

he describes the Knights as “a unique blend of tradition and innovation, an amalgam particularly suited to the transitional stage of capitalist development” (pp. 176-77). That is, the abstraction, “capitalist development”, explains the workers’ response. Does it?

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CECIL J. HOUSTON and WILLIAM J. SMYTH. — *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. Pp. xxi, 215.

The authors of *The Sash Canada Wore* attempt to combine the techniques of “cultural geographers and folklorists interested in transatlantic diffusions” with the “methods of analysis most commonly ascribed to social historians” (p. vii). Unfortunately the two disciplines are not integrated, but sit side by side in uneasy partnership.

The point of departure from the geographers’ perspective is the work on the transfer and diffusion of material culture pioneered in the United States by Fred Kniffen. The notable Canadian application of this approach is John Mannion’s comparative study of the differential transfer and survival of elements of Irish physical culture in three very different *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada*. Although they confine the remark to a footnote, Houston and Smyth state the important qualification to Mannion’s book: “much remains of a group’s culture in the aftermath of technological conformity” (p. 183). They therefore set out to trace the diffusion of an ideology and an institution rather than to undertake the investigation of physical elements, like house types and field patterns, that leaves the central mental aspects of culture — *mentalité*, if you will — unexplored. In the end, they succeed only in mapping the distribution of Orange lodges (they say that their locations are almost a surrogate for Protestant settlement) and in characterizing the membership (a lot of Protestant males from most walks of life, excluding the top and bottom rungs of the social ladder).

The problem lies partly in the selection of an all-pervasive institution like the Orange Order as the subject of such a study. This book does not delineate cultural regions as do the American studies of the spread of architectural and folkloric elements. The effect is to colour the map Orange: the few contrasting patches are exactly where we would imagine them to be. Nor is *The Sash* a study of the relative degrees of survival of imported cultural elements in differing New World environments. The authors do suggest that the significance of the pattern lies in what it tells us about Canadian regionalism (p. viii), but they do not follow up this suggestion sufficiently.

Having dealt with the geographical element of diffusion, Smyth and Houston go on to discuss the historical one, function. Their conclusion that the Order’s role in the lives of its members was predominantly social is not new. Hereward Senior, author of the standard history of the Order, is more than “aware” of the social dimension (p. 182); his thesis is that the early Canadian Orange lodge was primarily a social institution which eased the adaptation of immigrants to a new country. Senior’s book is very concise, so it is useful to have a chapter on the

“social dimension” discussing ritual, discipline, mutual aid, and so forth in greater detail, but there is nothing here that is related to the geographical theme.

Similarly, the authors deal with the “ideological and political dimension” in a separate chapter. This time their treatment is much shorter than Senior’s, though they extend the time period a generation beyond Senior’s limits, to the 1920s, and then consider the Order’s effective demise thereafter. Senior devoted most of his space in *Orangeism: The Canadian Phase* to tracing the changing political nature of Orangeism; Houston and Smyth add little here, and they tell us less about whether the ideology itself evolved. Beyond telling us that the Order still thrives in Newfoundland, they outline this evolution in very simple terms and with little temporal or geographical perspective. Regrettably, they do not relate the ideology of Orangeism, which is best revealed in political action, to the theme of diffusion.

The challenge is to integrate the analysis of cultural diffusion with that of cultural change. This is not an easy task, but Smyth and Houston could have made a start by carrying the theme of regionalism further than they do. They outline the very different reasons for the Orange Order’s strength or weakness in the various provinces, but we need to know the Order’s role in provincial politics outside Ontario and in local politics elsewhere than in Toronto.

Interdisciplinary work often stumbles because of a failure to resolve the differences between the disciplines and to make them work together to achieve a single end. It is this that prevents Smyth and Houston from finding a greater significance underlying the apparent uniformity of the dots on their distribution maps. The authors have already embarked upon a study of Irish settlement in Canada, a topic for which the tools of the historical geographer are well adapted. (Houston and Smyth, “The Irish Abroad: Better Questions Through a Better Source, the Canadian Census”, *Irish Geography*, 13 (1980): 1-19) May we hope to see, at a later stage, a more integrated study of the evolution and diffusion of Irish *mentalité* in a wider context?

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DONALD AVERY. — “*Dangerous Foreigners*”: *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979. Pp. 204.

Until recently, Canadian history has been written as though all Canadians were of Anglo-Saxon or French origin. Immigrants from other cultures have been ignored or shunted into an “ethnic studies” ghetto.

Labour history has been no exception to this tradition. All too many books have been written as though all working people spoke English fluently. It is possible, for example, to find books on the Winnipeg General Strike that offer no hint that a large percentage of the strikers, perhaps a majority, were from Eastern Europe.

Donald Avery’s “*Dangerous Foreigners*” is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature of labour history in Canada. He focusses on the role that Eastern European workers played in the development of the Canadian labour