these performances, rather than initiating them.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, temperance movements attracted a fairly broad range of “common” people, including farmers, shopkeepers, and journalists as well as members of the “respectable” working class. The movement sometimes critiqued upper-class drinkers, but temperance campaigns were dominated by the image of the “working-class drunkard who drank up his wages, left his children starving and beat his wife” (64). Heron argues that temperance distracted people from the larger economic forces of industrialization that were uprooting many lives by proposing an easy solution to poverty and criminality. Nonetheless, the effects were dramatic – drinking