

Surtees's work, on a more conceptual level, provides a useful framework for future study of Northern Ontario. "Northern Ontario" is a misleading term, an all-encompassing label that covers a region stretching from Thunder Bay to Kirkland Lake, and James Bay to North Bay. Surtees provides a more useful concept, describing the area traversed by the railway as the "northeastern corridor" (pp. 1-6), a sub-region possessed of a distinctive geography and history that set it apart from other regions of Ontario's North. Toronto also does not loom large in this study, even though it concerns a provincial agency. The role of the metropolis in developing the region is not forgotten by Surtees, but it does not dominate the work. Local initiative and regional factors are interwoven with the influence of Toronto and Queen's Park to provide better insight into an area that, in some past studies, was portrayed as a passive hinterland seemingly devoid of settlers and prospectors, but full of legislation.

Surtees's book does suffer from some weaknesses. His incorporation of a northern perspective may, at times, be somewhat over-jubilant. The author's chauvinism regarding his home is clearly something he did not attempt to hide (it greets the reader almost on the first page). His admiration for the railway is also evident. While this may trouble some readers, the author's affection for the region perhaps helped him to produce a book that is well written and animated. *The Northern Connection* is not a business or labour history. Although some aspects of the railway's management are mentioned, they are scant. Similarly, little attention is paid to the strikes that affected the Commission. Perhaps more attention could have been paid to these factors. Clearly, however, they could not be treated completely in a single work. These aspects are best left to another book; the railway requires additional scholars to work its line. The dust jacket that encompasses *The Northern Connection* states that Surtees intends to produce more studies of the railway. This is welcome news. Construction of the northern connection has only just begun and should be continued.

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James Naylor — *The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914-25*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. ix, 336.

James Naylor has taken up what has been a topic of considerable debate among Canadian labour historians, specifically working-class unrest after World War I and the violent confrontation in Winnipeg in 1919. Contrary to the "western exceptionalism" thesis posited by David Bercuson and Ross McCormack, Naylor has adopted the revisionist argument put forth by Greg Kealey that the 1919 Winnipeg strike was part of an international event, which was neither confined to Canada nor to one region in Canada.

Naylor focuses on urban southern Ontario from Windsor to Peterborough — the "heartland of industrial Canada". "If capitalism had created ... an agency of social

change in the industrial working class, the likely focus of decisive class battles would be the industrial cities of southern Ontario," Naylor hypothesizes (p. 5). During the period of post-war reconstruction, workers in Ontario articulated their own ideology of "the new democracy", at odds with that of their employers and which challenged class distinctions by calling for economic and social justice. Two apparently autonomous working-class movements emerged in Ontario in the aftermath of the First World War, namely, an "industrial" movement and a "political" movement. This separation, Naylor argues, was a distinctive feature of the regional labour movement. The book is organized around an analysis of each.

Part 1 is a discussion of the "industrial front". Naylor begins with an examination of the evolution of the union movement in Ontario during the war years. "The industrial demands of modern warfare", he writes, "presented employers with a duty to eliminate 'inefficiencies' and an opportunity to extend a policy of 'dilution of labour' or replacement of skilled craftworkers with semi-skilled and unskilled workers proficient in a more limited range of tasks" (pp. 13-14). While military demands fuelled the province's economic recovery from the 1913-1914 depression, unionists quickly discovered that union wages and conditions were seldom the guiding principle in granting contracts. Furthermore, the federal government's Shell Committee and later the Imperial Munitions Board were unsympathetic to workers' complaints.

Under pressure from the TTLC to re-evaluate its attitude towards labour and inspired by the successful tripartite bodies in the United States, the Borden government agreed in January 1918 to allow unions to be represented on all advisory committees and commissions. For workers this measure was transparent. Provisions in the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act covering workers were ignored, and a series of Orders-in-Council prohibited any criticism of the war effort and banned socialist organizations. As the war was coming to an end the government also banned strikes. Thus, by the end of the war, Ontario workers' struggle for their vision of "the new democracy" was far from over.

In the spring and summer of 1919, as Naylor documents in chapter 2, southern Ontario's workers vented their anger at the political and social system that had failed to respond to their interests. Strike activity in the three-year period from 1918 to 1920 surpassed the entire period between 1901 and 1918. Considerable attention is given to the Toronto General Strike of May 1919. Naylor rejects David Bercuson's argument that the Toronto strike was primarily a demonstration of solidarity by a minority of Toronto workers. A transformation of the Toronto labour movement had occurred in the months preceding the strike. The abrogation of civil rights, particularly the Orders-in-Council banning left-wing organizations and anti-war literature, were a major catalyst in radicalizing Toronto workers. Unskilled workers formed Federated Labor Unions and socialists played a major role in organizing new unions.

According to Naylor, machinists "exemplified" this radicalization of Toronto workers (p. 48). While he refers to the challenge posed by unskilled women workers hired during the wartime crisis and by immigrant workers to the position of skilled male workers in the International Association of Machinists, his discus-

sion of the "dilution" of skill would have benefited from a consideration of the extent to which the masculine gender identity of craftsmen, both as skilled workers and as family breadwinners, was also under attack during this period. The experiences of women and immigrant workers are too often relegated to the background in his discussion of the "industrial" movement. Ruth Frager, for example, has illuminated how the working-class political culture of Toronto's Jewish labour movement between 1900 and 1939 was interwoven with gender and ethnic identities.

Although workers outside Toronto were reluctant to follow their counterparts into conflict, industrial unionism was growing in popularity. Federated craft councils, notably among Ontario's furniture workers, made some headway during this period. Ontario workers articulated a class-based view of reconstruction and a view of democracy based on an all-inclusive labour movement.

In Part 2, Naylor explores the political challenges presented by Ontario workers in the aftermath of the First World War. The Independent Labor Party of Ontario incorporated the ideas of democracy articulated by "labourists". "Labourism" was a vague ideological current that posited that "working-class interests could be defended only by the election of workers, as workers, to public office" (p. 76). The architect of the campaign for the mobilization of Ontario workers was Joseph T. Marks, who had earlier been prominent in the Knights of Labor in the province. Through the Labor Educational Association formed in 1902 and his columns in the *Industrial Banner*, Marks urged a course of independent working-class political action. As Naylor states in chapter 3, the platform of the Independent Labor Party, founded on Dominion Day 1917, was eclectic. It included proposals such as abolition of property qualifications for the franchise, abolition of the Senate, free education in all institutions supported by the governments, equal pensions for all disabled soldiers regardless of rank, mother's allowances, old-age pensions, public ownership of all public utilities, and a single tax (p. 95).

The ILP's phenomenal rise in popularity, culminating in its victory in the provincial election of 1919 in coalition with the United Farmers of Ontario, is traced in chapter 4. Naylor presents an interesting analysis of "the woman democrat" in chapter 5, where he argues that "a working-class women's movement emerged in this period with the support of male labourists who saw women's participation as a composite part of an invigorated democracy" (p. 129). The "new democracy" for women, based on the "family wage" ideal and women's maternal role in the household, was not unlike the ideology of nineteenth-century male craftsmen. Although Naylor is careful to emphasize changes in the position of women during the post-war period — suffrage was won and women made inroads in the mass-production industries — the status of women in "the new democracy" of Ontario's predominantly male labour movement was never equal to that of working-class men. Labourism failed to address gender inequality.

In the final section of the book, Naylor explains how the employers' version of "the new democracy" opposed that of the labour movement. Shaken by the militancy of workers during the post-war period, employers were willing to let the state intervene on their behalf. This was also the era of "welfare capitalism". Employers

implemented a wide range of measures, including group insurance plans, profit-sharing schemes, pension plans, plant cafeterias, company picnics, and sports, to instil loyalty to the firm and a measure of satisfaction in the workplace. Industrial councils were established in many of the mass-production industries. In effect, these were nothing but company unions, which proved incapable of defending the interests of workers. The failure of labour's new democracy, Naylor concludes, was the bedrock upon which "Tory-blue Ontario" was reconstructed in the 1920s.

Naylor thus uses the labour movement in industrial Ontario to argue convincingly against the "western exceptionalism" thesis and substantiate Kealey's contention that the Winnipeg General Strike was part of a national phenomenon. Naylor further suggests that regional and local variations must also be considered. Additional to considerations of class, however, are those of gender and ethnicity, which need to be integrated more fully into the analysis. Nevertheless, *The New Democracy* is an important contribution to this on-going debate in the field of Canadian labour history.

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Franca Iacovetta — *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. Pp. xxix, 278.

This ambitious study begins at a place beyond the traditional framework of immigration research. Franca Iacovetta looks at the class, ethnicity, and gender of post-war Italian immigrants to Toronto, providing an internal and external view of this population. Using oral histories as well as published records, she recreates the process by which the newcomer moved from the position of labourer, recruited for government priorities, to resident citizen, active in influencing government policy. An array of information, rich in interpretive potential, illustrates her major theses: post-war immigrants came to Canada with some skills and experience suitable to an industrial economy; migration was a calculated decision to improve their status in life; the successful integration of immigrants into Canadian life represents a combination of "old world" coping mechanisms with an ability to adapt to the demands of a modern workplace; immigrant women played an important role in the stability and advancement of the family. The monograph also examines the interaction between the immigrants and the host society and the issue of ethnic militancy in seeking social and economic justice.

Iacovetta describes well the setting for post-war immigration to Canada. She demonstrates the intersection of economic opportunities in Toronto in the 1950s and 1960s with the socio-economic aspirations of the Italian newcomers. She shows how the immigrants mustered old world patterns of family co-operation and networks to advance towards the goal of home ownership. She illustrates how the Italians filled the labour market need for construction workers mainly for residential housing and