

nity values. In a concise and useful summary of his previous studies of the takings clauses, Scheiber demonstrates that scholars must look beyond the often mythical rhetoric of the black letter law to investigate the law in action. Glen Robinson also makes a direct attack on the conservative's myopic, one-sided view of the framers' intent. His essay on the due process clause provides a reasoned explanation of why the search for the "original" meaning of the Constitution represents a "misguided strategy. . . . It really comes down to a choice of fictions" (pp. 66-68). While Robinson is sympathetic to conservative efforts to root social stability in constitutional notions of fundamental values, he believes that this search must be based on a concept of historical continuity as an evolving process of democratic choice.

Three contributions to the book indirectly dispute Epstein's use of history by offering case studies that follow Robinson's alternative approach. Alan Jones examines the constitutional politics of the railroad in the Midwest during the middle of the nineteenth century, and Tony Freyer evaluates the antitrust movement during its closing years. Both focus on republicanism as a powerful counterweight to doctrines of *laissez faire*. In an excellent piece of original research, Jones shows how midwesterners gave contemporary meaning to the revolutionary ideology of the founders. Echoing President Andrew Jackson's battle against the bank, farmers and local merchants used the power of government to curb perceived abuses of the common welfare by private business interests. Freyer's analysis of antitrust law from 1880 to 1925 reinforces the idea that there has been an ebb and flow in the constitutional balance of power. Building on William Letwin's work on the Antitrust Act of 1890, he details how contemporaries adapted traditional, republican values to the needs of a modern economy dominated by large scale, corporate enterprise. Paul Murphy's essay neatly assesses the contributions of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis Brandeis, and Roscoe Pound to this evolutionary process.

Two additional pieces underscore the importance of history in the current policy debate on the proper balance of power. Harold Hyman sheds new light on the 1873 bench mark *Slaughterhouse* decision by illuminating the interdependence between economic liberty and civil rights. His ingenious reinterpretation of this multifaceted case shows how the postwar ascendancy of *laissez-faire* economics contributed to an atrophy of constitutional safeguards of individual rights for African-Americans, women, and other minority groups. A century later, according to Mary Porter, a similar rising tide of conservatism threatens to reverse the Warren court's extension of civil rights to disadvantaged groups. Its open-ended use of substantive due process to embrace the "new property" of government entitlements sets precedents that may now be employed to produce just the opposite results. It is ironic that perhaps the most important legacy of the *Slaughterhouse* ruling was Justice Samuel Miller's warning to avoid turning the court into a "perpetual censor" of a democratic society's evolving policy preferences.

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*Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada Before 1914.* By J. M. S. Careless. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989. Pp. xiii, 132. \$22.50.

In a career spanning more than four decades J. M. S. Careless has been one of the best-known and most influential scholars of Canadian history. In 1987 he presented the Donald Creighton Lectures at the University of Toronto. This slim volume comprises those three lectures, as well as an edited version of a fourth lecture presented at the University of Victoria. Together, they provide Careless with a forum for outlining the broad themes which have guided his research career.

The key word in this volume, as it has been throughout his work, is metropolitanism. Careless emphasizes the pivotal role played by dominant metropolitan centers in shaping the historical development of particular regions and of Canada itself. Cities, of

course, do not exist without a hinterland. Careless feels that frontierism and metropolitanism should not be viewed separately, but that we should recognize the reciprocal links between the two. In this relationship metropolitanism is neither naturally benign nor naturally exploitive, but some of each. He disagrees with those who have ascribed to the frontier the key role in shaping history. In Canada, especially, he maintains, frontier expansion was quite capital-intensive and therefore strongly directed by metropolitan forces. Those on the frontier were not economically self-reliant but depended vitally on trade. Careless devotes much of the second lecture to discussing how his conception of Canadian history differs from the perspectives of other leading Canadian historians. Harold Innis (and staple theory) is mentioned only in passing, but S. D. Clark, A. R. M. Lower, D. Creighton, and W. L. Morton are discussed at greater length. While there are no footnotes or bibliography, some brief mention of their major works is made in the text.

Much of the book is devoted to describing the development of regional and national identities. In a country which might aspire to the world record for the longest-running identity crisis (p. 70), this is laudable. Cities become the foci of regional identity. While their own hinterlands may rebel against them, these cities become the self-proclaimed centers of regional protest. Several cities may serve this role for a particular region; due to shared grievances Atlantic Canada develops a regional identity despite having no one dominant metropolis.

Development of a national identity must also occur across a number of cities and is limited by the existence of a small number of large cities, each with different regional loyalties.

Careless notes in the foreword that he is aiming for the big picture and may be in error in some particulars. One example must suffice. In attributing the defensive-assertive nature of French Canadian identity to the predominance of English-speaking people in Quebec's largest city in the nineteenth century, Careless is likely at least partly correct. In severely downplaying the role of the rural habitant in that period, however, he seems to ignore the fact that Quebec was over 80 percent rural at Confederation and saw substantial rural-urban migration thereafter.

The final chapter shifts the focus from the nineteenth to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Students of Canadian history are well aware that (most of) the key decisions affecting Canadian development in that period were made in Europe. To learn that these decisions were made in European cities, and indeed in a large number of different cities, may add little to our understanding. Recognition that agents in North America often acted against the interest of European cities (p. 108) only reinforces the impression that the concept of metropolitanism provides little additional insight.

With books such as this, it is always unclear what the ideal audience is. Those who are familiar with the work of Careless may find little that is new in this volume. Others are likely to find themselves left unconvinced. Most of the space is devoted simply to defining what frontierism, metropolitanism, and other terms mean in historical context. There is no space in this volume for the detailed examination of particular historical cases which could show how this historical approach yields a better understanding than alternative approaches. Economic historians especially may object to the descriptive rather than analytical nature of the work. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine what counterfactuals might even be posed. Hopefully, the appetite may be whetted for further reading of Careless's work, though the lack of a bibliography will not be helpful there. While the book focuses on Canada, the themes discussed do have a wider applicability, especially to other lands of new settlement. All those who read the book will be rewarded by a fine writing style. Donald Creighton had argued that historical work should be both readable and evocative, and that historians should display both

imagination and scholarship. In presenting the Creighton lectures Careless achieves all of these goals.

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*Canada, 1900–1945*. By Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987. Pp. x, 427. \$30.00.

With the publication of this book together with an earlier work, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism* (Toronto, 1981), the authors have completed their surveys of twentieth-century Canadian history. These are comprehensive investigations embracing economic, social, political, and cultural developments in Canada since the turn of the century.

In the volume reviewed here the authors not only comment on the main economic events of the first half of the century—the opening of the Canadian West, the Great Depression of the 1930s—but also cover in depth the impact on the country of World Wars I and II. Little is left uninvestigated. We are treated not only to the standard interpretations of the boom that accompanied western settlement and the bust of the thirties, but to the role of religion, especially the rise of the social gospel movement, literacy, and corruption among politicians. This is a truly eclectic treatment of Canadian history during the first half of the century.

What do we learn from this narrative? Certainly we are exposed to a lot of facts; at times the detail is overwhelming. Why the authors chose to include the background to the Spanish Civil War to explain Canadian foreign policy during the thirties or run on endlessly with a string of indigestible facts about economic conditions during the thirties is confusing. Unlike the earlier work there is really no systematic treatment of Canadian development. Where, for example, is the chapter on economic growth and change that “set the scene” for postwar developments?

The hope, one gathers, is that this collection of information will throw light on the evolution of Canada during these critical decades. Certainly someone reading Canadian social and economic history for the first time will be informed. Unfortunately, at least for non-Canadian economic historians, they will be left with the impression that not much research has gone on in this field in the last 20 years.

In their annotated bibliography, the authors state that since the literature on economic history of the period 1900 to 1945 is dominated by questions of economic policy, then extant texts are unable to provide “a complete coverage of actual economic events.” This is a strange statement given the breadth of work that the new economic historians have done since the mid-sixties. The authors must obviously believe what they say since no reference is made to any of this work. What happened to research on the delay of Prairies settlement, or revisions to our understanding of the role of railroads, or the wheat boom itself, or the revisions to our understanding of the opening decades that has emerged since publication of the revised national accounts estimates for this period? The absence of this whole body of literature seriously weakens the value of this text for classroom use.

Finally, the authors by their own admission are not free of biases in their interpretation of observed events. This is fine. It is enjoyable to read how they interpret the origins of the rise of social gospel or the impact of foreign investment. However, for those not familiar with Canadian developments during these decades, the interpretation can be misleading. In a number of cases new research has moved well beyond the generalizations presented here.

Both volumes are impressive. They represent the collective reasoning of three lively