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Review Article

Workers and Canadian History¹

The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto—1900-1921. by Michael J. Piva. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979. Pp. xviii, 190. Paper.

A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. by Bryan D. Palmer. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979. Pp. xviii, 331. \$23.50. Paper, \$10.95.

'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1930. by Donald Avery. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979. Pp. 204. Paper, \$6.95.

Romantic nationalism has been the major ingredient of the few Canadian historical works which have appealed to popular audiences. There can be little doubt that the attractiveness of the Laurentian synthesis of Donald Creighton, for example, lay in its proud story of nation building. When he and his generation of Canadian historians turned their pens away from the country's economic development which figured so prominently in their work in the 1930s, they reiterated the same theme through larger than life biographical studies of the men who embodied the national ideal. If the period before 1960 was a time for national celebration, the years which have followed have been decades of significant reassessment. This has been particularly true in Canadian historical writing where the Laurentian thesis has been subjected to withering critiques. Social history has provided one vantage point from which the elegance of Creightonian history seems more wishful than factual. Within social history, studies of the Canadian working class question have been particularly prominent in questioning the older synthesis. Generally narrow in scope, however, they certainly can not yet claim to have created a real alternative to the older synthesis which, while doubted in professional circles, still enjoys popular acceptance.

The three volumes under review certainly do not attempt any grand synthesis. Yet they all deserve broader readership than they will probably receive. Each adds significantly to the ongoing subversion of the old national history by pointing not only to new areas of study, but also by suggesting how Canadian history has been shaped by class forces and class conflict. Although sharing this general characteristic, each volume is quite distinct: two are community studies, one purports to be national in coverage; two cover the first three decades of the twentieth century when monopoly capital was establishing its reign, the other concentrates on industrialization, an earlier stage of capitalist development; two cover distinct elements of the working class, namely, British skilled workers and European immigrant labourers, the other treats the class in its totality. In addition, the methods and approaches of the authors vary considerably. The books do possess similarities: none of them, for example, could be mistaken for old-fashioned "labour" history. Although each volume adds to our knowledge of trade-union history and labour politics, the staples of "labour" history, none is primarily institutional in its focus. A second shared characteristic, which tends to typify much of the social history being written in Canada, is the authors' familiarity with related historical work from the United States and Britain. Finally, the authors, students of the 1960s, are sympathetic to the class they study—all are situated on the left, only their degree of commitment varies.

The most important, committed, and ambitious of the three volumes, Bryan Palmer's *A Culture in Conflict*, won a runner-up notation in the Canadian Historical Association's Macdonald Prize competition for best book in Canadian history in 1979. Despite that significant commendation, the book has received a series of hostile reviews. Reviewers, it seems, have reacted to the book's engaged tone and forthright identification with Marxist historical writing. Marxism still does not go down easily with most Canadian historians and a number of the reviews have been tinged with a significant undercurrent of red baiting—an anti-Marxism which lends itself to some striking misreadings. In addition, Palmer makes it quite clear that he situates his work in ongoing theoretical debates in Marxist historical writing which are both unfamiliar to most Canadian historians and which most of them would regard as "ideological". (Thus, by their very nature antithetical to the process of writing history which is, of course, still naively viewed by some as an objective, empirical exercise unshaped by theory or contemporary attitude.)

A Culture in Conflict has become a controversial book. The controversy owes as much to the ambitious project as to the book itself. As the first monograph in Canadian working-class history which is thoroughly dominated by the influences and approaches of the remarkable generation of British Marxist historians led by Edward Thompson and by their American counterparts Herbert Gutman and David Montgomery, this book had an expectant audience. The extent of Palmer's debt to these scholars is made clear on every page and this, too, has made Canadian reviewers nervous. Deeply steeped in a nationalist history, proudly exceptionalist in its biases, English Canadian historians look aghast at all imports, especially those which are further flawed by their association with Marxism, the most "foreign" product of all. Palmer's study, moreover, stretches the parameters of this approach to working-class history further than similar community studies published in England or the United States. The equivalent recent American studies (Dawley, Cumbler, Walkowitz), for example, are far more compromising with the method, combining it with considerable economic history (Dawley) or the concerns of comparative social science (Walkowitz and Cumbler).² Palmer has written a book which confirms the fears of those who bemoan the loss of an institutional and political context to the writing of working-class history. Finally, it should be added that the book is written with considerable verve and flair, a colourful style at times bordering on the purple, which nevertheless should enable the non-specialist to read and enjoy the work. This, too, in these days of narrow specialization almost makes the book suspect by definition.

The book's major contribution is to place Hamilton's skilled workers, and by implication all skilled workers, at the centre of the historical picture. Ignored by conventional history, often dismissed even by historians of the working class as labour aristocrats, Palmer situates these crucial characters in their late nineteenth-century milieu. Concerned with their work and with the parameters of the world they created, he presents them as active figures in their own history. While recognizing the trade union as their most important creation, he also examines other aspects of their lives in attempting to portray them in full perspective rather than in the more usual, single dimension of work and union. Palmer's description of Hamilton's skilled workers, their institutions, and their ideas is a significant addition to the international literature on the Victorian working class.

Let us take a more careful look at this important book. The book is divided into four unequal parts—Context, Culture, Conflict, and

Conclusion—but Culture and Conflict are its major interests. One problem with this organization is that context gets rather short shrift. Despite the format of a community study, readers find out very little about Hamilton, Ontario in the few pages devoted to describing the theatre in which the drama will unfold. This is further accentuated by the rather abstract notion we are given of the stage (economy) and of the actors (demography). Thus, although the chapter is graced by a useful theoretical discussion of the stages of capitalist development in Ontario and includes a periodization which is both fresh and important, there is little discussion of the specific nature of Hamilton's industrial structure and the nature of its bourgeoisie. The latter will become important because working-class development can be seen fully only in interaction with its class antagonists and, although Hamilton's elite will appear frequently throughout, we are never fully introduced to them. Equally, the leading actors, Hamilton's skilled workers, also remain unintroduced. We are told that they are mainly British but we know nothing more of their wages, their occupations, their living conditions, their ages, etc. Finally, the latter stages of the drama, the years from the 1890s to 1914, receive especially slight attention. Thus, Palmer has left himself open to charges of ignoring economic and political structures and of a "culturalist" focus which proceeds from insufficient attention to the local industrial economy. To this reader this flaw is more apparent than real in the sense that the arguments would probably still stand even if the context was enriched. Nevertheless, the book would be more persuasive if the reader had this material to draw on.

The first chapter of Culture, "In Street and Field and Hall," is simultaneously both the most interesting and the most problematic in the book. The chapter provides us with excellent material on the formal associational life of Hamilton workers—on their fraternal societies, on their rambunctious volunteer fire companies, on their relationship to the rather stiff Mechanics Institute, on their recreation, and, most important, on their trade unions. All of this is excellent, fresh material, never before pursued so systematically, and Palmer is successful in capturing the dense network of the associational life of late nineteenth-century skilled workers. Palmer does not stop there, however, and proceeds to try to enter the more hazy realm of informal social life. Yet when he tries to step into the taverns and the neighbourhoods of his skilled workers, he is on dangerous and unknown terrain and it is not too surprising that the first historian to wander there gets lost in the labyrinthine workers' networks. Thus,

the material on temperance, on charivaris, on white caps, on threatening letters, and on private clubs is all titillating but remains unconsummated—one feels like a bourgeois voyeur entering dim proletarian alleyways where certain streetsigns are visible, but the map which would lend a sense of direction is missing. Nevertheless, we learn from our voyage and future historians who venture forth on this ground will be able to use Palmer's impressionistic roughs as a starting point for more developed maps.

The following chapter, "The Culture of Control", removes us from the streets, fields, and halls and takes us into the workshops of Hamilton's skilled workers. Here, Palmer guides readers through the city's various trades and their struggles either to maintain traditional artisanal methods of production or to develop new forms of control of production to protect their craft against the incursions of machines, the unskilled, and other forms of diminution. Palmer finds that "workers' control thrived as *something of a culture of the shop floor.*" (emphasis added, 75) This chapter contains excellent material on the various trades, especially on iron moulders, but its inclusion in Culture raises certain questions. As the above quotation suggests the author seems aware of this difficulty. This chapter could as easily have been placed in Conflict and probably belongs there. None of the crafts discussed here exercised their control without conflict; all were constantly under attack by capitalist innovators who tried, with varying degrees of success, to undermine their workers' power. Struggle, then, was the central experience of the shop floor as Palmer makes clear, and thus the attributes that accompanied this—respectability, masculinity, chivalry, etc.—which, perhaps, as cultivated virtues deserve attention in a cultural context, might better have been severed from the conflicts which engendered them.

"Reform Thought and the Producer Ideology", the final chapter of Culture, ventures forth into a different realm of culture, namely to the interaction of popular ideology and high culture. Palmer focuses on two towering intellectual figures in the Canadian working-class world of the late nineteenth-century—Isaac Buchanan and Phillips Thompson. Two seemingly more unlikely figures would probably not be chosen than Buchanan, the successful Hamilton merchant and conservative politician, and Thompson, the Toronto humourist, journalist, and later major labour reform intellectual. The thesis here is that in the 1860s and 1870s Hamilton skilled workers were willing partners in an industrial capitalist development strategy articulated by Buchanan. The workers cooperated because of the promise of jobs,

of soft money, and of a partner's role in the evolution of an industrial-capitalist Canada—all under the rubric of a producers' coalition against the financiers, merchants, and monopolists. The fragility of this alliance became only too apparent on the fields of class conflict where the two "partners" of the coalition too often found themselves locked in fierce struggle. Thus, by the 1880s a new opening was created for other philosophies and political economies and into this vacuum came the more radical notions of the single tax, of Bellamyite nationalism, and eventually of socialism. The progress of Phillips Thompson, the most important Canadian thinker associated with each of these movements, is used by Palmer as a surrogate, at least for the most advanced elements of the working class. The arguments are persuasive but perhaps Palmer could have pursued further the emergence of socialism itself and explained why widespread support for producer ideology broke down into a minority socialist position. Moreover, what happened to those workers who rejected socialism but had seen the producer ideology dashed on the shoals of class struggle? What half-way house existed for them? One suspects that this was the function of the old political parties and of institutions such as the Orange Lodge, but that moves us on to a political terrain that Palmer has, on the whole, intentionally ignored.

Culture here then consists of three rather different chapters, one of which better belongs elsewhere. As we move into Conflict, however, we will see that each has a role to play in providing background for the three major struggles that Palmer discusses: the Nine-Hour Movement of 1872, the Knights of Labor upsurge of the 1880s, and the rise of the New Unionism in the period from 1900 to 1914. These chapters form the strongest group in the book. Although somewhat episodic in their focus on the major struggles of the 60 years, they nevertheless convey a sense of the intensity of class conflict in Hamilton and its development over time. "Merchants of their Time", the chapter on the struggle for shorter hours, offers a new view of one of the most familiar events in Canadian labour history. The only flaw in the discussion comes with the analysis of the movement's failure in 1872. The argument that the deflection of the working-class movement into politics was a step backwards appears to benefit considerably from hindsight and moreover the resort here to "an immature class consciousness" (151) as an explanation, while a useful corrective to Steven Langdon's earlier argument, actually opens Palmer up to far more questions than he later cares to answer concerning this always evasive notion, "class consciousness." The other

problem with this analysis of failure is that it demands a closer examination of Hamilton's political arena than Palmer provides.

"Labour's Lordly Chivalry," the chapter on the Knights of Labor in Hamilton, is the strongest in the book. Palmer's ability to interweave the questions of workplace control, politics, ritual, religion, temperance, nativism, and women workers illustrates the strengths of a cultural analysis. Palmer accounts for the Knights' successes better than their decline, but the relatively early demise of the Knights in Hamilton suggests that the emphasis Palmer places on the Home Club affair, which is described in loving detail, is well placed.

The final chapter on the new unionism in Hamilton suffers from comparison with material that Palmer has published elsewhere on the subject.³ As has been suggested earlier, there is a sense that this material has been tacked on, that the book is more organically a study of the period 1860-1890. This impression partially stems from the failure to analyze the new context of monopoly capitalism in Hamilton at sufficient length. Various hints are scattered throughout the text but are never gathered together. Much of the material in this chapter, on the 1906 street railway strike and on the subsequent election to the Ontario Legislature of Alan Studholme, for example, although excellent in itself, remains undigested. The fact that the street railway workers are unskilled, for example, causes some pause. And more troublesome still is the final projection forward in time to the mid-1920s "when capitalist control of the workplace had finally been attained". This rather disconcerting conclusion needs far more consideration than this bald assertion allows, but, to be fair lies beyond the scope of the book.

The perceptive reader will no doubt have noticed that each of the chapters of *Conflict* share one major difficulty—the explanation of decline and failure. We are offered different reasons for the major defeats of the period: politics, depression, and an immature "class consciousness" in the 1870s; misadventure and partisan intrigue in the 1880s; and the pervasive power of monopoly capital and its state in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Each explanation captures part of the truth, but also suggests a major problem with working-class history of this genre: namely, its difficulty in describing moments of class quietude and its failure to deal with the largest questions of capitalist hegemony. To be sure by placing working-class resistance at the centre of the stage, this literature has totally recast all debate about the establishment of hegemony and helped to smash the prevailing underlying assumptions of a consensual, capitalist

society which successfully incorporated the working class. Nevertheless, the very strengths of Palmer's book and others like it now place these questions of hegemony firmly before us as we move forward in the study of Canadian working-class history.

A Culture in Conflict merits close attention. Our knowledge of the world of nineteenth-century skilled workers in Central Canada has taken a massive step forward with its publication. No doubt it will encounter many more critics and, as I too have indicated, the book is not perfect, but that is to be expected with any book that dares to be more than narrowly imitative and that attempts so much. Controversy is not always a positive sign. In this case, however, the billowing cloud of smoke is related to an important fire indeed.

The Conditions of the Working Class in Toronto—1900-1921 by Michael J. Piva eschews a cultural approach to the working class as premature in Canada. Piva instead offers an "attempt to ground the discussion [of working-class life] in as complete an understanding as possible of the structure of the work-force and the material conditions of daily life which obtained during these years". Thus, this volume is explicitly a "materialist" response to "culturalist" work such as Palmer's. Modelled on Terry Copp's *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*, the book opens with a chapter on the economy and demography of Toronto and proceeds to analyses of real wages, unemployment and relief, working conditions, public health and housing, and labour unrest. While described as a volume focusing on the material conditions of the working class, the book almost of necessity, given the nature of the sources, also becomes a commentary on the nature of social reform in the progressive period.

The book contains much useful material, especially the chapters on real wages and on unemployment and relief. Not surprisingly they present an abysmal picture of working-class life where even full employment meant marginal subsistence and in which the threat of sickness, accident, and unemployment was constantly present. Any of those plagues, which of course visited most workers at least once in their lifetimes, could mean a fall from marginality to overt poverty. This is a dismal portrait and helps flesh out Copp's earlier comparisons of Montreal and Toronto conditions. That workers in both cities suffered under horrifying conditions is made patently clear here.

Yet there are disconcerting parts of this book. For example, despite the horrors of workers' lives from a material perspective, Piva downplays the working-class thrust for social reform, probably because he wants to demonstrate that palliatives had little ameliorative effect. This picture is reinforced here by the deletion of his useful study of Workmen's Compensation in Ontario.⁴ Here was one significant reform, fought for by Toronto workers, which, while certainly not overthrowing capitalism, was nevertheless a tangible victory for the working-class movement. Throughout the analysis is coloured by a "corporate-liberal" interpretation which leaves the working class little room for positive self-activity because in every case they are outgunned by the omniscience of capital and the omnipotence of the state. Moreover, Piva's failure to analyze the work place and the nature of the labour process in this crucial period of change deprives his argument of the most important element of a materialist interpretation.

In addition, for a work which by its nature demands much quantification there is a disarming willingness to rely on available statistics without much reflection on the nature of their generation. I am not suggesting the use of different data—Piva has canvassed the available quantitative material—but rather seeking a more critical reflection on what that data actually represents. The implicit biases in Department of Labour data such as the *Labour Gazette* reports on strikes, for example, demand critical consideration. Equally, so does the material gathered by social reform agencies of one kind or another and the questionable data collected by the Ontario Labour Bureau. The class biases and other inadequacies of many of these statistical collections does not render them useless, but it does require careful interpretation. This is often missing here as has been pointed out in detail by other reviewers.

Moreover, in choosing to pursue the theme of material life through the most accessible types of quantitative evidence, one wonders if Piva has actually caught the essence of that lifestyle. More attention to family economies is needed since they might have alleviated some of the abject poverty predicated here on the study of the average wages of individual workers. Equally one would like to know more about working-class diet and recreational patterns before accepting with complete confidence the conclusions drawn here which are based on budgets either drawn up by social reformers or by the Department of Labour. These matters demand different research than that undertaken for this study, but work that ultimately is crucial to any broader interpretation of Piva's findings.

There can be little disagreement with Piva's argument that we need to know as much as possible about material conditions when discussing other aspects of working-class behaviour. The significant questions concerning the relationship between the realms of necessity and possibility, however, remain. Here Piva offers little to enlighten us and both his implicit discussion of social reform and his explicit, last chapter on labour unrest and industrial conflict constitute the book's major failings. In the latter chapter, forgetting his own injunction, cited earlier, Piva leaves the confines of material culture and enters the territory of class relations and class conflict. Having learned much from his earlier analysis that will allow for a more insightful reconstruction of the subjective elements of working-class history, his own analysis comes as a disappointment. We receive a rather flat, reductionist view of labour's weakness defined solely by the decline of real wages, the record of strike losses (conveniently organized and assessed by the Department of Labour), and the failure of Toronto workers to organize a successful political party of labour. Piva's interpretation is a retreat into more conventional labour history, but without the usual intensity of research. The book's ultimate failure is its inability to recognize its own limits. As an analysis of material conditions it is a most useful addition to the literature, deserving of imitation for other cities and regions of Canada, but as an example for Marxist historians of a materialist history of the working class it fails. Instead of promoting a materialist view, the reductionism of Piva's dismissal of the labour movement in the period reiterates old Marxist mistakes. A comparison of Piva's findings with those of Wayne Roberts and of Gene Homel in their recent doctoral dissertations on aspects of Toronto labour in the same period illustrates the problem.⁵ Working more deeply in labour sources and the daily press, Roberts and Homel provide a better balanced picture of labour's victories and defeats, an image that restores an element of subjectivity to the oppressed victims and losers of Piva's account and provides much needed perspective.

Don Avery's *"Dangerous Foreigners"* is a book, which to its credit, falls into more than one category of social history. Although reviewed with titles in labour studies, it also belongs to ethnic studies. Interestingly this attempt to resist the increasingly narrow compartmentalization of social history has led to hostile critiques of this book. By and large the ethnic studies' reviewers have dismissed it for its eclecticism, for its level of generalization, and above all for its failure to use foreign language sources. There can be little question that the

book is flawed in these matters, nevertheless it does not deserve the condemnation it has encountered in some reviews.

To some degree Avery has been paying the price of waiting too long to publish. When first completed in 1973, Avery's doctoral thesis and the articles drawn from it had a major impact on the field.⁶ The field, however, has blossomed in the last few years and this revised (and extended) work now seems dated. It also suffers from one of its virtues, its ambitiousness in attempting to cover the entire nation for thirty-six years in a field where very little work on that level of generalization has been completed. For example, the Maritime and Quebec experience are badly slighted here.

Nevertheless the book makes significant contributions which should not be overlooked. It places immigration policy at the centre of Canadian capitalist development strategy and does not fall into the trap of accepting the simple, settlement rhetoric of the governments of the day (and of most later historical considerations of immigration which glory in the fulfillment of the National Policy). Instead, Avery argues convincingly that between 1896 and 1914 Canadian immigration policy served the dictates of the capitalist labour market and in the process shows the interface between state and capital on these questions. This is a major contribution, for it should help us conceive of the Great Transformation of the Laurier years in terms which include the creation of international and national labour markets, creations which had as much to do with the coming of monopoly capitalism as the more-often invoked merger movements, foreign investment, or technological and managerial innovation. Avery does not do as much with all of this as he might, and he certainly is not very successful in explaining the later policy changes after World War I, but he had raised the right kinds of large questions about the immigration process.

Two chapters of this short book cover immigration policy, capitalist development, and state policy; the other three turn to the interaction of immigrant experience, Canadian environment, and state response. Here Avery narrows his canvas considerably and focuses on labour radicalism as one response to the appalling conditions the immigrants faced in Canada. And it is here that most of Avery's critics have employed their heaviest ammunition. Of course they are correct in arguing that there were many other forms of response employed by ethnics in Canada—not even every Finn ended up in the Communist Party of Canada, and certainly not every Ukrainian. (It should be added that those are really the only two im-

portant groups covered in any detail in this book.) Indeed, the churches, the family, and other community institutions played major roles in the migration and settlement process. Avery admits all this, but chooses to write about a different part of the experience, a part which, owing to the Cold War and to class splits within the ethnic communities themselves, has by and large not been known to many Canadians and certainly has received little historical attention. This addition is commendable but Avery's inability to enter deeply into any of the ethnic communities because of language problems does create significant difficulties. One way around that difficulty employed by Avery is to shift our attention away from the ethnics themselves and once again to direct our eyes to the response both of the state and of middle class Canadians. Here again his material on the Canadian Red Scares of 1919 and of 1931-32 are useful correctives to that view of Canadian history which assumes that red-baiting and McCarthyism were American-patented inventions. (The disgraceful behaviour of the Canadian state in these years should also serve to remind us that recent RCMP behaviour has a deep history in this country—one that Royal Commissions, limited Freedom of Information Acts, and cynical Bills of Rights will not eradicate.)

"Dangerous Foreigners" then, despite its indifferent writing and careless editing deserves our attention. Although providing no great breakthroughs in the study of ethnic radicalism, it does direct our attention to much that is little known in Canadian history. It always does so with a sympathy for the oppression of the immigrants and with a sharply critical eye turned to the behaviour of Canadian capital and its state. The various ethnic groups still await their historian, but Avery has provided us with a useful overview of immigration policy in these years and an interesting beginning to a fuller discussion of state attitudes to radicalism.

These three books, while all significant contributions to our understanding of Canadian social history, represent divergent approaches to working-class history. Piva's analysis of the material conditions of Toronto workers, which he argues is a necessary first step for our comprehension of Canadian workers, ironically lacks significant discussion of the workplace and the labour process. By eschewing the shop floor, his analysis is deprived of the most important basis of a materialist understanding of working-class behaviour. Avery and Palmer, on the other hand, are far more influenced by American and British discussions of working-class culture. Avery's book suffers, however, from its overly ambitious attempt at a national considera-

tion of ethnic radicalism and from its unwillingness to admit that radical politics was only one response among many to the horrors of work in Canada. Finally, *A Culture in Conflict*, undoubtedly the most important of the three books, raises more questions than it can answer about late nineteenth-century working-class failure and about the twentieth-century destruction of the skilled workers' way of life and struggle. All three volumes, however, begin to place class and class struggle at the centre of Canadian history. In this process they point towards a workers' history of Canada which will look quite different from the old romantic nationalist view.

NOTES

1. My thanks to Craig Heron, Linda Kealey, Ian McKay, and Bruce Tucker for their comments.
2. Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1979); and Daniel J. Walkowitz, *Worker City, Company Town: Iron and Cotton-Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-84* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).
3. Craig Heron and Bryar Palmer, "Through the Prism of the Strike: Industrial Conflict in Southern Ontario, 1900-1914", *Canadian Historical Review*, 58 (1977), and Bryan Palmer, "Class, Conception, and Conflict: The Thrust for Efficiency, Managerial Views of Labor, and Working-Class Rebellion", *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 7 (1975).
4. Michael J. Piva, "The Workmen's Compensation Movement in Ontario," *Ontario History*, 67 (1975).
5. Wayne Roberts, "Studies in the Toronto Labour Movement, 1896-1914," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1978, and Gene Howard Homel, "James Simpson and the Origins of Canadian Social Democracy", Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1978.
6. Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question", Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973. See also his "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Foreign Navy", *CHA Historical Papers* (1972); "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada, 1896-1919; from Stalwart Peasants to Radical Proletariat", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12 (1975); and "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919" in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds. *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).