Reviews

The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation. COLE HARRIS. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Pp. 512, $95.00 cloth, 39.95 paper

The Reluctant Land is a magnum opus in a double sense. The honour is usually bestowed upon a work of large scale. Further back in time, however, it also meant the successful transmutation of base matter into gold. On both counts, Cole Harris's most recent book fits the definitions. *The Reluctant Land* it is a lengthy work of original thought about the philosophical concept of 'being' in the emerging country of Canada. Simultaneously, it is a wide-reaching synthesis of the regional literature that is transformed into a larger whole as the reader is repeatedly shown patterns of similitude in what otherwise passes for a dissimilar corpus of historiography.

'The research I admire most,' Harris recently wrote in *Canadian Geographer* (52, no. 4 [2008]: 413), 'is weighted heavily towards steeping, to the time it takes to begin to know a complex place, society, or set of issues, and, out of this protracted engagement, to begin to understand them.'. Harris is talking about the geographical concept of *territorialité*, and in *The Reluctant Land* one senses a book steeped in intimate, firsthand awareness of the passage of time, landscapes, and life worlds. Nearly half a century in the making, *The Reluctant Land* brings together Harris's earlier work on French Canada (*The Seigneurial System in Early Canada*, 1966), his first attempt with John Warkentin at a national historical geography in *Canada before Confederation* (1974), his insights into the patterns and power relations of the colonial New World ('The Simplification of Europe Overseas,' 1977), his intimate contact with the historic cartography relied upon as editor of the first volume of the *Historical Atlas of Canada* (1987), and his reappraisal of indigenous peoples and colonialism in *The Resettlement of British Columbia* (1997). Frankly, the Canadian geographical and historical communities have been patiently waiting for

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Harris to place this corpus into a larger context and say something profound about the nature of early Canada. *The Reluctant Land* meets those expectations, situating itself among the most comprehensive geo-historical theories of early North American development.

At its core, *The Reluctant Land* is centred on the philosophical concept of indigenous and colonial 'life worlds.' Through generations of experience, Harris writes, unspecialized systems of knowledge were developed that allowed indigenous peoples to efficiently live in relatively harsh environments. 'Theirs was a far more intimate knowledge of the land than any that would follow … Everything that existed – people, plants, animals, rocks, places, the wind, the rain – was animate and sentient. People and elements of what modern Western culture considers nature interacted as common thinking and feeling beings.' In the well-known story of indigenous dispossession of their land and culture as a result of colonialism, region by region Harris continually returns the reader to the philosophical underpinning of life worlds, and how the unspecialized knowledge developed within indigenous life worlds was penetrated by specialized, rationalized, and institutionalized systems of colonial thought that eventually broke local ways and 'reshaped societies around the logics of specialised systems' (9, 14, 17–18).

For the pioneers, the northern environment played a preponderant role in the life worlds of Canada's colonial communities. The concept of northern environment is adroitly used to differentiate the Canadian experience from the Turnerian vision of the American experience. The border between the two nations, Harris writes, separated two very different environmental experiences. The American one was that of 'a broad frontier crossing the whole length of an essentially fertile land and moving west in a succession of stages.' British North America, in contrast, 'disappeared northward into rock, muskeg, and barrenness, and along the south presented only patches of [fertile] land … As drawn, the border would separate two landed experiences, one essentially generous, the other pinched.' The American past 'has to do with extension and abundance,' he argues, 'the Canadian, with discontinuity, paradox, and limitations.' Whereas the western frontier represented a continual safety valve for Americans, in Canada hard boundaries and their consequences cropped up everywhere. Canadian settlement was accomplished as patches of isolated settlement and their associated boundaries and discontinuities, leading to the national mosaic that is Canada today (xv, 133–4).

Like the frontier thesis, Harris finds that the staples thesis of Harold Innis and the Laurentian thesis of Donald Creighton explain Canadian development only partially. Early Canada was not dominated

by commercial capital to the point that Innis and Creighton claim. When agricultural settlement is brought into the account, it is clear that the staples and mercantile trades did not penetrate 'as far or as comprehensively into the countryside as [Innis and Creighton] implied, and because they did not [they] exaggerated their overall importance' (458). Like W.L. Morton, Harris believes that across the breadth of British North America there was a shared agricultural experience with a northern land wherein the main task 'was the creation of a habitat, a liveable land, and that clearing and cultivating land were the principal means to this end' (469). Region by region, the book deals with many of the recurrent experiences of pioneering, the initial ready availability of cheap land and the relatively high value of labour, family-centred activities, and family reproduction.

Through the endless complexity of the early Canadian experience, and the intricacy of the national and regional historiographies, arise patterns and a measure of repetitive order that are not normally recognized in the Canadian national story. *The Reluctant Land* brings these patterns to the fore like no previous work on pre-Confederation Canada. Harris calls these patterns 'systems of organization,' of which three are dominant (454–62). An Imperial System, arterial and nodal, projected state and urban power into the countryside but did little to regulate the details of local life outside of the emerging cities. Commercial Capital dominated export economies (staples), overcame vast distances, commodified nature, and connected people to markets through intermediaries. And, finally, Agricultural Settlement was an amalgam of pre-industrial societies where land and life were the overwhelming factors in what was essentially an agricultural countryside.

Inductive reasoning, a highly readable and enjoyable writing style, annotated bibliographies following each chapter, innovative geo-historical cartography, and thought-provoking observations on the very essence of the Canadian nation make this book a work that no scholar of early Canada will want to ignore and many will want to adopt as a course textbook.

MATTHEW G. HATVANY *Université Laval*

The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History. GÉRARD BOUCHARD. Translated by Michelle Weinroth and Paul Leduc Browne. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 448, $95.00 cloth, $29.95 paper

Gérard Bouchard's *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World* is an exercise in historiographical audacity. The book, which he

calls an 'essay in comparative history' and 'macrohistory,' is framed around Bouchard's deep, perhaps unparalleled historical knowledge of Quebec. It opens with a series of chapters about Quebec and historical writing in and about Quebec, and in the process establishes a number of themes about Quebec's past as a settler culture (or, what the book insists on calling a 'new collectivity'). Especially provocative and enduring are the themes of rupture and continuity, memory and history, and origins and métissage. Seeking to cover hundreds of years, from first arrivals of Europeans to the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bouchard approaches each theme in its selective political, social, economic, and especially cultural manifestations. After unpacking their significance for Quebec, he then uses his themes as comparative threads through chapters on 'Mexico and Latin America,' Australia and, interestingly, 'Other Pathways: Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.' In the book's penultimate chapter, Bouchard draws on the elements of the previous chapters to proffer a model through which we can theorize the historical making of the New World.

Readers of this journal will want to read the book as much for how it is written as for what it is saying. Experienced scholars, senior undergraduates, and graduate students will no doubt savour the opening chapters that tackle head-on the challenges and opportunities of doing history in a post-foundational age of epistemology and knowledge-making. Even those less reflexive about method and theory will find these chapters provocative because of the ways that Bouchard relates his book and historiography more broadly to the political project of Quebec, both in the past and in the present. In his words, the book strives 'to set an intellectual stage from which Quebec can speak, and from which it can be heard and understood by other former colonizing or colonized nations. In other words, from which it can narrate to the world its own itinerary in the Americas' (ix). Whether one agrees with none, some, or most of Bouchard's arguments, all must agree that this is engaged scholarship, provocative and relentless in following through on its promises. *Audacious* almost seems too timid an adjective but, in the age of Obama, it also seems apt.

This 2008 publication is actually a translation of Bouchard's 2000 Governor–General's Literary Award–winning *Genèse des nations et cultures du nouveau monde*, and in a short preface to this translation he acknowledges that the book would benefit from the near-decade of scholarship that has unfurled since its original publication. Most revealingly, perhaps, is the marginal place of postcolonial scholarship in the book's bibliography and language of analysis. Readers familiar

with post-colonial scholarship will recognize many of the topics that Bouchard highlights. These include, among other things, the invention of tradition, cultural mimicry, the shift from cultural to biological definitions of 'race,' the landscaping of place, and the recurring efforts of settler cultures all over the New World to empty the nation's historical time and space of any traces of non-white aboriginality. These same readers will perhaps become frustrated, however, at Bouchard's essentializing of social categories such as 'White' and 'Black' and 'Native' and spatial categories such as 'nation' and 'province' and 'colony,' despite his being aware that such ordering was very much at the heart of the political project in all the colonial settings he considers. At the end of book, for example, Bouchard makes an interesting argument about how various subaltern peoples (Mexican Creoles and New Zealand Maori, in particular) were able to differentiate themselves from other subjugated peoples by being 'whitened' by the codification of difference (328). Yet such nuance is not applied to polyethnic 'settler' cultures, where Bouchard is more apt to focus on tropes of 'multiculturalism' rather than 'whiteness.'

Nor does the 'imagined' nation of Bouchard's New World model, which includes all sorts of cultural landscaping of territory, call enough attention to the ways in which colonized nations are established through, and not merely on, space. As scholars before and since Benedict Anderson remind us, maps do not reveal territory. Maps are essential technologies in making territory, in delimiting the nation and its geo-political units. Little wonder then that maps, like the nation, have historically been in a state of becoming, of being made, remade, debated, contested, and defended. Bouchard is aware of such things but is less concerned about theorizing space in the making of the New World. A rich vein of scholarship, including the work of J.B. Harley, Walter Mignolo, and Edward Said, would suggest this is a lost opportunity.

To his credit, Bouchard invites this kind of constructive criticism. Indeed, here is a book that openly invites debate and discussion, written with a generosity of scholarly spirit, intellectual vigour, and, as always from Professor Bouchard, a strong sense of purpose. We should be thankful to McGill-Queen's University Press for this translation, and to Professor Bouchard for his audacity. Let us hope, then, that there are numerous responses from new readers of this book to continue, extend, and, where necessary, to redirect this conversation. The stakes, as Gérard Bouchard understands so well, warrant nothing less.

JOHN WALSH *Carleton University*

Onontio le médiateur: La gestion des conflits amérindiens en Nouvelle-France 1603–1717. MAXIME GOHIER. Sillery: Septentrion, 2008. Pp. 252, $24.95

This book argues, as the title suggests, that the governors of New France acted as mediators between Indian groups in the areas claimed by France and managed relations between often hostile Native groups to the advantage of French interests. The study aims to offer a more sophisticated understanding of French–Indian relations in general, and French–Iroquois in particular, and explore the ways by which the French were able to establish 'leur domination' over the Indians (16). The argument is neither novel nor persuasive.

According to Gohier the French policy of friendly alliances with Indians, and the governor of New France as mediator in, and director of, Indian affairs began with Champlain. To manage their allies and deal with the Iroquois menace to the colony, the French adopted the mediator's role and a policy of maintaining peace among their allies and with the Iroquois. The culmination of that role was the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701 when, thanks to Governor Callière, all the Indians of New France, including the Iroquois, made peace and recognized Onontio – the name they gave to the French governor of the colony – as the key mediator in all their disputes and, thereby, made him the arbiter of Indian-Indian and Indian-Euroamerican politics in the region. After that event, the power of the governor waned as the goal of mediation – peace for all – was largely met and meant less need for his efforts. If parts of this scenario sound familiar, it is because it builds on views of the roles of the French governor and of French colonization articulated by William J. Eccles (*Frontenac: The Courtier Governor*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1959) and more recently by Richard White (*The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Gilles Havard (*Empire et métissages: Indiens et Français dans le pays d'en haut, 1660–1715*, Sillery-Paris: Septentrion et les Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003). The major difference between these works and Gohier's is that, unlike all but Eccles, he focuses on the St Lawrence and lower Great Lakes region.

There is much about this work that can be questioned. The picture of French governors as kind rulers, acknowledged as such by Natives, and the French as respectful of Indians, overlooks the attempts of various governors to keep some Native groups at odds with each other in order to keep them from forming military and/or economic alliances that might exclude the French or prove detrimental to French interests.

(See, for examples of the latter, the works cited above.) Taking at face value that the goals of French policy were mostly met and that the self-proclaimed powers of French governors to 'manage' Indian nations were real overlooks the obvious efforts of many Native groups to use the French for their own ends. Governors Montmagny, Frontenac and Vaudreuil may have been styled 'Onontio,' and may have liked the ring of the name and the notion of power it implied in their minds, but it was a title given them by Indians because it suited Indian aspirations. The Iroquois, for example, played up to the Dutch and English governors in New Netherland and New York in the same way when necessity demanded it. The notion that the governors of New France occupied their special role because of an unequal relationship in which they were dominant is highly questionable. French involvement in Indian alliance networks often forced them into situations and actions that were costly and not part of French plans. The French were obliged to act in ways that they had not anticipated, or thought advantageous, because they needed Indians and not because the French had more 'power' over them.

The failure to look at events from the Indian perspective is disappointing. This study is so clearly grounded on the French side that it fails to seriously take into account the Indian perspective, or reduces it to some barely supported general aims that often ignore existing historical interpretations and evidence. The result is an imbalanced picture of the French governor's role and of the French alliance system. Onontio was, in reality, a mediator and 'managed' Indian affairs only to the degree that Indian needs and desires called for it, and he was never more than a pawn in Iroquois policy. Everyone involved in the French alliance system, and the Iroquois were not part of that system in the same sense as were the Ottawas or Ojibwas – a point that is often blurred in Gohier's work – tried to take advantage of it and those in it. Few of the players, the French among them, were ever fully in charge or very successful at it or, if one group managed to out-manoeuvre any other group, it was rarely for long.

JOSÉ ANTÓNIO BRANDÃO *Western Michigan University*

The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Superiors, and the Paradox of Power, 1693–1796. COLLEEN GRAY. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 272, $95.00 cloth, $32.95 paper

Feminists have been studying nuns in recent decades, drawn to the possibilities that these well-organized, financially viable communities

offered for feminine self-expression and leadership. The primary sources suggest power to command capital and labour, shape young minds, even win the occasional wrangle with a bishop. Since the same sources reveal self-sacrifice and a very literal Christianity, concentrating on gender politics elicits a nagging voice that the sisters themselves might have assessed things quite differently. Alive to the dilemma, Colleen Gray approaches colonial Montreal's Congregation of Notre Dame with an 'anthropological' sensibility that situates questions of power in the broader context of what gave meaning to convent lives. There is particular focus on one late-seventeenth-century superior, Marie Barbier, and two others from the second half of the eighteenth century, Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau and Marie Raizenne.

The book offers welcome coverage of the Congregation of Notre Dame in the century that followed the work of founder Marguerite Bourgeoys. This was early Canada's largest and most populist order, drawing personnel from labouring backgrounds and educating the common people. Using correspondence, Rules of Order, account books, and notarized agreements, the author provides a directory of professed sisters from 1693 to 1796 and analyzes their backgrounds and activities. Besides supervising farms and hundreds of workers, they produced clothes, shoes, needlework, fur trade provisions, food, and altar supplies. The book reveals the subservience required when mother superiors dealt with bishops as well as their own power to keep penitent sisters on their knees.

The author has a keen eye for telling detail. We hear the splash of chamber pots emptied from second-story windows and visit the cell of a wealthy anchoress built alongside the convent, donning rags and straw shoes but retaining a servant. Though determined to give spirituality its due, Gray lets gossips and renegades rear their heads. Sisters at rural missions apparently tasted freedom and liked it. They complained of being forced to trek through snow by an aristocratic sister 'who thinks of nothing but herself'; they found the motherhouse boring and stifling, 'whispering about everything, superior, directors, nothing is to their taste.' There were also runaway sisters, including two who fled their heavy labours in the middle of the night, taking the convent laundry with them; another drowned herself in the well.

The analysis is not invariably persuasive. Too anodyne is discussion of Bishop Saint-Vallier's 1694 attempt to transform an egalitarian, itinerant group of laywomen under female leadership into a hierarchical group of cloistered nuns. His writings insist that *his* office was sole conduit to the divine will. The sisters' unanimous opposition, and the

offence he gave to many colonial groups, belie the author's suggestion that the bishop simply aimed 'to encourage them to flourish as spiritual beings.' Unconvincing too is the attempt to answer a simplistic question about idealism versus ambition by citing Superior Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau's resolution not to 'hurt others with my dry and indifferent replies.' Pious resolve clearly does not capture the whole character of this superior, whom Gray concedes was uncharitable and derisory towards lower-class runaways, who so frightened one mission director that she too fled. In general the book would benefit from fuller engagement with the scholarship of Rapley, Jean, Simpson, Foster, and D'Allaire, and less engagement with Danylewycz, whose work relates to a later period.

To say the analysis could be pushed further ignores the real value of this thoughtful, elegantly written book. Without neglecting feminist issues, it captures the essential spirituality of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Christian imagery and prayer pervaded their days. Catechism is accurately portrayed as the curricular core, literacy the fringe benefit. By artful inversion, the book ends with discussion of the wracked body and enraptured soul of early Superior Marie Barbier, who mutilated herself with iron barbs. Her overawed confessor-biographer Charles de Glandelet asked her to utilize 'the power … providence gives you over me. You know me better than I know myself … I rejoice because you will help me by your advice, your prayers, your suffering. Inform me … what you feel.' (Fortunately the author's next project will explore this chaste Canadian Heloise and Abelard.) While historians will continue to tally the measured liberties of early Canadian convents, Gray shows us how to factor spirituality into the equation. This is essential reading on the subject, integrating the complexities of convent life better than any study has yet done.

JAN NOEL *University of Toronto*

La seigneurie de Mount Murray: Autour de La Malbaie, 1761–1860. LOUIS PELLETIER. Sillery: Septentrion, 2008. Pp. 400

Dans cette monographie sur la seigneurie de Mount Murray, Louis Pelletier veut « raconter la naissance d'une communauté humaine » sur un territoire qui était resté dans l'ombre des « Postes du Roi » et fermé au peuplement durant tout le régime français. La concession, le même jour, le 27 avril 1762, des seigneuries voisines de Murray Bay et de Mount Murray respectivement à John Nairne et Malcolm Fraser,

deux militaires des forces britanniques d'occupation, marque le véritable début de l'organisation de la région de La Malbaie. Une des caractéristiques principales de cette monographie réside d'ailleurs dans la préoccupation constante de son auteur de ne pas enfermer le lecteur dans les limites strictes de la seigneurie étudiée. Chaque fois que l'occasion se présente, il n'hésite pas à comparer l'évolution des deux seigneuries, pleines de contrastes.

Ce souci de bien situer Mount Murray dans un horizon géographique élargi se manifeste également dans le traitement de la relation étroite qui s'établit entre l'écoumène seigneurial comme tel et les « Postes du Roi ». Cet immense territoire situé immédiatement en aval de Mount Murray, d'abord longtemps interdit, puis ouvert progressivement à l'exploitation forestière au début du XIX^{e} siècle et enfin au peuplement dans les années 1840, est judicieusement incorporé à l'ouvrage. L'auteur est particulièrement sensible au contexte qui influence l'émergence de l'industrie du bois et montre très bien la participation d'une certaine élite économique de la seigneurie et de la région à ce secteur d'activité que finira par dominer William Price; celui-ci continuera d'ailleurs longtemps à s'appuyer sur des intermédiaires locaux comme Alexis Tremblay Picoté. Le rôle parallèle de cette même élite dans l'ouverture du Saguenay est également bien évoqué.

Cette monographie s'appuie sur une imposante recherche documentaire et c'est sa principale force. L'auteur s'est plongé dans le dépouillement de nombreux fonds d'archives concernant les Fraser et leurs seigneuries (car Malcolm ne s'était pas limité à Mount Murray), de même que leurs voisins Nairne. Le Fonds Mount Murray, spécifique à cette seigneurie, et d'autres documents essentiels sur sa gestion déposés au Musée de Charlevoix ont permis à l'auteur de très bien suivre l'évolution de l'occupation du sol et celle des domaines de la famille seigneuriale. Il a aussi consulté efficacement les greffes de plusieurs notaires ayant exercé dans la région de La Malbaie et ceux de certains autres notaires de Charlevoix et de Québec. Des fonds plus connus comme les Journaux et Appendices de la Chambre d'assemblée, les recensements et les archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec complètent l'arsenal déployé avec ingéniosité par Louis Pelletier pour son étude de la seigneurie de Mount Murray. Le lecteur trouvera sans peine les références à tous ces documents dans la quarantaine de pages de notes en fin de texte; de ce point de vue, cette monographie constitue un modèle dans le genre. Une iconographie riche, notamment les plans figuratifs, est aussi judicieusement utilisée en appui au texte.

Malheureusement, tout n'est pas parfait dans ce livre. Deux irritants en particulier sont à signaler. En premier lieu, la division de l'ouvrage

en trois parties correspondant aux « règnes » des seigneurs successifs, bien que tout à fait logique dans la perspective d'une monographie seigneuriale, ne permet pas vraiment à l'auteur de structurer son étude de manière dynamique. Idéale pour cerner la gestion seigneuriale et son impact sur le développement local, une telle division devient artificielle quand vient le moment d'aborder des phénomènes qui évoluent à des échelles supraseigneuriales et sur lesquels les seigneurs n'ont en général à peu près aucune influence réelle (sans parler de leur absence d'intérêt pour ces phénomènes, dans certains cas). Cela amène l'auteur à examiner les mêmes sujets d'une partie à l'autre, répétitions multipliées par le découpage supplémentaire à l'intérieur de chacun des « règnes » seigneuriaux (début, premières années, dernières années). C'est ainsi que l'on retrouve pas moins de cinq sections sur les routes, la pêche et d'autres thèmes du genre. Or, d'une fois à l'autre, il ne se trouve pas toujours d'éléments nouveaux qui interviennent dans le développement à long terme du sujet abordé… Le second irritant se situe au niveau du ton et du style de l'ouvrage. En effet, malgré sa recherche documentaire exemplaire, l'auteur ne parvient pas toujours à se dégager de certaines tendances du genre monographique traditionnel. Sans que ce soit omniprésent, on remarque tout de même une volonté de traiter de tout, la présence d'énumérations plus ou moins utiles, celle d'analyses courtes sur certains sujets et la trop grande importance accordée aux personnages marquants de la communauté au détriment des nombreux anonymes venus peupler la seigneurie.

Ces quelques réserves ne doivent cependant pas masquer le fait que Louis Pelletier a réalisé une très intéressante « biographie exhaustive d'une seigneurie », comme le dit Marcel Trudel dans son mot de présentation au début de l'ouvrage. La valeur de la recherche de base et la qualité des outils – notamment l'index – permettant de repérer les précieuses informations contenues dans l'ouvrage en font un ajout pertinent à l'historiographie.

ALAIN LABERGE *Université Laval*

Les Réfugiés acadiens en France 1758–1785, l'impossible réintégration? JEAN-FRANÇOIS MOUHOT: Sillery: Septentrion. Pp. 456, $34.95 paper, $26.21 PDF

During the last fifty years, writing about Acadian history has been a growth industry. Above all, the events of the Deportation of the Acadians by the British, in the mid-eighteenth century, from what are today the Maritime provinces of Canada, have been discussed and

reinterpreted. In writing about the experience of those Acadians whose fortunes took them first to Virginia, then to England and France, and finally, in most cases, to Louisiana, Jean-François Mouhot has chosen to investigate one of the less examined aspects of the Deportation. One of the reasons for his choice was his knowledge of the way in which France accommodated close to a million 'Pieds-Noirs' who left Algeria after 1962. In concluding his study of the 'intégration des Acadiens en France au siècle des Lumières,' he writes that his aim had been a three-fold analysis: that of 'l'attitude du gouvernment: celle des réfugiés eux-même, et enfin ce qu'on peut appréhender de la réalité de leur (re)insertion dans la société d'Ancien Régime.' His work was awarded a doctorate by the European University in Florence in 2006.

In many ways this is a fine piece of scholarly endeavour. Mouhot's archival research is extensive and broad-ranging and his work will be not only a necessary but also a very helpful source for future scholars. He has visited the major archive collections in London, Madrid, Ottawa, and Paris and also the most important provincial archives in all four countries. He has also made considerable use of Internet sources. As a result, his narrative of the official French attitude to the Acadians and of their reaction to their treatment is firmly anchored by an extensive knowledge of primary resources. His complex and interesting arguments regarding the attitude of the French officials engaged in trying to establish the Acadians on Belle Isle and in the region of Poitier are well worth reading. In his analysis of the rural France in the eighteenth century, he might have considered the views of Fernand Braudel and others of the *Annales* school in more detail when describing the reception of the Acadians by their neighbours. Mouhot's attention to the way in which French government policies changed over the decades, to the arguments made by the supporters of changing government actions is exemplary. As well, his sympathy with the frustrations of those working at the local level makes for entertaining as well as enlightening reading. It is clear that Mouhot's interests lie in political and governmental history, rather than sociological and cultural studies.

This intellectual bent accounts for a major shortcoming in his analysis of Acadian identity in the eighteenth century. There is very little reference to Acadian experience in North America after the Deportation. While it would be unfair to ask for the sort of archival work in the American state archives that Mouhot has done so well elsewhere, there is also little reference to secondary sources about European colonial experience published in the United States, no evidence of a read-

ing of the immense body of monographs on the early sense of a developing 'American' identity, or even of the articles more easily available in the pages of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. As a result, the fact that the Acadians had lived in a world very different from France for a minimum of five generations does not seem to be a matter for his contemplation. The consistent refusal of the majority of the Acadians to take up arms for either England or France seems, for Mouhot, to be beside the point: since the Acadians wished to speak French and to continue to be Catholic, their sense of identity must above all be grounded in an attachment to France. He rejects my own work in this area, at considerable length, as being without intellectual rigour and disappointingly unimaginative. Perhaps he might have found my writings less aggravating had he taken some time to read the publications dealing with Acadian post-Deportation experience in the American colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia, and, after 1784, in the Maritimes. Then again, perhaps not. The British historian Hugh Seton-Watson maintained that if a community considered itself to be significantly different from others, that sense of identity needed accommodation, rather than attempted assimilation, with the political framework of the majority. It is a view to which I am partial but not, I think, one that would be easily accepted by Dr Mouhot. Had he granted eighteenth-century Acadians a reasoned attachment to the earlier conditions of their lives, I think his account of Acadian reaction to France, in the 'Troisième Partie – *Jeux d'identité*' might have been more satisfactory.

N.E.S. GRIFFITHS *Carleton University*

1812: War With America. JON LATIMER. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2007. Pp. 656, US$35.00 cloth, US$18.95 paper

This is a detailed study of the War of 1812 written from a British perspective. The author, the late Jon Latimer, served as a territorial officer and reflects his experience in his presentation. He argues that American and Canadian accounts, with a few exceptions, have been characterized by a misplaced triumphalism that has contributed to a body of misleading legends. He contends that, at its simplest, the primary American goal in the war was the conquest of the Canadas. The failure to do this marks the war as an American defeat and a British success.

The book gives a comprehensive overview of virtually every event on land and at sea throughout the war. Latimer provides extensive

tactical summaries, based mostly on secondary sources, of every significant engagement and cites many other lesser events. The extent of his details sometimes masks an overall view of what he describes. His British perspective is often revealed by the shorter descriptions given of American successes in comparison to those of the British, such as Craney Island, VA (171). He is somewhat weaker in his battle analyses. For example, he presumes Baltimore would have been captured except for British 'procrastination' (324) and the death of British General Robert Ross (327). Had he given more attention to the leadership of US General Samuel Smith and his protracted measures for the city's defence, he might not reach such a conclusion. At times, Latimer is unclear in his assessments. He dismisses the US success at the Battle of the Thames (1813) as leading to no change while also calling it a 'great victory' that 'shattered the Indian confederacy' (191).

He gives full attention to naval matters, both on the high seas and inland waters. His descriptions of the naval engagements are more colourful than those of the land battles, with more personal experiences quoted. Again, he gives greater space to describing British successes. Latimer's discussion of logistical concerns at sea and on land is a welcome addition to campaign literature where the influence of medical, supply, and transportation factors is often ignored (261–8). Equally welcome is his discussion of national finances on both sides and the limitations they imposed on government choices. He does not note, however, that Jeffersonian ideologues had allowed the charter of the First Bank of the US to end in 1811. President James Madison's administration thus had to fight a war without a central financial agency. That in itself could explain American financial disarray to some extent. Latimer also gives welcome attention to events in the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi Valley regions, which are noted rarely by other authors.

The thoroughness of his research is sometimes impaired by his lack of familiarity with aspects of US history. He does not account for the Jeffersonian ideology mandating access to land for the republican yeoman farmer, instead citing slavery alone as the pre-war impetus for US expansionism (25). Additionally, in discussing the war's causes, he does not feel that the issues of maritime rights and impressment cited in President Madison's war message to Congress justified US resort to war, given the protracted Napoleonic challenge confronting Britain (2–3). He takes the position that at least since the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 the United States was abetting the Napoleonic cause. In taking his position, Latimer shows no empathy for US national interests and sovereign sensibilities.

Latimer acknowledges the trans-Allegheny American concern over Indian resistance to expansion, allegedly encouraged by the British, which justified further American desire to annex Canada. However, he does not factor War Hawk patriotism or nationalism as another contributor to belligerence. The outrage over the *Chesapeake-Leopard* Affair (1808), which spurred an American surge of militaristic patriotism, was compounded by sustained anger over the continuance of impressment. Latimer argues that British policy on this latter point was moderate, but he fails to address the arrogant manner by which the Royal Navy often carried it out (17–18). His dispassionate focus on the logic of events without considering the irrational is reflected also in his disregard for the psychological aspects of the confrontation. In this context he denigrates the Americans' calling the conflict the 'Second War of Independence' because in his view nothing changed at war's end.

Several things did happen. The British North American colonies emerged with a tradition of cooperation that ultimately led to dominion. On the US side, having been vilified justifiably for mismanaging the war, James Madison left office in 1817 with considerable popularity. People realized he had violated no constitutional principles in the crisis, proving that a republic could undergo the pressures of war without detriment to its institutions. In so doing, he dispelled one of the great remaining fears over the durability of the republic. The self-assurance gained thereby explains in part the growth of what became called Manifest Destiny and the postwar US focus away from the Atlantic, which was achieved at the expense of the Indians, some defeated by Andrew Jackson (221) and others abandoned by their erstwhile British allies (362–3). The high performance of the US Navy and the US Army's improvements, demonstrated in the Niagara Campaign, led to a grudging mutual respect that contributed to the use of diplomacy to settle differences thereafter (344, 401). Latimer's contention that the war bred a permanent anglophobia in the United States as shown by 1930s War Department contingency planning is ludicrous and distracts from his conclusions (408). As a former officer he had to be aware that staffs continually generate all sorts of plans, few of which represent national policies.

Latimer also reveals lapses in his sense for North American geography. Virtually all of the book's maps contain minor errors or insufficient detail (40, 210). In some places Latimer mentions modern trans-Allegheny US states, in others the old territorial organizations while not including all of the future states under their jurisdiction (268). He conflates distant places in the same paragraph, implying

proximity (393), and uses inaccurate geographic terms. (James Madison did not flee to the Virginia 'backcountry' [399] during the sacking of Washington, which would have been 100 miles further away than nearby Fairfax County.)

Although probably not as noticeable to a Canadian or Briton, for an American the book has a somewhat fustian tone. Latimer seems to relish quoting every possible comment on loutish, self-serving American knaves running from battle or undercutting their country's war effort in some manner. Canadian militia at Grand Gulf 'were overwhelmed and routed' (366) while Kentuckians on the Mississippi River 'ingloriously fled' (386). The reader should take this perspective into account. Many may consider it a necessary corrective to earlier works stressing only the noble and heroic, giving equally distorted versions.

All that said, this book is a prodigious effort that is one of the most inclusive recent overviews written. It is a sound reference for the military historian and places the war in a global context as few other works have done. The comprehensive notes and bibliography will be helpful to all generalists who want to follow aspects of the war in greater detail. Its perspective is bound to stimulate further worthwhile and productive discussion.

JOSEPH W.A. WHITEHORNE *Lord Fairfax Community College, Middletown, VA*

Lady Landlords of Prince Edward Island: Imperial Dreams and the Defence of Property. RUSTY BITTERMANN and MARGARET MCCALLUM. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 224, $95.00 cloth, $27.95 paper

On the heels of *Rural Protest on Prince Edward Island from British Colonization to the Escheat Movement* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), historian Rusty Bittermann has returned to the contested terrain of Prince Edward Island's 'land question,' this time in fruitful collaboration with legal scholar Margaret McCallum.

Perhaps the most impressive achievement of Bittermann and McCallum's lucid and lively monograph is that it offers new insights on an issue that has long dominated the historiography of pre-Confederation Prince Edward Island. A confluence of popular memory, political opportunism, and historical discourse long cast the land question in Manichaean terms of 'evil' absentee proprietors versus 'good' resident tenants. Modern scholarship has systematically complicated that convenient framing of the leasehold system of land tenure

that was imposed on Prince Edward Island in 1767 at the outset of British rule, quickly became a New World anachronism, engendered lasting controversy, but stubbornly persisted until 1875. The dualist construct has surrendered to a triangular relationship involving landlords, tenants, and their intermediaries, local land agents and a self-interested Island government. It is within this general paradigm that *Lady Landlords* is situated.

In *Rural Protest on Prince Edward Island*, Bittermann argued the grassroots nature of land agitation in the colony and broadened its frame of reference by linking it to reform movements in Britain and British America. *Lady Landlords* turns its attention to the opposite end of the land question spectrum, exploring the proprietorial perspective as embodied in four female landlords and arguing their central importance in the drawn-out drama that ultimately resulted in the liquidation of leasehold tenure on Prince Edward Island. Sisters Anne and Jane Saunders, the heirs of two original grantees, brought their estates into their marriages: Anne to Robert Dundas, later Viscount Melville, and Jane (unhappily) to the 10th Earl of Westmorland. Jane's daughter, Georgiana Fane, succeeded to her mother's Island property, while Charlotte Sulivan was daughter and heir of a third-generation proprietor. Her 67,000-acre estate was by the 1870s probably the largest remaining on Prince Edward Island. All these women retained some agency in the management of their estates, either by remaining single (Fane and Sulivan) or through complicated marriage settlements (patiently unpacked by McCallum's legal expertise). Each receives her own chapter, and the resulting narrative spans almost the entire leasehold era on Prince Edward Island. In the final decade of the land question, both Fane and Sulivan played leading roles, lobbying articulately, persistently, but vainly to protect their estates and their interests, and in Sulivan's case launching the last legal challenge to the legislation that expropriated her estate.

For the first time in many years, *Lady Landlords* returns biography to centre stage in discussion of the land question. In the process, it pushes both the research and the perspective off-Island, addressing the leasehold issue from the perspective of the much maligned 'absentee proprietors.' Here is the view from Great Britain, where leasehold remained in the mid-nineteenth century normative rather than anachronistic. As the title suggests, *Lady Landlords* also introduces gender into the analysis, making this one of the very few forays into gender history in the entire historiography of pre-Confederation Prince Edward Island. While temperamentally different, the lady landlords shared interests, influence, but also disabilities based on gender and social

status, but the authors are cautious about generalizations, noting how unique factors such as marital relationships, the relative importance of Island estates to individual incomes, and changing conditions could dictate differences. If it is risky to extrapolate from these four lady landlords to other female proprietors (no fewer than thirty-four of them in 1875), how much should we extend their experience to the proprietorial faction generally, or even to the absentees? Those using the study should, like the authors, exercise a measure of caution.

One of the book's more suggestive points, how condescending Colonial Office officials discounted lady landlords' opinions, exposes yet another lacuna in our understanding of the land question: shifts over time in the bureaucratic culture of the Colonial Office. As Ged Martin has shown with respect to Canadian Confederation, what was happening inside the Colonial Office had a direct bearing on how it responded to external lobbies. The same imperial bureaucracy that for generations sustained leasehold on Prince Edward Island in the end stood aside, a disillusioning blow for landlords already beset by unreliable land agents and hostile Island ministries that were, the proprietors felt, in collusion with the tenantry.

In the end, the authors provide more detail than revelation to our understanding of the proprietorial faction in the historical land question. And yet, by insightfully humanizing a group so readily demonized, they effectively rebalance the historical scales. For historians of gender, empire, or Canada, *Lady Landlords* will be a useful supplement. For historians of Prince Edward Island, it should now be added to the canon of essential reading.

EDWARD MACDONALD *University of Prince Edward Island*

The Other Quebec: Microhistorical Essays on Nineteenth-Century Religion and Society. J.I. LITTLE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. Pp. 320, $79.00 cloth, $40.00 paper

The publication of *The Other Quebec* not only solidifies J.I. Little's position as the foremost historian of Quebec's Eastern Townships. Perhaps more significantly this edited collection of essays challenges the historical profession to recognize religion as a considerable social and cultural influence in nineteenth-century rural society. Although Little's earlier writings on this Anglo-Protestant enclave concentrated on the particulars of rural society and culture, his work relied heavily on demographic analysis to determine broad social patterns in the Eastern Townships such as wealth, gender, ethnicity, and social status.

The Other Quebec eschews this approach to social history and instead utilizes religion as a prism to illuminate the complex nature of historical relationships. For Little, the intricacies of religious belief and religiosity are the primary focus of each essay in this collection, as religion is 'so important to shaping political ideology, social values, and cultural identities' (6).

In exploring the dynamics of religion and society among the anglophone Protestant minority in the Eastern Townships, Little employs the methodology of microhistory, an examination of select personal papers such as letters, diaries, and personal accounts. At its best, microhistory intimately dissects societal trends and practices, revealing the implications of historical 'interrelationships in constant movement within configurations that are in constant adaptation.' At its worst, as Little acknowledges, microhistory can retreat into pedestrian investigations of local communities, becoming mere case studies in expressions of 'anecdotal or antiquarian' historical analysis (7). Fortunately, *The Other Quebec* is an excellent source of microhistory, demonstrating the varieties and vagaries of religious experience in the nineteenth century, and how Protestant religion emerged as a crucial social force in the Eastern Townships.

The first half of the collection cuts across class and gender lines, and scrutinizes both the private and public religiosity of four families and how their religious practices and beliefs contributed to the fostering of domestic piety, class identity, gender formation, and economic behaviour. The reader is first introduced to the millenarian world of Ralph Merry, an itinerant tinware peddler, occasional farmer, and religious ecstatic. What emerges from this portrait of a religious radical is how popular religion and visionary quasi-mysticism differed completely from institutionalized belief systems of the Protestant churches in the district. Similarly, the familial bonds and fluid gender roles of 'genteel' members of the Lower Canadian *ancien régime* provide a startling contrast to the supposed impermeability of the separate spheres paradigm. The writings of Anglican clergyman James Reid and the diary of gentlewoman Lucy Peel emphasize the primacy of male domesticity and piety in the Christian home, along with a more public and cultured sociability of women than was previously imagined. Marguerite Van Die's article on the Colby family reveals that the post-Rebellion ascension of liberal-capitalism, with its industrial and commercial development and the discipline of the embryonic state, was not always a smooth transition, and religion became the anchor in a world of shifting economic, cultural, and social values. Thus, Charles Colby's moral leadership in the family and his com-

mercial theology became intrinsically interwoven in the complete Christian life.

The thematic elements in the second half of the collection are more institutional, although religion remains an underlying focal point in all four articles. Essays on Eastern Township temperance societies and on noted school inspector Marcus Child illustrate that social reform was not always an imposition stemming from ruling elites. Rather, Child often utilized persuasion and negotiation, rather than coercion, in furthering school reform among his agricultural constituency, a process duplicated by clergy-inspired temperance societies. Little therefore concludes that, at the local level at least, the forces of 'state formation and religious motivation were far from antithetical' (127). However, as the century progressed, the forces of liberal modernity and religion would tend to collide, and the resulting conflict produced fascinating social dynamics in rural communities in transition. Little's study of Adventist camp meetings and the unsolved mystery of post office theft in Kinnear's Mill uncovers the reality that religion remained a potent influence in rural communities, and in some cases could even accommodate the disruptive nature of secular modernity.

What this volume does so effectively is remind historians that religion not only played a significant role in nineteenth-century society, but that religiosity, piety, and belief systems are not just categories of historical analysis. In a very real sense, religion provided moral guidance, direction, and motivation for ordinary people as they went about living their everyday lives. *The Other Quebec* is an enduring reminder that history is first and foremost about *people*, the complexities of agency, and the mutable relationships of historical actors.

DARREN FERRY *Nipissing University*

Mennonite Women in Canada: A History. MARLENE EPP. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. Pp. 408, $24.95 paper

Marlene Epp opens her history of Mennonite women in Canada with a story about viewing an art exhibit on Old Order women in Ontario. The stereotypical Mennonite woman depicted by such images – she of bonnet, quilt, and horse and buggy – is challenged by Epp's exceptional book, which examines the lives of Mennonite women through a history of migration and settlement, household formation and family life, formal and informal labour, and religious faith. In a thorough and sensitive analysis of Mennonite women's lives, Epp argues that Mennonite women and communities are diverse in ethnicity, culture,

and religious practice, and that this diversity is shaped by constant migration and resettlement and a community understanding rooted in diaspora (25–6). Epp also argues for the importance of taking seriously the value of faith and religion in women's history. Refusing to 'shy away from' (8) attending to religious structures and experiences allows her to develop a sustained analysis of institutions that were deeply important at the level of identity formation and community life. But Epp also challenges religious historians to take seriously the ways in which theology and religious precepts were gendered, arguing that key beliefs in the Mennonite faith, such as separation from the world, submission, and non-resistance, acted upon female bodies in ways fundamentally different from men's bodies.

Epp traces the prescribed roles of Mennonite womanhood as well as their lived reality, carefully tracing the delicate line walked by women as they grappled with contradictory theological traditions. A literal reading of scriptures led to a theology of female subordination, which was reflected in dictates on plain dress, head covering, and silence in church. Conversely, the Anabaptist theological tradition of spiritual equality between men and women in Christ created the possibility for women to increase their spiritual authority in the church. These two themes of oppression and empowerment played out in complicated, messy, and ambiguous ways in Mennonite women's lives. Some women embraced principles of submission, even publicly praising the value of submission to men. Others, while embracing the Mennonite faith, protested against restrictive clothing dictates (and the double standard that allowed men more flexibility in dress) or vocally demanded opportunities to vote and lead in the church. And while the emphasis on women's responsibility for children and family could restrict individual opportunities, many women were able to bring 'beauty to the mundane' (229), and their cooking, quilting, rug hooking, and embroidery expressed personal creativity as well as commitment to the skills of homemaking. Epp brings 'insider status' (xi) to the project, but she never assumes that she automatically understands the lives of her historical subjects, many of whom, by virtue of ethnicity, class, or culture, remain as 'strangers' to her (xi). The use of oral histories and occasionally her own memories and insights to supplement church records gives the book a richness that a straightforward denominational history would not have had.

As with any good book, Epp's work points to future research and raises some interesting and provocative questions that cross national boundaries. In just one example, Epp hints that authoritarian, separatist, and biblically literalist communities are more 'prone' to domestic

violence (116), which suggests that comparative work across religious belief systems might help scholars understand the interaction among gender, religion, cultural patterns, patriarchy, and violence. And while the focus of this book is on women, her work opens up the possibility of connections between religion and masculinity. For example, the role that wives of ministers played in family formation and church politics is fascinating, and the fact that it was rare for ministers to remain unmarried suggests that marriage and family were crucial to men's sense of self, to their ability to perform religious labour, and to their understanding of their relationship with God (127). In addition, given that wives of ministers had a certain prominence within Mennonite communities, I wonder about competition between women, the role of jealousy or envy, and the place of judgment and gossip in women's organizations, especially since wives were expected to be exemplary mothers, wives, workers, and Christians. Given the focus on humility and community cohesion, grappling personally and theologically with such feelings must have been difficult. The conclusion, which looks at the impact of second-wave feminism on Mennonite women, demonstrates the need for historians to closely examine the ways in which some religious women could embrace the tenets of women's equality to push for a greater formal voice in churches, including ordination, while others publicly celebrated submission, subordination, and traditional gender roles. Historians of right-wing politics need to take seriously the complicated ways that religious women responded to modernization.

Epp's book is a model for historians integrating women's history and religious history, but the beauty of the book is that it crosses so many historiographical categories. Attentiveness to paid and unpaid labour, the structure of rural and urban communities, ethnicity and race, and transnational patterns of immigration and settlement ought to convince a wide range of historians that incorporating the religious history of Canadians into labour, women's, immigration, or family history leads to a fundamentally richer history of Canadians' lives.

LARA CAMPBELL *Simon Fraser University*

La marche des morts illustres. Benjamin Sulte, l'histoire et la commémoration. PATRICE GROULX. Gatineau: Asticou, 2008. Pp. 286

Auteur prolifique, Benjamin Sulte a aussi été très actif dans les associations d'érudits et dans de multiples activités commémoratives, à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle et au début du XX^{e}, époque qu'il désignait lui-même

comme « l'ère des statues ». Patrice Groulx fait le pari que l'étude de la pratique de cet historien éclairera les débats actuels sur la commémoration, le « devoir de mémoire » ou l'histoire nationale.

S'appuyant sur des maîtres comme Pierre Nora ou Paul Ricoeur, l'auteur présente, d'entrée de jeu, un cadre conceptuel qui définit et articule les termes histoire, mémoire, identité et commémoration. C'est bien fait et fort utile autant pour comprendre Sulte que Groulx. Si on peut distinguer l'histoire, comme activité critique et savante, de la mémoire, plus affective, on peut difficilement les opposer totalement, surtout si on accepte la responsabilité des historiens dans la fabrication de la mémoire collective. Pour sa part, Benjamin Sulte harmonise très aisément les deux, jusqu'à les confondre plus ou moins. C'est ce qui, pour moi, limite quelque peu la portée de cette étude pour approfondir la question actuelle des usages sociaux du passé. Un siècle s'est tout de même écoulé et le métier d'historien a énormément changé, ce que, bien sûr, Groulx reconnaît.

L'histoire des Canadiens-Français, publiée de 1882 à 1884, constitue sans doute l'œuvre maîtresse de Benjamin Sulte, sans être pour autant une œuvre de maître. L'auteur veut montrer qu'elle constitue la matrice savante de l'activité commémorative de Sulte. La genèse, la fabrication et le marché de l'ouvrage sont examinés minutieusement, ce qui plaira certainement aux historiens du livre. Malgré sa sympathie pour son objet d'étude, Patrice Groulx reconnaît les défauts de cet ouvrage bâclé : la chronologie est déséquilibrée (sept tomes sur huit portent sur la Nouvelle-France), le texte est décousu et farci de coquilles, plusieurs chapitres ne sont que des collages de citations d'historiens antérieurs (Charlevoix, Garneau, Ferland, etc.), les gravures sont insérées pêle-mêle, souvent sans rapport avec le texte. Sulte collectionne les documents et, en dépit de sa prétention à faire l'histoire du peuple canadien-français, l'ouvrage reste axé sur les hauts faits des élites.

À l'époque, l'accueil réservé à cet ouvrage fut assez polémique à cause de ses attaques plutôt vives contre les Jésuites : les ultramontains et Joseph-Charles Taché en tête ont grimpé aux barricades avec des arguments de nature idéologique, bien sûr, ce qui ne rendait pas l'ouvrage meilleur pour autant. Si Benjamin Sulte tentait de « s'arracher à sa réputation de journaliste rétrospectif », ce fut un échec. Il restera un « historien notateur », selon Aegidius Fauteux, voire un « cabotin », selon Guy Frégault. À mon sens, Patrice Groulx mousse un peu les qualités de son historien, qui a simplement éparpillé dans son œuvre des renseignements dûment vérifiés sur le

climat, la géographie ou encore sur les mœurs, coutumes et croyances des ancêtres.

Cependant, le principal intérêt du premier chapitre n'est pas là. Patrice Groulx décortique les ressorts de l'œuvre : Sulte veut répondre à une certaine intolérance, au dénigrement des Canadiens français par certains auteurs anglophones. Il revendique des droits égaux et, dans ce cadre, l'histoire et la mémoire collective doivent se mettre au service de la justice et déboucher inéluctablement sur la glorification des ancêtres et des élites nationales. Sans craindre les anachronismes, Sulte crédite ces ancêtres d'un « sentiment national » qui les relie directement à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Dans la mythologie sultienne, les Canadiens français poursuivent la même lutte à travers le temps : « combattre, serrer les rangs, s'enraciner », nous dit Patrice Groulx (p. 84). Écrire l'histoire à partir de faits, de documents, ou façonner la mémoire collective de ses contemporains, c'est un tout pour Sulte.

L'auteur dispose d'une généreuse documentation, mais le deuxième chapitre repose en entier sur un carnet dans lequel Sulte a minutieusement noté, entre 1896 et 1918, les personnes – il y en a près de 600 – à qui il envoyait ses œuvres et, surtout, les articles qu'il faisait paraître dans les *Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale*. Groulx a identifié plus de la moitié de ces destinataires, un petit monde francophone et anglophone, des avocats, des notaires, des membres du clergé, des gens de lettres aussi, des archivistes, des bibliothécaires et des professeurs; ils s'intéressent à l'histoire, l'écrivent dans bien des cas, se retrouvent dans des associations savantes, notamment la Société royale du Canada, et plusieurs participent à des activités commémoratives. Groulx peut établir des liens significatifs entre l'activité érudite et la pratique commémorative. Cependant, si les « commémorateurs » sont souvent des historiens – ce qui ne surprend guère – et s'ils côtoient les mêmes réseaux, cela ne signifie pas que les historiens soient majoritairement attirés par la commémoration ou qu'ils aient tous envie de « rendre hommage à la nation » (p. 160), comme l'auteur nous invite à le croire à la fin de ce chapitre.

Le dernier chapitre du livre s'intéresse à la commémoration. Du début de la décennie 1880 à la veille de sa mort en 1923, Benjamin Sulte s'active à divers projets : érection de monuments à certains fondateurs, célébration de batailles historiques, participation à des sociétés vouées à la commémoration. Il y joue des rôles très divers et cet historien narcissique va même jusqu'à donner ses propres traits aux statues de Champlain à Ottawa et de Laviolette à Trois-Rivières! Patrice Groulx n a aucun mal à montrer que la commémoration ne fait que prolonger sa recherche historique. Il note que toutes ces

célébrations ne concernent que les élites, les grands personnages que l on veut faire reconnaître et admirer par le peuple. Benjamin Sulte n'aura pas assumé bien longtemps sa soi-disant volonté de mettre le peuple au cœur de son projet historiographique. De la même manière, vers la fin de sa vie, il délaissera quelque peu le récit canadien-français pour se rapprocher du récit historique canadien tout court.

Dans ce livre fort bien écrit, on apprend beaucoup : le texte et les notes fourmillent d'érudition. Patrice Groulx termine son étude par une intéressante réflexion sur le bon usage de la mémoire. Cet excellent ouvrage intéressera certainement ceux qui s'interrogent sur l'instrumentalisation de la connaissance historique par les pouvoirs sociopolitiques dans le cadre des multiples fêtes et centenaires, dont notre époque semble friande.

FERNANDE ROY *Université du Québec à Montréal*

Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920. IAN MCKAY. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2008. Pp. 656, $49.95

The historiography of the left in Canada presents an uneven tapestry; some areas are well defined, others much less so. Largely as a result of the deep investment that mid- to late-twentieth-century socialists had in the socialist formations of the interwar period, the 1920s and 1930s have been extensively, if often problematically, explored. The preceding period of 'first formation socialism' has received less attention, largely having been seen as a prequel to the much more important stories of communism and social democracy, the dominant socialist movements of the century. Each, in its own eyes, transcended a series of shortcomings of an allegedly ineffectual and isolated pre-1920 left.

As Ian McKay effectively demonstrates in this sweeping and incisive reconnaissance into the era, a rich, first formation socialism (to use his term) set itself against the emerging liberal social order and attempted to 'reason otherwise.' McKay argues that each historical formation had its own, often quite distinct, concepts and ideals and he carefully explores the crosscurrents of ideas from Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, and especially Herbert Spencer that collectively shaped the scientifically informed, organic evolutionary socialism of the period. The impressive scope of McKay's work allows him to examine complex developments and important shifts, particularly on the eve of the

First World War. For instance, he sees in the Social Democratic Party of Canada – an organization that has never received its historical due, and whose place has often been misrepresented as simply standing to the right of the Socialist Party of Canada – a site of new politics that could provide an arena for those who wanted to develop a more inclusive strategy, both in working-class political allies and immigrant communities. It presaged both future bolshevism and social democracy, but was at the same time very much a first formation movement. Similarly, McKay's exposition of the nature of pre-war socialism, as well as the nature of the crisis of the liberal order in the last half of the war, provides an insightful view of the character of the postwar revolt. In addition, chapters specifically devoted to race, religion, and women provide insight into the diversity of the left despite themes that held it together.

It is appropriate to assess this book as a project associated with MacKay's much discussed 2000 article in this journal, 'The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History.' In particular, he pointed out the ways in which increasingly hegemonic liberal ideas and practices were challenged in Canada by a 'civic humanist' left. *Reasoning Otherwise* expands on this analysis, although the difficulties of identifying such breaks from the liberal order are apparent, partly due to the diversity of those who challenged it. Here McKay discusses not only the clearly self-identified socialist spokespeople of the day, but other voices as well: rationalist Marshal Gauvin, novelist Alice Chown, and agrarian radical E.A. Partridge. While their critiques are important and interesting responses to the liberal order, their inclusion raises the question of the place of socialism within this broad 'left.' McKay clearly makes choices, although the criteria are not always clear. He struggles valiantly to include Winnipeg radical liberal Fred Dixon in the first formation, but in general tends to exclude labourites. The latter decision is not unreasonable and McKay quite rightly notes the tendency of some labour historians, at least in the past, to downplay liberal influences within the political labour movement. However, as labourites increasingly entered into a more overt struggle with capital in the postwar labour revolt, important distinctions emerged among them. They too 'reasoned otherwise,' but they did so through a negotiation with liberalism that characterized, in fact, much of the left that McKay examines.

These issues are important because McKay ends this volume with the post–First World War revolt, which was self-consciously (and to a degree unique in Canadian history) a working-class uprising. Why

was class so central in 1919? Is the explanation found entirely in the kind of history McKay undertakes, or do we need to focus more on the ways that class and state power were exercised in this period, drawing workers together as a surprisingly unified and self-identified bloc? This historic confrontation, and its failure, requires, in the end, that sympathetic historians undertake a task that McKay's strategy of reconnaissance overtly rejects. It is, in fact, helpful to assess these experiences. In what ways did this left effectively understand and reject the liberal order framework? This does not mean that we accept the critiques of the 'second formation.' It simply means that we sharpen our own analytic tool to understand the multiple and varied ways in which liberalism creates its opponents. McKay's book is a crucial contribution to this task.

JAMES NAYLOR *Brandon University*

The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925, with a new introduction. MARIANA VALVERDE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008. Pp. 208, $27.95 paper

The reissue of *The Age of Light, Soap and Water* with a new introduction presents an opportunity to revisit an influential and engaging analysis of the language of the social purity movement, its promulgators and their institutions, and the role of all in the production of Canadian nationalism in turn-of-the-twentieth-century English Canada. Many of us first encountered the book in graduate school. Its critical deconstructionist effect gripped a cohort of doctoral candidates who both swirled in the methodological difficulties of the 'linguistic turn,' and coped white-knuckled with the irrevocable challenges of literary post-structuralism to the stolid world of historiography. In spite of the volatile and frequently vitriolic debates over historiography (and teleology and deontology), it is invigorating to hope, but difficult to evaluate sincerely, that fine studies such as Mariana Valverde's have benefited historical inquiry.

To begin affirmatively, by drawing our attention to the 'the rhetorical "excess"' of English-Canadian moral reformers, Valverde teaches us to consider how 'overblown' discourse and symbolism demonstrated 'the historically specific way[s]' they 'were connected to social practices' (34). For example, in the chapter titled 'The Work of Allegories,' Valverde argues that the social purity movement employed tropes, especially of 'light' – candlelight, sunlight, searchlight – to evoke Protestant values and virtues and to make them both prying

and beacon-like tools of reform. Later, in 'The City as Moral Problem,' Valverde's perusal of primary reform literature reveals these same tropes and signifiers in housing critiques: Toronto's medical officer of health, Charles Hastings, reported insufficient lighting as an attribute of 'slum' housing, one of a number of design flaws that were 'a danger to public morals.' In ascribing 'moral deviance to physical objects' (133), reformers reified reform tropes in their assessments of the physical city, something Valverde anticipates in the preface: 'This is not to suggest that verbal signs and pictures *create* certain social relations; it is rather to demonstrate that practical social relations are always mediated and articulated through linguistic and non-linguistic signifying practices' (xi).

Useful as such discourse analysis is to 'critique,' the search for signifying practices tends to concentrate the traditional historian's vexation over the historiographical use of the 'tools of literary theory' (x). And while the merits of literary post-structuralism in historical analysis abound, so do its demerits. For example, even as Valverde deconstructs the 'rhetorical tropes' (x) animating social purity reformers, deconstruction is a relentlessly reflexive and ironic mode of analysis (deconstruction, we now know, deconstructs all texts *and* authors, remorselessly). Given this, what should we make of Valverde's accusatory assessment of *Pall Mall Gazette* muckraker, and white slavery activist, W.T. Stead: '[His] journalistic gaze having penetrated the bewildered girl, Stead turned around and walked out of the room' (91)? Or of her analysis of Lord's Day Alliance ideologue, the Rev. John G. Shearer, whose Sabbatarian brutishness evoked this moralizing editorial: 'Shearer comes closer than any other figure … to the stereotype of moral reformer keen on prohibiting pleasures and uninterested in people's welfare' (54)? Or this interpretation of Methodist Church director S.D. Chown's putative masturbatory preconception of immigrants: 'The nation's blood is here unconsciously linked [by Chown] to the semen individual men and boys constantly were admonished not to "dribble away"' (106)? Perhaps Chown waxed Freudian. Perhaps Shearer hated people. Perhaps Stead journalistically and visually raped the pitiable Eliza Armstrong. The 'historical truth' of Valverde's assertions is surely not the critical theoretical point. Rather, it is that her own moralizing and psychoanalyzing intimates a dependency on tropic, rhetorical truth-telling that demands deconstructing, urges suspicion and perhaps patent dismissal. So goes the 'freeplay' of texts and signifiers in a literary post-structuralist world.

This bit of postmodern cleverness, however, deliberately misses the point – of not only what is an insightful book, but also one that deftly

employs the language and critical judgment of social justice – to make another. Deconstruction as historiography is ultimately untenable for the writing of history, 'since what you say will be no more than a passing product of the signifier and so in no sense [can] be taken as "true" or 'serious"' (Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983], 145). Worse, deconstruction's ontological instability allows nay-sayers of social justice to ignore or twist history and its lessons. I think *The Age of Light, Soap and Water* is 'serious' history, but worry that its aimless critical tool engenders its own irrelevance (cf. Bruno Latour, 'Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern,' *Critical Inquiry* 30 [2004]: 225–48). Hence the historiographical – modern – dilemma: if method equals paradox, what could 'benefit' possibly mean?

PHILLIP GORDON MACKINTOSH *Brock University*

Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objectors in Canada during the First World War. AMY J. SHAW. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009. Pp. 264, $85.00 cloth, $32.95 paper

Perhaps the loneliest man in the wars of the twentieth century was the conscientious objector. He was conscripted, coerced, abused, and ridiculed as a coward, an idiot, and a traitor. Yet in Canada the government offered specific groups exemptions from military service, and tribunals where they could make their case for exemption. Over 300,000 hearings were held under the Military Service Act (MSA), and 86,000 exemptions granted. Of those denied, about 42,000 appealed to Justice Lyman Duff, half of them successfully. Whatever their personal sincerity, the rest were refused, for their religious communities were not listed in the Military Service Act. They claimed obedience to a higher authority than the Crown, to obey God rather than governments. Their otherworldliness exhausted the patience of many military officers and NCOs who too often turned to the bully boys.

Amy Shaw's examination of the stark realities of these Canadian objectors, especially those not protected by the MSA, is a welcome addition to Canadian historical writing. Her task was not easy: Justice Lyman Duff and his assistant threw away the tribunal records after the war – enough to make any historian seek easier pickings. Instead, Shaw developed a matrix of newspaper accounts, military records (especially those of objectors forced into service), and scholarly studies done in the United States and Great Britain, producing an illuminat-

ing table of conscientious objectors, and criteria by which to examine them. She begins with the Mennonites, Doukhobors, Quakers, and Amish singled out in the MSA as exempt. Canada kept its pledge to these groups, even though it so badly needed men in early 1918 that it broke its promise to farmers and their sons. Other pacifist religious groups not named in the Act had to lobby on their own for recognition as 'peace churches.' Most of this was in vain, especially for International Bible Students, later known as Jehovah Witnesses. Few tribunal judges, newspaper columnists, or local officials had much patience for their objections. Christadelphians made the case successfully that their movement was organized as a pacifist denomination in the United States during the Civil War. Their church was added to the MSA list, though members already conscripted met with very harsh treatment in uniform and in prison, while Plymouth Brethren, Tunkers, and Pentecostals, like the Bible Students, received short shrift.

The objectors who were perhaps the most abandoned in the dock were those belonging to the mainstream churches: Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist. These bodies were anything but peace churches in the Great War, and all had jettisoned their naive pacifism to proclaim the war an apocalyptic crusade. Already influenced by the cult of religious manliness, they had little good to say of their brethren who took a pacifist stand. Their position was simply denounced as selfish, wrong, effeminate, and treasonous. Their fate was to be pariahs: undefended in tribunals, supported only by families and friends, vilified in the press, ignored by their denominations or condemned by them. Here Shaw depicts the all-consuming and co-opting nature of total war. For a liberal society to justify war, wrote Michael Howard, it must view the war as a crusade. Shaw vividly describes how public crusading by their own communions hemmed them in. Only towards the end of the war did the press turn away its wrath, expressing admiration for those who had stuck to their principles. Perhaps one of the greatest legacies of the war was the bad conscience about treatment of religious objectors, and how it motivated both peace church leaders and the government of Canada to offer more reasonable alternative service in the Second World War. Conscientious objectors, too, learned from their history, organizing far more effectively than in the First World War. Thus, Shaw is persuasive when she claims that the Great War objectors had been in the vanguard of individual rights in Canada, judging by the room for manoeuvre granted objectors in the Second World War.

This is a scholars' book. The bibliography reflects wide reading not only in Canadian sources but in other related international scholar-

ship, and the notes often are themselves miniature essays. The writing is clear but the book is sometimes slow reading, as theological, sociological, and political terminologies intrude on the narrative. The lack of images (what did these men *look* like?), or newspaper clippings and pamphlets is regrettable. This study makes a timely arrival during Canada's involvement in Afghanistan. Shaw's work teaches that conscientious objectors helped ensure that Canadians will not experience conscription again. In this way, they were both activists in and perpetuators of the long Canadian argument about freedom, justice, war, and the role of government that continues today.

DUFF CRERAR *Grand Prairie Regional College*

Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg. ESYLLT W. JONES. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp 240, $65.00 cloth, $27.95 paper

At a moment when a novel influenza virus circles the globe, and the world braces against the next influenza pandemic, *Influenza 1918* is a timely study with tremendous historical and social potential. Drawing on an address given at the height of the 1918 epidemic, by social gospeller, the Reverend A.E. Smith, Professor Esyllt Jones argues that 'epidemics and social revolution are two sides of a coin, both metaphorically and experientially … Influenza destroyed lives and put a crack in the social order; it also spun the web of solidarity and generated a theatre of collectivity' (175). A close, contained analysis of one Canadian community's experience with the worst flu yet known, the book probes the ways in which influenza was an agent of social change.

In Winnipeg, the 1918 influenza pandemic provoked multiple changes. The book chapters examine, sequentially, transformations in public health organization and practice, voluntarism and community activism, workplaces and unions, and families. Each chapter circles the arrival of influenza in Winnipeg. From this common starting point, Jones articulates diverse public and private responses to disease. She tracks the ways in which flu entered Winnipeg then spread, provoking fear as deaths continued to mount, even as the intensity of the outbreak waned, making 'every citizen a health officer' and creating the need for both professional and voluntary nursing services. Most compellingly and interestingly, she draws attention to the ways in which fear of infection shaped paid and unpaid work. Immigrant and working-class families, particularly the women among them, become

the focus of this study. When quarantines closed workplaces and left many without a decent family wage, the absence of work and presence of disease created new tensions within the household. Jones deals compassionately with death and portrays the grief of families suddenly left smaller. Public health records, newspapers, government documents, and letters illustrate the impacts of the epidemic. Theory from health, social, and labour historians, anthropologists, and cultural critics situates an analysis that Jones describes as multidisciplinary. While the common starting point of the chapters underscores the diverse ways in which influenza in particular, and disease more generally, stresses communities, it also creates some chronological ambiguity and confusion. The timeline of events is not always clear. Similarly, Jones enriches her work by interweaving secondary and primary materials with her own analysis, but the lines among these sometimes blur.

Influenza 1918 is a significant book for three reasons. Because the history of infectious disease in Canada is understudied, it makes an immediate substantive contribution. Jones's introduction, which reviews the extensive international literature on influenza and summarizes existing Canadian studies, makes a clear, strong case for her contribution. Here, in the conclusion, and even in the subtitle of the book (death, disease, and struggle) this work's relationship to histories of health, disease, and medicine is emphasized. Yet one of the most original and compelling aspects of *Influenza 1918* is its focus on work and the working class. Unlike other historians of influenza, Jones probes and underscores the disease's intersections with economic crisis and labour unrest. She reminds us that the pandemic coincided with the emergence of revolutionary and reformist movements around the world. In Winnipeg, 1918 was the year of both the influenza pandemic and the General Strike; these events, Jones boldly suggests, were connected. This is an important observation. Equally important is Jones's identification of the sharp disciplinary divisions that have allowed Canadian historians to overlook or avoid health and disease, so that it is possible to read the rich history of the Winnipeg General Strike 'and have no idea at all that during the winter of 1918–19 … working people were simultaneously confronting a devastating disease' (89).

Influenza 1918 issues a challenge to historians and to analysts of other influenza pandemics. Most historians, epidemiologists, and demographers who have studied 1918 would argue that, unlike other epidemic infections, influenza was not a disease of poverty. The pandemic was devastating because it was democratic and indiscriminate.

By situating her work in ethnic, working-class Winnipeg, Jones offers different historical interpretations and approaches. The importance she ascribes gender, class, and ethnicity seems forced sometimes. Titles and subheadings, such as 'Volunteers and Victims: Women's Relief and the Social Order,' '"Men Cannot Be Allowed to Starve": Influenza and Organized Labour,' or 'Widows and Their Families' belie the complexity of a history in which voluntarism cut across class lines, labour organizing included women and men, and death created both widowers and widows. Nonetheless, Jones's analysis and her illustration of the intersections between economic, physical, and social health are compelling. Canadians, not just Canadian historians, might heed her warning that, when it comes to the flu, some groups are more vulnerable than others, and this vulnerability can become a force of either social division or community cohesion.

GEORGINA FELDBERG *York University*

Managing Canada's Fisheries: From Early Days to the Year 2000. JOSEPH GOUGH. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 512, $55.00

One of the hardest challenges in writing history is organizing one's material. Joseph Gough, a former editor of fisheries publications and director of communication in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, has opted to follow a chronological rather than a thematic approach in his *Managing Canada's Fisheries*. This gives his work both its greatest strength and most obvious weakness. It is a challenging read as there are no overarching themes beyond fish, fisheries, and management attempts. By following Canada's fisheries from before First Contact to the present, however, Gough gives the most comprehensive history since Harold Innis's seminal work, albeit in an format easier for extracting information. Gough documents Canada's many fisheries in a series of temporal cross-sections, relating their kind and nature, catch data, and the numbers of fishers, boats, and fisheries settlements; he also provides political, social, environmental, technological, and economic contexts influencing fishers' actions. Gough explains how actions by national governments, ministers and their deputies, senior administrators, fisheries officers, and scientists altered the destinies of fish populations and the people who depend upon them.

Gough divides his book by era (in six sections) and region. Each era is introduced with an overview of Canada's fisheries, international

trade, disputes, international fishing conventions, and economic exclusion zones. Then come chapters sequentially dedicated to the Atlantic region, the Maritimes and Quebec, Newfoundland, and British Columbia (the Pacific). Freshwater fisheries get only one chapter, since they came under provincial control between 1898 and 1922. For the Atlantic region there is some repetition, but it is offset by the quantity of really valuable information within a well-described context. Not surprisingly, the distant past gets less attention. The pre-Confederation period takes eighty-four pages; the five later sections of roughly the same number of pages cover progressively shorter periods, divided by significant events such as the two world wars and creation of the 200-mile economic exclusion zones.

Although Gough has a history MA, his scientific background and choice of publisher has resulted in textbook format, with two columns per page, many photographs, and some graphs. The photographs are wonderful, illustrating social conditions, people at work, fishing gear, and fisheries managers. Boxed-off sections reproduce historical documents or give anecdotes to illustrate points in the text. Surprisingly, Gough incorporates lists of catch data, incomes, vessel sizes, etc., in the text. One wonders why these data were not put into tables to improve narrative flow. Each chapter is subdivided by fishery, gear changes, and social and administrative changes. Disconcertingly, the subheadings read like newspaper headlines, announcing for the 1790s, 'Seal Fisheries Employs Thousands' (52), and so on.

Gough is weak on inter-war science, stating incorrectly that the Biological Board of Canada's scientists played a minimal role in Department of Marine and Fisheries policies. However, he successfully addresses social issues, including the treatment of Native and Japanese fishers on the West Coast, giving personal experiences of those who suffered under discriminatory policies. His sympathetic narrative of First Nations fishers puts the effects of their recently won fishing rights into the overall scheme of Department of Fisheries and Oceans management.

His strengths lie in his descriptions of postwar fisheries and the department's management decisions and choices, which until too recently have been reactive. Certain fishery ministers, like Romeo Leblanc and Brian Tobin, are the subjects of the most entertaining passages, but some important issues are dealt with in a cursory fashion. Gough shows how the department has worked hard to balance changing needs of different fishery participants with stock conservation; he knows many recent fishery scientists and managers – providing original quotes from personal communications – and his participation in

later events gives cogency to his explications. Gough also offers the intimidated layperson a simple and welcome explanation of basic fishing equations and scientific approaches to fisheries management.

Although many of the photographs are archival, Gough did not use archival texts. Nevertheless, he painstakingly researched a wealth of published sources. This, combined with his personal experience, provides a fact-laden narrative for which historians of any period in Canadian history will be grateful. *Managing Canada's Fisheries* will serve as a great short-cut for providing a fisheries context to regional, social, or political history. Gough's conclusion that 'What fish we have, we owe to [the federal fisheries department]' (472) is not as outrageous as it first appears. His measured approach situates various fisheries catastrophes – even the Grand Banks groundfish stock collapses – within a broad perspective and paints a less bleak picture than most sources: historically, the fisheries have always been in crisis, and yet they survive and some even prosper.

JENNIFER HUBBARD *Ryerson University*

Lost Tracks: Buffalo National Park, 1909–1939. JENNIFER BROWER. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008. Pp. 184, $29.95 paper

Canada's national parks are such permanent fixtures of the public imagination that it is politically almost impossible for the government to remove individual sites from the system. Yet prior to the advent of the environmental movement in the 1970s, the federal government did divest itself of individual national parks in some rare cases, including three antelope preserves from locations spread throughout the prairie landscape (because the species had largely recovered).

Jennifer Brower's *Lost Tracks* traces the history of the fourth and most important of these ephemeral protected areas, Buffalo National Park near Wainwright, Alberta. Founded in 1911, the park became home to a large bison herd the Canadian government purchased from two Americans, a cross-border conservation coup that suddenly placed Canada in control of the largest publicly owned plains bison herd in the world.

Many conservation historians have celebrated this triumphal moment of Canadian bison conservation supremacy, but Brower's work accounts for the rise *and* subsequent fall of this iconic protected area. Her book provides a richly detailed and thoroughly researched account of management problems and inconstancies that emerged after 1911, particularly the transformation of the key conservation issue from

bison scarcity to overabundance as predator-control policies and a fenced range led to a population explosion in the herds. Attempts to deal with the population problem, Brower argues, led to further detrimental management interventions, especially the disastrous transfer of 7,000 plains bison and their attendant diseases of tuberculosis and brucellosis from the Wainwright park to Wood Buffalo National Park in northern Alberta. And in case you thought the park represented an altruistic attempt to save the remnant population of a dying species, Brower documents park managers' attempts to cash in on the bison herds by selling excess bison meat as a scheme to generate revenue, attracting tourists through the construction of a wildlife menagerie, and through bizarre (and unsuccessful) experiments to produce the perfect range animal in the form of a cattle-bison hybrid called the cattalo or the beefalo. By the late 1930s, Brower suggests, the park had become a shadow of its original purpose, with a large population of diseased and hungry bison vying for limited food on an over-grazed range. In 1939 the parks' staff slaughtered all remaining bison and turned the site over to the military for training.

As compelling as this narrative may be, some readers might be scared off by Brower's narrow focus on an individual national park. But *Lost Tracks* is an exemplary example of a micro-history writ large, in this case on a canvas of national and international histories of wildlife conservation. Brower's work echoes the many recent environmental histories that reveal the strange combination of idealism and crass commercial motives fuelling the early wildlife conservation movement, and accounts for the profound and at times tragic failure of this movement to overcome its own philosophical limitations when restoring plains bison to one small patch of Alberta prairie. Perhaps most importantly, the author's position as interpreter at the historical centre commemorating the existence of the park gives her a passion for the subject matter that is obvious in every one of the book's main chapters.

That being said, Brower might have gone further with her very brief conclusions. She argues that the history of Buffalo National Park is relevant to the contemporary world because it serves as background to ongoing disease-management problems in Wood Buffalo National Park. While this is certainly true in factual terms, it diverts attention from the main object of study. Brower might have taken a few more pages to discuss how the commercial orientation of Buffalo National Park fits into a wider pattern of bison commercialization in North America. The US historian Andrew Isenberg has argued that the bison conservationists largely failed in their efforts to save the spe-

cies as free-ranging animals because they could not muster the political will to set aside a large enough area of prairies to support them. Thus most bison today live on commercial ranches, or in tiny fenced public parks designed to segregate semi-wild bison from the surrounding landscape of domesticated ranches. Brower could have discussed in broader terms how the story of Buffalo National Park fits with this larger narrative of containing and exploiting wild animals in western North America.

Lost Tracks will nevertheless appeal to anyone with even a passing interest in national parks, wildlife conservation, or the plains bison. Not only is it a highly readable history of one of Canada's forgotten national parks, it is a solidly researched contribution to the broader and often problematic history of human interactions with the non-human world.

JOHN SANDLOS *Memorial University of Newfoundland*

Kiumajut (Talking Back). PETER KULCHYSKI and FRANK JAMES TESTER Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Pp. 336, $85.00 cloth, $32.95 paper

The twentieth century was a time of social upheaval for the Inuit of what is today Nunavut. Grappling with modern dominion over its arctic territories, the Canadian government ushered in an era of scientific wildlife management shaped around regimes to protect species deemed 'at risk' from over-hunting by Inuit. *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* by Peter Kulchyski and Frank James Tester offers rich insights into this episode in Canadian and Inuit history. Through detailed archival and oral history research, the authors explore how harvesting arctic game, such as muskox, caribou, polar bear, walrus, and species of migratory birds, became thoroughly regulated and restricted by federal officialdom. Inuit hunting families, historically dependent on those animal populations for survival, were faced with a stark choice: break the law or go hungry.

This is the authors' second book setting out to analyze the application of Western governmental, administrative, scientific, and legal systems in the Canadian Arctic, and expose their incongruities. The earlier work, *Tammarniit (Mistakes) Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (1994), explains the growth of a state apparatus and the expansion of social welfarism in the Arctic. *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* – considered an accompaniment rather than a sequel to their previous account – relates in poignant detail a series of incidents where arctic administrators failed to take Inuit environmental relationships into

consideration when developing new game laws and ordinances. For Inuit, bureaucratic and managerial practices were often difficult to digest and even tragic in consequence. Denied independent economic livelihoods, and yet embedded within modernist wildlife-management regimes, many had to rely on patronage from the state. *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* dissects this modernization and asks how it was that the Canadian government, save for a powerful paternalistic rhetoric, failed to develop a policy to support an Inuit hunting economy.

The disregard shown to Inuit traditional environmental knowledge in the development of arctic wildlife-management regimes remains a key problematic for contemporary arctic scholars and Inuit alike. Kulchyski and Tester draw upon combinations of neo-Marxist and post-structuralist critical theory to interpret this shortcoming. The first part of the book tells of the growth of a modernist regime in the Canadian Arctic in the early to mid-twentieth century. Discourses of modernity, found in detailed government reports, working papers, committee minutes, memos, and correspondences are deployed to show how a 'totalizing state structure' engaged in an 'ethnocentric science game,' employed (often inaccurate) surveys of animal populations and (disputed) reports of 'wanton slaughters' by Inuit to rationalize its regulation of indigenous subsistence practices. Alongside their discussion of institutionalized discourses of hegemony, case studies and oral and written testimonies from individual Inuit are also used to reveal instances of what the authors describe as praxis, counter-hegemony, or the logic of resistance. Official documentation reveals how certain government agents supported and enforced strict game restrictions, while others did not. The reaction of Inuit subjects was similarly equivocal. Some hunters succumbed. Others, forced to feed their families, chose to ignore, overlook, or openly defy ordinances, despite threats, fines, and jail sentences.

In the second part of the book, Kulchyski and Tester describe the emergence of a political consciousness movement in the Arctic as hunters, eager to voice discontent with game laws and protect themselves from penalties, learned to navigate new governmental, bureaucratic terrains. The chapters detail how, in an effort to develop and manage their own communities, Inuit experimented with and eventually appropriated Western democratic forms and a discourse of indigenous rights in order to engage in dialectical relationships with a state apparatus that variously denied their existence or outlawed their way of life.

The book has a number of real strengths. Kulchyski and Tester review a wealth of the grey literature covering a lengthy period in Canadian Arctic history. For readers who have found themselves trawling reports, letters, policy papers, and memos in national and local archives, this account in invaluable. The authors offer routes through a network of paper trails left by Arctic colonial administrators. Notably, quotations and vignettes drawn from the archives, and analysis of this material, offer insights into the humanity and compassion shown by some government officials. Indeed, the biographies in *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* illustrate how crucial decisions on how to deal with an increasingly impoverished arctic in the mid-twentieth century could come down to the individual dispositions of key agents – administrators, judges, anthropologists, politicians, and Inuit. These worked to diverse mandates and approached arctic wildlife management in different ways. Finally, the inclusion of Inuit voices in this historical account offers a much-needed dialogical element to known history and a correction to standard accounts of Arctic history.

The colonial dialogues that make up twentieth-century Canadian Arctic history are incredibly complex and variegated. Critical theory can be a significant aid to interpretation, although its use can also lead to an over-reading of empirical data. The story of an RCMP corporal smashing a drum to prevent a drum dance may well be an act of totalization, domination, and hegemony. By another reading, it might be one bushed colonial agent losing all perspective on events. Similarly, a family feeding an RCMP constable a meal of swan meat (a restricted species) may have been an act of resistance for everyone present. Or were some individuals simply hungry or sharing enjoyment of the meat? There are innumerable interpretations of historical events. All in all, the book raises interesting and exciting questions for future discussion. *Kiumajut (Talking Back)* recounts a telling episode of Arctic colonialism, one shaped through the brutal machinery and calculating logic of modern bureaucracy. It is a crucial addition to the literature on Arctic colonial history.

NANCY WACHOWICH *University of Aberdeen, Scotland*

Neighbours and Networks: The Blood Tribe in the Southern Alberta Economy, 1884–1939. W. KEITH REGULAR. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2008. Pp. 240, $34.95

The Kainai or the Blood people once shared the vast plains regions of southern and central Alberta with other nations of the Blackfoot Con-

federacy before signing Treaty 7 in 1877. Much was recorded about their roles as prominent buffalo hunters and traders in the voluminous Hudson's Bay Company's archives. Their colourful and charismatic leaders like Red Crow and Medicine Calf along with their involvement in treaty negotiations have entered the ken of popular historians of Canada. These historical sources, however, have captured the Kainai largely as a people of the nineteenth century. A keen and curious student of Native history then may wonder what happened to them in the twentieth century. W. Keith Regular's *Neighbours and Networks* provides some answers to this question. It is indeed a welcome addition both to the genre of much-neglected twentieth-century Native history, in particular that of Native labour, which Rolf Knight pioneered, and to the local economic history of southern Alberta.

Similar in approach to the accounts of labour historians, *Neighbours and Networks* is roughly divided into occupational categories, in which the Kainai workers were actively engaged from 1884 to 1939, including coal mining, grazing, haying, freighting, and sugar beet farming. All these jobs were connected to the interests and aspirations of neighbouring newcomers, including those at the NWMP station at Fort Macleod and at Mormon settlements. According to Regular, the year 1884 was significant not only because the Kainai Reserve was set aside but also because it signalled the end of the traditional Native economy, which was soon 'supplanted by developed capitalism' (11). The 'integration' of the Kainai into the local economy resulted in the creation of a new partnership between local businesses and Kainai workers, and the Kainai workers played prominent roles in the development of the local economy at least until the onset of the Second World War.

Situated in the heart of the ranching empire that thrived in the late nineteenth century, the Kainai Reserve attracted many ranching entrepreneurs who wanted to lease or illegally enter the reserve to deal with their overgrazing problems. The Kainai and their Indian agent constantly sought better-paid and more secure lease agreements with ranching companies. The Kainai also supplied a large amount of hay to those off-reserve ranchers and to the NWMP. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Kainai's significant contribution to the ranching industry was noted by the local newspaper that described them as the 'hay maker[s] of southern Alberta' (86). Their freighting services included not only hay deliveries but also deliveries of coal produced on the reserve.

Just outside the reserve, emerging Mormon settlements, especially Raymond, began extensive irrigation agriculture, chiefly growing sugar beets. Kainai labourers were indispensable to sustain this labour-intensive enterprise for the first twelve years or so. Although there

were new skills to be acquired, the Kainai quickly learned them and became successful workers. Some early Kainai entrepreneurs such as Prairie Chicken earned an independent contract to produce beets in ten-acre off-reserve plots.

Apart from documenting these labour activities, Regular examines the Kainai as consumers. The income from agriculture and the Treaty 7 annuities were the main source of the Kainai's purchasing power. Local non-Native merchants gave the Kainai credit in the hope of getting paid back soon after annuity payment day. However, things did not unfold as the merchants expected, and debts often remained unpaid for years. In his conclusion, Regular imaginatively claims that the 'shopping spree' the Kainai engaged in after receiving treaty payments was akin to the buffalo hunt. Now the general store replaced the hunt, and beef from the store replaced buffalo meat. 'True, whites largely drove the economy,' Regular contends, but the Kainai successfully responded to changes in it (173).

Overall, Regular reveals some interesting strategies the Kainai developed for coping with economic change, but he does so largely through the eyes of the Indian agent. In fact, he defends the Indian agent's roles as having been genuinely benevolent. This perspective often leads Regular to misinterpret Kainai behaviour. For example, he claims that the Kainai abandoned the backbreaking labour in the sugar beet fields at treaty payment time because the treaty annuity gave cash to the Kainai 'free for the taking' (112). The Kainai and other Treaty 7 signatory nations considered treaty payment as far more politically and culturally significant than getting cash. The reader also needs to know that the term *networks*, which Regular uses for the title of this book without providing discussion or definition, is actually a very important term to describe the relationship between the Kainai and surrounding people, including the Piikani and Siksika, their traditional partners. These networks await documentation in future studies.

KENICHI MATSUI *University of Tsukuba*

Ontario's African-Canadian Heritage: Collected Writings by Fred Landon, 1918–1967. Edited by KAROLYN SMARDZ FROST, BRYAN WALLS, HILARY BATES NEARY, and FREDERICK H. ARMSTRONG. Toronto: Dundurn, 2009. Pp. $320, $28.99

This collection is commemorative in two respects. First, it commemorates the foundational scholarship of turn-of-the-century historian Fred Landon, a prolific author of the African-Canadian experience in

the era of the Underground Railroad. Second, this collection, commissioned in 2007 by the Government of Ontario, commemorates the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire.

This book, according to its editors, is a homage to the pioneering work of one of the most important scholars of black Canadian history – one who wrote for both popular and scholarly audiences – a recognition of Landon's 'personal support for Black activism' (21), and an opportunity to reflect upon Landon's work on the Underground Railroad, 'the first great freedom movement in the Americas' (15). The collection includes Landon's most significant work on the Abolitionist movement, the social history of black settlers in the mid-nineteenth century, and the role that these settlers played in geopolitical struggles of empires where the legal status of these former slaves lay at the heart of these contests.

The strength of the collection is its excavation of an important body of work. Though Landon's writings are fairly well known to specialists of black Canada and pre-Confederation history, this collection introduces them to a wider audience, and that is important because Landon's work framed many of the questions that shaped the field over the next century. The editors have also thoughtfully appended an extensive – but not exhaustive – bibliography of nineteenth-century black Ontario history.

Nonetheless, the collection's unreflective emphasis on the celebratory and the commemorative is its weakness. While it is true that edited collections routinely pay tribute to the work of singularly important scholars, only a rather one-sided view of Landon's work can necessarily emerge from a state-sponsored initiative seeking to celebrate the history of blacks as Canadian nation builders and, by extension, Canada as a haven where blacks' contribution to this nation-building project could germinate and flourish.

This book includes no fewer than three introductions, none of which lays out the critical questions and issues that would interest conscientious professional and community-based historians wishing to gauge the strength and weaknesses of Landon's work and wanting a nuanced appraisal of his professional life. Instead, we are presented with biographical sketches of Landon's life through anecdotes. A more balanced appraisal of Landon's work and his limitations would have been useful. His contemporaries Arthur Lower and Harold Innis, for example, were both better writers and more accomplished thinkers. In addition to the obvious factor of the racism – institutional and overt – that characterized Canadian academe at that time, what role might Landon's limitations have played in black Canadian history's sub-

sequent trajectory as a marginalized sub-field? The passivity of black Canadians in much (not all) of Landon's work is not addressed by the editors, nor is his tendency to emphasize white male beneficence as the driving force behind much (again not all) of the history of black Canadians. More troubling, we are not told how Landon, a professed 'freedom fighter' (15), might have been influenced by his years of tutelage under his graduate supervisor and mentor, U.B. Phillips, the influential historian of the antebellum south who is well known for his less than flattering views of peoples of African descent. Nor are we given any sense of how or why Landon came to have an association with H.A. Tanser, an obscure but paradoxically influential educational psychologist and proponent of eugenicist thought who wrote extensively on the mental inferiority of the descendants of the very populations Landon studied. Tanser's research was supported by his extensive use of Landon's private library. Landon never rebuked Tanser's work in print and even favourably reviewed it in this journal.

This is not an attempt to malign Landon, nor fall into the trap of smugly judging his work from a twenty-first-century perch of moral superiority; he deserves his due as a pioneering scholar of black Canadian history and this collection certainly gives him that. Nonetheless, on the dust jacket of this collection, distinguished historian James W. St G. Walker reminds us Landon's work 'reflected the time in which he lived and wrote.' Precisely. It is a pity more of this sort of even-handed analysis of Landon's legacy, warts and all, was not forthcoming from the editors of this important and timely collection.

BARRINGTON WALKER *Queen's University*

Renegades: Canadians in the Spanish Civil War. MICHAEL PETROU. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Pp. 304, $85.00 cloth, $25.95 paper

The story of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion ('the Mac-Paps') and of the other volunteers from Canada who fought for the republican side in the Spanish Civil War (1936–9) has been told in several books and celebrated in films (*Los Canadienses*), theatre, poetry, and memoirs. Yet, given the important new historical scholarship on the Spanish Civil War – not to speak of the startling recent developments including Spain's Law of Historical Memory (2007), the discovery of mass graves of Franco's victims, and the breaking of many silences imposed by fascism – a fresh take on the Canadian volunteers located within these contexts is very much needed.

The latest book-length treatment of the Mac-Paps, the first in many years, comes from *Maclean's* writer Michael Petrou, who has turned his Oxford dissertation into *Renegades: Canadians in the Spanish Civil War*. While *Renegades* discusses important new evidence not available to earlier researchers, the book is essentially a 'battle, brigade, and battalion' military history concentrating on the key fights with which the Mac-Paps are associated. Here, *Renegades* does not depart much from the focus of the existing literature, including Victor Hoar and Mac Reynolds's *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion* (1969) and William C. Beeching's (himself a Civil War veteran) *Canadian Volunteers: Spain, 1936–1939* (1989).

In other respects, Petrou offers something new. He draws on the extensive archive of veteran interviews created by Hoar's researcher, Mac Reynolds, and supplements these with additional interviews of about a dozen surviving veterans, some of whom have since died. The book's chief contribution, however, is that it is the first to appear since the declassification of materials on the International Brigades within the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, now available on microfilm at Library and Archives Canada and at the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives in New York City. (Petrou looked at these and not the Moscow originals.) He also draws on the RCMP files to reveal what will surprise few Canadian historians but is important to establish: that the security services had the Mac-Paps under surveillance from the earliest days of recruitment right into the 1980s, whereupon it was decided that a ragtag bunch of eighty-year-olds were unlikely to lead an insurrection in Canada. Indeed, the lifelong hounding of the veterans was linked to the unforgivable abandonment of Spain itself by the 'democratic' countries in 1936 and in the decades after Franco's victory.

As for the extensive declassified sources from the Moscow archives, Petrou uses them to fill out more of the profile (birth and death dates, ethnicity, occupation) of those who went to Spain. While previous researchers had compiled partial lists of volunteers, Petrou's database (in the book's appendix) is very likely the most complete. Petrou also uses these sources both to tease out some aspects of the veterans' relationship to Communism and to show how they were ideologically rated in Spain by Party authorities. Those who went to Spain from Canada were a proletarian 'motley crew;' many were immigrants from Europe who in many cases had no permanent home, no permanent job, and no permanent country. It is in this sense that they should be regarded as true 'internationals' rather than 'Canadian' volunteers who can be politically incorporated into a national narrative.

Diverse ideologically, most volunteers were on the far left (including Trotskyists, Communists, Wobblies, and other currents), and many had spent time in the relief camps, where they nurtured a strong dislike of authority. This left libertarianism also sometimes got them into trouble in Spain, as did the desire of some to desert because war conditions were ghastly. Petrou devotes two chapters to the question of discipline and punishment, including for desertion, within the ranks of the International Brigades.

While *Renegades* has a number of things to recommend it – principally the fact that it is the most scholarly, up-to-date, and complete of the various studies of the Mac-Paps and the Canadian volunteers – it also has a number of weaknesses. The book is often bereft of the sort of insights from social history, including gender and anti-colonial history, that can enliven even a narrow military account. For example, any understanding of the Spanish Civil War has to link it to Spain's colonial role in Morocco where Franco initially practised the brutality that would be unleashed on the Spanish population. And while Petrou mentions that women from Canada did go to Spain, he makes no effort to discuss them or to develop an understanding of the Spanish Civil War as, among other things, a profoundly gendered 'culture war' as British historians such as Helen Graham have shown. Petrou is often too close to his sources, and the narrative badly needed to be set within the broader context of the rich and extensive literature on the Civil War.

La Pasionaria (the Spanish communist Dolores Ibarruri, who became an icon of the Civil War) famously told the International Brigades when they left Spain, 'You are history. You are legend.' Indeed, they were and are. But who remembers the Mac-Paps now? Sadly, they still too often go unremembered, despite some recent attempts, such as within the Manitoba Legislature (see www.socialisthistory.ca), to memorialize them. Thanks to the work of the Friends and Veterans of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, among others, there are now monuments across the country. Some of them, however, remain virtually unknown within the cities in which they are located. The monument in Toronto (a rock in a corner of Queen's Park) is a good example. Much still needs to be done to see that the example and memory of the Mac-Paps are passed on. For example, while there are some truly excellent websites devoted to the US Abraham Lincoln Brigade and to the British volunteers (see www.alba-valb.org and www.international-brigades.org.uk), the volunteers from Canada have no remotely comparable digital presence. Perhaps work such as Petrou's, together with the massive work of politics and memory currently going on in

Spain, will spark some new thinking about the past and future of the Spanish Civil War and its afterlives in Canada.

CYNTHIA WRIGHT *University of Toronto*

Voice Raised in Protest: Defending North American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, 1942–49. STEPHANIE BANGARTH. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Pp. 296, $85.00 cloth, $32.95 paper

The American and Canadian governments never demonstrated the existence of a reliable threat posed by Japanese living on the West Coast in the 1940s. Nonetheless, in what would become one of the most notorious human rights controversies in North American history, the governments forcibly evacuated their own citizens during the Second World War from the coastal region, placed them in detention camps, and eventually relocated the evacuees in an attempt to assimilate them. Many of them, including Canadian citizens, were later deported to Japan. In *Voices Raised in Protest*, Stephanie Bangarth explores the similarities among the policies enacted by the two governments and how they cooperated in pursuing racially based policies. The author's study of state policies is a valuable addition to the literature, particularly her focus on the deportations – an issue that is too often overshadowed by the evacuation. But the real contribution of this study is Bangarth's examination of grassroots mobilization among whites and Japanese Canadians. Drawing on an impressive and exhausting array of archival sources from both countries, Bangarth goes to great lengths to document the complexities behind one of the first human rights campaigns in Canadian history. More than simply documenting the activities and positions of opposition movements, including an entire chapter on the legal cases surrounding the evacuation and internment, this book captures the nuances of the movement with a detailed exploration of divisions among the activists in the United States and Canada. Her emphasis on the role of churches in early human rights campaigns, the media's influence on state policy, the failure of other minority groups to support Japanese Canadians, and the relationship among Japanese and white activists also represent significant contributions to our understanding of these events.

A comparative approach is, on the surface, an intriguing idea. After all, both countries enacted similar policies and, as Bangarth demonstrates, activists and policy-makers shared information across the border. But the author is unable to demonstrate anything more than

superficial cross-border linkages. To the author's credit, her research reveals how activists and politicians responded to the issue on the basis of social, political, and legal context specific to each country. Still, it is unclear why a comparative approach is necessary or even worthwhile in this case. The debate is presented essentially as two separate stories, and rarely does the author draw the two together (the Conclusion has two separate conclusions). What the book lacks is a clear statement of the benefits of comparative historical research and an attempt to embed the empirical findings within a comparative framework to justify linking the events in both countries.

The author's central thesis is also tricky. Canadian activists embraced human rights discourse in the context of the postwar international human rights movement, whereas, according to Bangarth, the Americans remained wedded to a civil libertarian approach to rights rooted in the Bill of Rights. If the book's central thesis is to revolve around a conceptual divergence, it should have included at least a few pages on the theoretical differences between civil liberties and human rights. The lack of a sophisticated discussion surrounding these conceptual distinctions leads the author to often reify the concept of human rights – it is presented as a tool or strategy emerging at the close of the war. But human rights are not a tool, in the way a petition is used to lobby a government. Instead, it is a discursive act that was embraced by historically marginalized peoples to articulate their demands for equal treatment. Activists adopted the language of rights to articulate ideas already embedded in the community, not as a weapon to be deployed strategically. Human rights provided a way to legitimate demands in a way that would resonate with the dominant populace. In addition, the book does not demonstrate a substantive difference in the Canadian and American campaigns except a shallow discursive distinction. Despite a brief mention of collective rights, both American and Canadian activists advanced similar demands: equal treatment among citizens irrespective of racial differences, limits on executive power in times of war, and the protection of traditional individual rights such as due process and habeas corpus. Still, the author has an important point to make about the relationship between rights and culture, and Bangarth's thesis reflects a genuine intellectual debate on an issue that will undoubtedly generate more discussion.

Comparative studies of Canada and the United States outside of politics and foreign policy are difficult to find. And Bangarth is part of an emerging cohort of new scholars in Canada specializing in the history of human rights, a field that has been largely overlooked by

historians in Canada and the United States. Her book should be considered required reading for scholars interested in the study of human rights, social movements, and the history of the Second World War, particularly in Canada.

DOMINIQUE CLÉMENT *University of Alberta*

Kurt Meyer on Trial: A Documentary Record. Edited by P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER and CHRIS M.V. MADSEN. Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007. Pp. 697

The trial and conviction, in Aurich, Germany, in December 1945, of SS Brigadeführer (Major-General) Kurt Meyer, charged with the murder of forty-one Canadian prisoners of war in the wake of the D-Day landings in Normandy, was part of the inaugural run for Canada in the prosecution of war crimes and one of the very first applications of the doctrine of command responsibility, by which superior officers could be held liable for atrocities committed by troops under their command. First argued by American prosecutors in the nearly concurrent case of the Japanese General Tomoyuki Yamashita, command responsibility proved to be far more readily accepted by the officers of Meyer's military court than it was by Canadian diplomatic officials, politicians, and the highest-ranking Canadian military commanders. In consequence, the appeal process led to the Canadian authorities' commuting Meyer's death penalty, agreeing to his incarceration in Germany, and eventually releasing him in 1954. Still controversial and actively debated among historians and the interested general public, the circumstances of Meyer's crimes and subsequent treatment are the subject of this weighty volume of documents, likely to be the last word for documentary publications devoted to this subject.

Particularly mindful of the powerful evidence against Meyer by a nineteen-year-old Polish conscript in the SS, Jan Jesionek, a Canadian Military Court convicted Meyer of war crimes after a proceeding that lasted eighteen days. Chief prosecutor Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce MacDonald, formerly a regimental combat officer who fought in Normandy and who in civilian life was a lawyer from Windsor, referred to Meyer's 'vicarious responsibility for . . . crimes committed by troops under his command' (97). A decorated Waffen-SS war hero who had risen in the ranks of the SS after fighting in Poland in 1939, in France and the Low Countries in 1940, and in the Balkans in 1941, Meyer was commander of the 25th SS Panzer Grenadier Regiment, part of the crack 12th SS 'Hitler Jugend' Division at the time of the killings.

'Panzer Meyer' as he was known, was described in a performance review as a 'passionate soldier' whose leadership reflected what the authors refer to as 'the best and the worst of the Waffen-ss' (6). In the last year of the war, as available German manpower dwindled, Meyer and his fellow Hitler Jugend officers made the most strenuous efforts to whip seventeen- and eighteen-year-olds into a fanatical fighting force. 'At best,' say the authors, 'the training created only a partial soldier, one semi-skilled in the arts of fighting but devoid of understanding the responsibilities and limits to the application of violence' (8). Before Normandy, having put his youthful charges through a gruelling and ruthlessly foreshortened period of training, Meyer allegedly told these ideologically mobilized subordinates that they were to accept no quarter and take no prisoners. From one point of view, the brutal killings of the disarmed Canadians followed as a matter of course. According to one estimate, more than 150 Canadians perished in this way; seen otherwise, as the authors point out, 'one in six Canadians killed in Normandy died after capture, a ratio far higher than the Allies experienced in their encounters with any other Germany formation in Normandy' (10).

Whitney Lackenbauer and Chris Madsen, respectively from St Jerome's University in Waterloo, and the Royal Military College in Kingston and the Canadian Forces College in Toronto, take us through pretrial investigative records, trial transcripts, the extensively documented debate over the commutation of his sentence, the conditions of his incarceration, his imprisonment in Canada, his transfer back to Germany, and finally the decision to release Meyer after he had served less than ten years. From the voluminous evidence presented here, readers will be able to make up their own minds about the original findings of the court and the eventual retreat from the judgment of the immediate postwar period. Such a reading should supplement the well-balanced study by Patrick Brode, *Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgments* (1997) and Department of Justice investigator Howard Margolian's *The Story of the Murder of Canadian Prisoners of War in Normandy* (1998), the most recent, book-length treatment of the Meyer affair. Setting the trial into the history of Canada's unenthusiastic involvement in war crimes, the former showed the weakness of the trial and administrative processes, and the latter took a harsh view of Meyer's involvement in the killings while admitting that much of the evidence against him was circumstantial. It now seems clear that the proceedings against Meyer and the subsequent reductions of his sentence were imperfect but reasonable responses to a dreadful crime.

This is my conclusion from a reading, in *Kurt Meyer on Trial*, of these scores of painstakingly assembled documents.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS *University of Toronto*

Cautious Beginnings: Canadian Foreign Intelligence, 1939–1951. KURT F. JENSEN. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009. Pp. 240, $85.00 cloth, $32.95 paper

The literature on Canadian intelligence, historical and contemporary, is stunningly impoverished. That puts any new entry under a special kind of lens, treated to an initial warm welcome, assessed with a mixture of hope and skepticism, scrutinized closely with a view to determining its relative value amid the dross. Above all, anyone who cares to know something about the evolution of Canadian intelligence and its impact on politics and society wants a new book on the subject, a rare thing in itself, to offer insights and to succeed.

Kurt Jensen's book, *Cautious Beginnings: Canadian Foreign Intelligence, 1939–1951*, represents a worthy project but has to be judged a failure. The book is worthy for a host of reasons. Jensen has focused on an interesting and important period in the history of Canadian intelligence – essentially its Second World War roots. He has done some useful archival digging, which may provide pointers for future research. Above all, he brings some special skills to the task of uncovering Canada's wartime intelligence endeavours and their postwar impact. Kurt Jensen was, until his retirement, a career foreign service officer with lengthy experience of Canadian intelligence as it is practised inside the walls of the Department of Foreign Affairs. In the latter part of his career, he undertook the ambitious project of completing a PhD at Carleton University. His thesis became the genesis of *Cautious Beginnings*.

Practical, hands-on experience with intelligence work can be of great benefit when it comes to understanding how spy bureaucracies work and what the realities and limitations of intelligence truly are, as opposed to the popular culture fantasy that is often our stand-in for knowledge.

Some very fine writing has been done by former intelligence professionals such as Michael Herman, *Intelligence Power in Piece and War* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), Ray Garthoff, *Assessing the Adversary* (Brookings Institution, 1991), David Murphy *Battleground Berlin* (Yale University Press, 1997) and *What Stalin Knew* (Yale University Press, 2005), Hal Ford, *CIA and the Vietnam Policymakers: Three Epi-*

sodes, 1962–1968 (Central Intelligence Agency, Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1998) and more recently, Matthew Aid, *The Secret Sentry: The Untold History of the National Security Agency* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009). The pioneering figure who established the value of combining practical experience with academic insight was the one-time Yale historian and US intelligence analyst Sherman Kent, whose *Strategic Intelligence* (Princeton University Press, 1949) remains a classic text. No Canadian intelligence professional has previously attempted to join their ranks, and that is what made the Jensen book so potentially attractive.

Jensen's history is fundamentally a study of a small Canadian intelligence bureaucracy at a time when that bureaucracy was lorded over by what was then called the Department of External Affairs. Getting the bureaucratic history right is important and worthwhile. *Cautious Beginnings* is not to be scorned for its chosen focus, even if the treatment is often of the trees, rather than the forest. The real problem is that Jensen brings no special insights to bear on the bureaucratic politics of intelligence or on the department that later employed him. Indeed he shies away from criticism. He offers no extended case studies of how intelligence was put together and used. He is, as befits his title, a cautious writer telling a tale of 'cautious beginnings.' His historian's instincts are tenuous and superficial. He repeatedly tells us that offering critical analysis is just a mask for inadequate documentation and is usually wrong-headed. It has been awhile since the view that the records speak for themselves was seriously offered, although this seems to be Jensen's outlook and one that several years in a history PhD program somehow failed to budge. His writing skills show their formation in years of government work. All this makes for an often dreary read.

Yet when Kurt Jensen chooses to tell an unknown story, there is value in some of his chapters. His first chapter, which surveys the state of Canadian intelligence before the outbreak of the Second World War, is a case in point. The chapter is a much-improved version of a chapter drawn from his thesis, with the tendency to overstate the significance of what Jensen found in the archives thankfully held in check. The chapter shows that Canada essentially had to start from scratch in building up an intelligence capability in wartime, but that it did have the benefit of a handful of committed, sometimes zealous officials, usually drawn from the ranks of the military, who were prepared to bend the rules. They laid the inspirational foundation for the kind of experimental work that Canada would undertake in the Second World War, particularly in the field of signals intelligence.

Why this small cadre of individuals was drawn to intelligence work remains, however, a mystery.

Subsequent chapters of *Cautious Beginnings* take us on a meandering journey. Some, such as chapters 2 and 3, devoted to wartime signals intelligence activity, are competent accounts, though they do not take us beyond the existing literature on such topics as the history of the Examination Unit and the work of Sir William Stephenson's New York–based intelligence shop, known as British Security Coordination. A couple of the wartime chapters are oddities. One is devoted to the efforts at censoring and utilizing the correspondence of POWs (prisoners of war) detained in Canada. Jensen would like to describe this as an intelligence collection effort, but the evidence for either the substance of what was learned from this monitoring activity or the ways in which it might have been used is largely missing. In the end, Jensen can cite only one surviving report located in the archives that was probably a product of the intelligence exploitation of POW correspondence. It was a March 1945 report on a German naval training school. Its date, if nothing else, suggests that it was of little value to the war effort. Although it seems to have been a bit of an archival nugget, Jensen tells us nothing more about the report other than that it was 'detailed.' Sometimes, with PhD theses as with film-making, you have to leave material on the cutting room floor.

Equally odd is a subsequent chapter on what Jensen calls the 'Mousetrap' operation, which apparently involved, between 1942 and 1943, the interception of commercial wireless traffic in the United States. It is easy to see why such material might excite the interests and appetites of a researcher beavering away in Canada's public archives – here, after all, seemed to be an example of a previously unknown Canadian intelligence operation mounted in wartime under the noses of the US government, for mysterious purposes. But at the end of the day, the interest aroused simply vanishes. Jensen found nothing but a thin bureaucratic paper trail, with no surviving material that might provide some idea of what was actually collected by 'Mousetrap.' Jensen's chapter collapses on the thin reed of speculation (of a kind that he in theory abjures) about the potential benefits that such an operation might have given Canada in raising its profile as an intelligence ally in wartime.

The uneven wartime chapters take us towards the end of the book, where Jensen tries to show how the wartime experience of intelligence influenced postwar institutions and practices. There is an important story to be told here, but while Jensen faithfully lays out the departmental discussions on such issues as the future of Canadian signals

intelligence, he also makes himself a virtual prisoner of the official record, unable to see some of the key dynamics at work, including allied developments and pressures, and the coming of the atom bomb, which changed everybody's view of the future of both warfare and intelligence. Jensen is also unwilling to venture into criticism of the key department of the Canadian government that held the keys to the future of Canadian intelligence – External Affairs – whose views on Canadian intelligence requirements for a postwar world can be called, charitably, confused and contradictory. The one clear line is that External, while it may not have known its own mind about Canadian intelligence, certainly knew that it didn't want intelligence run by anybody else, certainly not the Mounties or the gung-ho military.

Some of *Cautious Beginnings* should probably have stayed on the library shelf as a PhD thesis, or been left on the cutting room floor at draft stage. Some is of the standard of academic articles. As a whole it never manages to convey an overall sense of the surprising dynamic that took Canada from a non-existent state of intelligence collection in 1939 to a position after the Second World War where it could, with confidence (or perhaps over-confidence), strive to join the ranks of a great power intelligence alliance alongside the United States and the United Kingdom. The frustration for the reader is that, despite his amateur instincts as a historian and the seeming tug of departmental loyalties, Kurt Jensen has some solid insights. The architecture of Canadian intelligence created after 1945 was, as he stresses, to have long-lasting consequences for the conduct of Canadian intelligence, reaching down through the Cold War and beyond. He is also right to say that the whole enterprise was not built on any deep-seated and widespread governmental appreciation of the importance of intelligence, but rather on the energies of a tiny handful of visionaries. It is a pity that these ideas could not be developed further.

WESLEY WARK *University of Toronto*

J.W. McConnell: Financier, Philanthropist, Patriot. WILLIAM FONG. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 752, $39.95

John Wilson McConnell (1877–1963) was one of Canada's wealthiest and most powerful businessmen. He has been, in William Fong's words, 'reviled as the symbol of English oppression of French Canada, an anti-Semite, an unbending big business Tory, an exploiter of the working class, and enemy of academic and press freedom' (xii). On

the basis of extraordinarily extensive research, Fong seeks to chart McConnell's career on the man's own terms and in the context of his time.

McConnell's biography is a true rags-to-riches story. Born and raised in the backwoods of Muskoka, McConnell gained great wealth early in life and quickly developed close and friendly relations with the most powerful and influential business, political, and social leaders of his day. McConnell is described as a financier, philanthropist, and patriot, but it quickly becomes obvious that his success was attributable to his exceptional talents as a salesman of corporate securities and in philanthropic fundraising and wartime patriotic campaigns. He was obviously a smooth talker, generous donor, and gracious host who befriended every Canadian governor general of his day, numerous ambassadors, aristocrats, and wealthy investors. He could also hold Prime Minister Bennett in high esteem while establishing and maintaining cordial relations with Prime Minister Mackenzie King and both premiers Taschereau and Duplessis in Quebec.

The book follows a mixed chronological and thematic structure. The first and last chapters chronicle the early and final years of McConnell's life. Thematic chapters focus on McConnell's promotions of wood products, Montreal Tramways, sugar refineries, holding companies, the McConnells' three houses, their involvement in elite Montreal and imperial social and political circles and politics, his ownership of the Montreal *Star*, personal donations to and leadership in philanthropic campaigns, and his long association with McGill University.

There is a detailed and annotated appendix that lists McConnell's assets and liabilities given at their valuation at the time and also in 2008 dollars. His investments in 1921 were valued at $10,859,977.11 ($116,460,324.00 in 2008 dollars) and approximately $192,000,000.00 ($1,351,200,000.00 in 2008 dollars) at the time of his death in 1963. By Fong's calculations, the 1929 crash reduced McConnell's holdings by about a third.

A second appendix provides information about members of the then still relatively small community of really wealthy Montreal business associates and rivals. Specific reference is made to partnerships and rivalries between McConnell and Sir Herbert Holt who, at his prime, was described as Canada's wealthiest businessman. McConnell became a partner with Holt in hydro-electric and street railway developments but, with the help of American capitalists, destroyed Holt's efforts in the 1930s to dominate and stabilize the Canadian pulp and paper industry. And, alas, after death, McConnell's grave was dug

higher up in the Mount Royal cemetery than that of Herbert Holt, who died in 1941.

This is a very substantial and in many ways exceptionally detailed biography. But the author informs the reader that it comprises only a quarter of the material he has compiled in a manuscript he intends to publish electronically. Google and Yahoo do not, however, provide further information regarding the availability of this larger manuscript.

Missing in the published version are detailed discussions or analyses of the broader aspects of the various industries in which McConnell-dominated corporations were active. The company with which McConnell had the longest association was St Lawrence Sugar and the St Lawrence Sugar Refineries Ltd holding company. Yet little coherent general information is provided about the management style, accounting practices, labour relations, changing refinery technologies, locations and capacities of refineries, sources of supplies, distribution and marketing, government regulation, protective tariff structures, and wartime price controls. Much the same can be said about the many other companies in which McConnell had substantial holdings. Apparently, in contrast to Holt and other rivals who devoted extraordinary attention to all such details, McConnell operated at smoother levels of a greasy entrepreneurial pole.

McConnell's world, but not his wealth, and that of English Montreal's elite and super-rich businessmen, began to crumble long before his death in 1963. The introduction of income taxes led to the creation or modification of holding companies and trusts. The Depression of the 1930s discredited and resulted in reforms of earlier entrepreneurial excesses. Escalating costs forced medical and educational institutions and their supporters to supplement private charity with government funding. The British Empire devolved into a Commonwealth of countries with shared and only vaguely defined monarchical-democratic ideals. But, above all, the Quiet Revolution, followed by the election of a separatist Quebec government, radically altered and reduced the influence of Montreal's previously dominant English-Canadian business community.

French-Canadian nationalist rhetoric and a chorus of 'victim studies' by labour, racial, social, women's, and Native studies historians have passed harsh judgement on McConnell and his generation of Montreal businessmen. William Fong provides an effective counterpoint in his well-researched and extensively documented biography, written in McConnell's own terms and in the context of his time.

T.D. REGEHR *University of Saskatchewan*

History of the Book in Canada. Volume 3, *1918–1980*. Edited by CAROLE GERSON and JACQUES MICHON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp. 696, $90.00

The third volume of the *History of the Book in Canada* brings this landmark interdisciplinary project well into the twentieth century and offers a wide-ranging reference work on many aspects of this prolific period in Canadian publishing and print culture. The History of the Book in Canada Project (funded from 2000 to 2006 through the Major Collaborative Research Initiative Program of SSHRC) has involved enormous collaboration and cooperation among established and emerging scholars researching English, French, Aboriginal, and immigrant book histories in Canada as well as book historians in other countries. This final volume benefits from a generous understanding of 'print' that moves beyond the book to include many forms of large- and small-scale print production. As the editors explain in the General Preface, 'in these pages, "print" is not limited to the book in codex form; instead, it encompasses newspapers, magazines, public print, printed music, and illustrations in books and periodicals' (xxi).

There is an admirable effort to balance material on English and French print production, and to highlight the differences between publishing inside and outside Quebec, but also to recognize the increasing contributions to twentieth-century Canadian 'allophones' (persons whose first language was neither English nor French). As well, this volume includes entries that overlap with Aboriginal, gender, business, labour, public policy, communications, education, art, and design history so that the project's efforts to define the very field it surveys at once points to gaps in existing scholarship and suggests that book history needs to take a more central place in the writing of twentieth-century Canada across the disciplines. While the contributions tend towards the model of encyclopedic survey rather than argumentative essay, the collection as a whole makes a strong case for understanding book history as a project of both historical depth and cultural, political, and social breadth.

Like the first two volumes in this project, this volume sets itself the ambitious and challenging goal to map a field for the first time and it does so through ninety essays and thirty short case studies. The book is organized into seven sections that imply the influence of French theorist Pierre Bourdieu's work on the field of cultural production and the sociology of literature, most notably his interest in the overlaps between cultural production and economic and political power,

and his insistence on the importance of multiple agents (authors, editors, publishers, sponsors, distributors, booksellers, librarians, book clubs, literary societies, professors, and so on) in determining the symbolic value of a book within a national field. Part 1, 'The Cultural Influence of Books and Print in Canadian Society,' focuses on the role of the nation-state in the formation and regulation of English, French, Aboriginal, and allophone print cultures, and then offers four essays under the heading 'Symbolic Value of Books.' Part 2, 'Authorship,' moves beyond individual biographies to such topics as 'Economics and the Writer,' 'Writers' Networks and Associations,' and 'Writers and the Market' in separate essays on fiction and non-fiction. Parts 3 and 4 follow Bourdieu's distinction between large- and restricted-scale production in their focus on 'Publishing for a Wide Readership' and 'Publishing for Distinct Readerships' respectively. Parts 5 and 6 are equally Bourdieuxian in their interest in 'Production' and then 'Distribution,' and the final section, part 7, moves into the important area of print consumption history, from essays on a variety of institutional libraries to literacy and censorship studies, under its title 'Reaching Readers.'

Whereas volume 1 (2004) covered 'beginnings' to 1840 and volume 2 (2005) surveyed 1840–1918, this final volume begins with the end of the First World War and stops in 1980. The editors anticipate the question of why their project ends in 1980 in their introduction: they explain that their decision was based on a desire for some distance from the object of study, space limitations, and the 'symbolic nature of that year' in which the federal government established the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, a major generational shift took place, and print and publishing culture was reconfigured as a result of increasing economic globalization and developments in new media. Then, in their Coda at the end of the volume, the editors point to the many new directions a post-1980 study would have to take in order to account for such recent developments as mass reading events (CBC Radio's annual *Canada Reads*) and the many technological, political, cultural, and economic changes to print culture and reading practices over the past twenty-five years. While some readers may wish that this volume had included these more recent developments (for instance, the essay 'Celebrating Authorship: Prizes and Distinctions' would be very different had it been able to address the launching of the Scotiabank Giller Prize in 1994 and the Griffin Poetry Prizes in 2001 that have changed the prize and prestige landscape for Canadian writers immeasurably), the various narrative threads established here provide

the groundwork for such future work and this volume will assume the status of the major reference work for scholars and students working across a variety of fields in Canadian studies and transnational book history.

CANDIDA RIFKIND *University of Winnipeg*

Perspectives of Saskatchewan. Edited by JENE M. PORTER. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2009. Pp. 377, $49.95

If *Perspectives of Saskatchewan* is a vaguely non-descriptive title, it may be because the contents range across a host of disciplines from political studies and history to literature and the plastic arts, from geography, sociology, and economics, to law and religion. This collection of eighteen essays by twenty-two authors avoids any single focus and adds weight to the already relatively weighty bookshelf devoted to Saskatchewan. Most of the essays are nuanced and well documented, although Eli Bornstein's review of abstract art on the prairies (he casts his net beyond Saskatchewan with references to Russia, Europe, and the United States) refers to his own work in six of a meagre eight endnotes. The book was apparently intended to appear nearer to Saskatchewan's centenary; one of the essays is dated 2004. For a province with the smallest population outside the Atlantic region, it has received a disproportionate share of academic attention including, we learn here, more books written about the history of the University of Saskatchewan than of any other Canadian university. Nevertheless, this tome is published in neighbouring Manitoba rather than at Saskatchewan's sole university press at the Canadian Plains Research Centre in Regina.

The rise, demise, and resurgence of Saskatchewan over the past century – it was the third most populous province as late as mid-century – speaks to both discontinuity and persistence, to cycles of despair and achievement. James Pitsula notes a 1920s boast of Saskatchewan leading Canada in per capita wealth. Yet it is the only province to have exceeded the milestone of a million in population and then to have fallen back below that mark. And it has done so twice! Agricultural economists Jack Stabler and Rose Olfert provide a panoramic 100-year view of the rural economy's evolution, drawing on the works of, among others, Vernon Fowke and George Britnell of the Saskatchewan School of political economy. Wheat, once 'king,' was devastated by drought and depression, its place taken by potash, uranium, and heavy oil as the staples driving the economy. Where

grain elevators once dotted the flat landscape, research centres have sprouted; where life was paradigmatically rural, it is now largely urban. Where Aboriginals were once ignored and concentrated on northern reserves, many now dwell, labour, and struggle in the cities and have contributed to reshaping public policy and the legal system.

The book, which could have benefited from an index and a sharper division into discrete sections, chronicles such political and demographic transformations. Chapters dealing broadly with political history are followed by chapters on economic and social issues, including labour, higher education, and the harder sciences. Considerations of literature, women's political participation, and the church follow surveys of the visual arts, and the book contains thirteen photographs of paintings, sculptures, other constructions, and a Sioux parfleche. Poet Mark Abley's deft concluding chapter addresses 'Saskatchewan's Diaspora' – people having been the province's major export crop – and explores how the experience of having lived in the province has influenced those who have left it for greener pastures.

Virtually every chapter points to the ruptures that have characterized Saskatchewan's history. Bill Waiser, for example, reviews the province's original white, Protestant, and Anglo-Canadian design and its redefinition as a multicultural mosaic. Aboriginal references appear in most chapters but the essay devoted to them, by Judge Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, is disappointing in its overly narrow focus on one of the province's seventy-four First Nations. The chapters on medicare and the co-operative principle offer such innovations and ideas identified with Saskatchewan their due, although Brett Fairbairn provocatively sets out to debunk the myth that Saskatchewanians (referred to as 'Saskatchewan people' by all the authors) are especially co-operative. He argues that the province's co-operative tradition owes more to pragmatism and trial and error than idealism and conscious design. Beth Bilson's synopsis of provincial labour history, however, reminds us that the CCF government imported eastern intellectuals and lawyers in the 1940s to write its showpiece collective-bargaining labour legislation, a sign of purposeful ideological direction in a province where organized labour at the time counted politically for relatively little compared to agrarian considerations.

The book vividly communicates Saskatchewan's creative politics, the verve and vitality of its residents, and their collective identification with security, egalitarianism, *dirigisme*, Crown corporations, and mutualism. These provincial touchstones appear in the context of an ideologically polarized and competitive political party system. The CCF-NDP has enjoyed unparalleled success in Saskatchewan, having held office in

each of the past seven decades, but this province was also the home of John Diefenbaker, whose reshaping of western Canadian politics is still evident today.

NELSON WISEMAN *University of Toronto*

Essence of Indecision: Diefenbaker's Nuclear Policy, 1957–1963. PATRICIA I. MCMAHON. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009. Pp. 264, $95.00

At the beginning of chapter 2 of her new book *Essence of Indecision: Diefenbaker's Nuclear Policy, 1957–1963*, Patricia I. McMahon writes, 'Governing with a majority did not come easily to John Diefenbaker.' In fact, McMahon points out, Diefenbaker began to change his leadership style shortly after he was re-elected with a lopsided majority on 31 March 1958, taking 208 seats against 49 for the Liberals and 8 for the CCF. Whereas he had recently consulted Cabinet and caucus on most matters, he turned increasingly to making his own decisions, perhaps in consultation with a handful of senior civil servants and Cabinet ministers. At the same time Diefenbaker grew restive sitting atop his huge majority. He began to fear making any decisions that might lose him any of his countless votes, as if he could sit back, do nothing, and hoard them forever.

Patricia McMahon's book traces the history of John Diefenbaker's nuclear policy and his relations with the United States over the period of his governance. This is a story that begins well enough, with 'Honest John' inheriting a significant number of major defence initiatives from the St Laurent government that preceded him. The first of these was the North American Air Defence (NORAD) arrangement by which a joint Canada/US bi-national command would be created to coordinate and deploy US and Canadian air defence assets in the event of an air/atomic threat or actual attack from the USSR. Diefenbaker assented to the already negotiated arrangement almost immediately – in fact too hastily, according to some critics (McMahon rightly dismisses their complaints) – as opposed to his growing indecision over acquiring nuclear weapons, which McMahon marks as really starting with the death of Foreign Affairs Minister Sydney Smith in March 1959.

Under the Liberals, Canada had never actually negotiated terms and conditions for the use of US-supplied nuclear weapons by the Canadian military. But the Canadian government had begun to seriously consider arming Canadian forces with nuclear weapons at

least as early as 1952. In the summer of that year General Charles Foulkes, chief of the Canadian Chiefs of Staff Committee, called atomic weapons NATO's single greatest asset in the defence of Western Europe.

McMahon virtually ignores this bit of Canadian defence policy history, which is the one major flaw in the book. If she had not done so, her readers would know that NATO – including Canada – began to look seriously at acquiring tactical nukes as early as 1952 as a means of balancing the huge military forces then being amassed by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. In fact NATO finally endorsed the acquisition of tactical nukes in December 1954.

Well before Diefenbaker was elected, therefore, the Liberal government – which of course included Lester B. Pearson as minister of external affairs – had embarked on a nuclear path and was examining a range of nukes to equip the Canadian Forces from depth charges to air-to-air rockets.

This is important because it shows that in freezing this process in 1959/60 'Dief the Chief' virtually paralyzed an eight-year-long process while coming up with no realistic alternative.

Aside from this oversight, McMahon's book is a well-written story, based on prodigious research, of the political side of the struggle that Andrew Richter wrote about in *Avoiding Armageddon; Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002). Richter examined the struggle between the foreign affairs and defence mandarins (the latter including the military), and the breech opened between them by the assent to the foreign ministry of Howard Green in 1959.

McMahon traces the story at the Cabinet level but fails to explain why Undersecretary of State Norman Robertson suddenly became a peacenik so late in his career, strongly backing Green's anti-nuclear policy. Richter surely has it right when he chalks it up to the Department of External Affairs' sudden love affair with global nuclear disarmament as a uniquely Canadian cause. How could Canada aspire to lead in this area while acquiring nuclear weapons? At one point Green tried to cut the baby in two by suggesting that Canada acquire the nukes, but leave them wholly in American hands, across the border, until they were actually to be used. A sillier notion never emanated from a Canadian politician.

What McMahon does exceedingly well is describe Diefenbaker's descent into virtual paralysis on this issue while at the same time she blows up just about every legitimate reason Diefenbaker might have had to drag his heels. She presses the point several times that

Canadians – from across the country and even in Quebec – wanted nuclear weapons, and that the anti-nuclear faction, while loud and visible, never represented a consensus. We are left with the distinct impression that Diefenbaker was great on the hustings but quickly lost his ability to decide as a result of his obsession with keeping his whopping majority. So instead of using that majority to advance the defence of the nation – and other key national policies – he governed from a position of unreasonable fear.

DAVID J. BERCUSON *University of Calgary*

From Pride to Influence: Towards a New Canadian Foreign Policy. MICHAEL HART. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. Pp. 448, $85.00 cloth, $34.95 paper

Michael Hart propose dans ce livre sa vision de ce que devrait être la politique étrangère canadienne, en se basant sur son expérience comme haut fonctionnaire au ministère des Affaires étrangères du Canada sous Brian Mulroney et sur ses lectures de professeur de politique commerciale. Le titre est alléchant et parodie celui d'un énoncé de politique étrangère de l'époque où Paul Martin était premier ministre : A *Role of Pride and Influence in the World*. L'auteur s'inscrit dans le débat actuel sur la redéfinition de notre politique étrangère au lendemain de la guerre froide et devant l'apparition d'un monde unipolaire où notre encombrant voisin domine le monde politique et économique. La thèse de l'auteur est claire : le Canada doit redevenir le meilleur allié des États-Unis et tourner le dos à l'antiaméricanisme libéral appelé aussi multilatéralisme… Il ne s'agit donc pas ici d'un livre bilan ou historique, comme le laisse croire malheureusement son titre, mais du plaidoyer d'un spécialiste des relations commerciales canado-américaines pour une « intégration » plus claire de notre politique étrangère à celle des États-Unis.

Les deux premiers chapitres analysent les deux options concernant la politique étrangère canadienne et leur histoire : la vision pragmatique, d'une part, qui encourage le resserrement de nos liens avec les Américains et la définition de la nouvelle place du Canada dans le monde; la vision romantique, d'autre part, celle du multilatéralisme et de l'idée que le Canada doit se montrer, le plus souvent possible, différent des États-Unis. Cette dernière vision, celle des libéraux, est sévèrement critiquée par l'auteur, qui souligne que seuls Pearson et Mulroney ont été à la fois réalistes et internationalistes. Les chapitres 3 et 4 exposent toutes les contraintes qui attendent ceux qui font la

politique étrangère : les fonctionnaires du MAECI, l'opinion publique, le poids de l'histoire et le rôle des États-Unis dans notre économie. Les chapitres 5, 6 et 7 analysent, par le biais des impératifs de sécurité nationale et économique, l'importance d'un renforcement de notre alliance avec les États-Unis et les effets pervers pour le Canada d'une politique de l'autruche qui refuserait de placer notre voisin au centre de notre politique étrangère. Cette première partie du livre n'apprend rien aux historiens ou au spécialiste, l'auteur fait un bon résumé de la littérature sur le sujet. Il reprend enfin à son compte les thèses sur les progrès du Canada dans les périodes de rapprochement canado-américain et sur sa régression dans les périodes de « make a difference », trop coûteuses pour les Canadiens. La deuxième partie du livre s'attaque aux conséquences de l'interdépendance économique du Canada à l'égard des États-Unis en matière de politique étrangère canadienne. Le chapitre 8 rappelle les mythes et valeurs concernant nos relations avec les Américains, principalement « Preach a Sunday foreign policy but practise a weekday one… » (p. 203). Le problème fondamental de notre politique étrangère ressort ici, même si l'auteur ne veut ou ne peut pas l'approfondir : définir nos valeurs comme Canadien ou encore définir notre identité nationale. En effet, comment bâtir une politique étrangère conséquente et soutenue par la population, si les valeurs qui la guident changent avec chaque gouvernement. L'auteur a le mérite, ici, de poser cruellement la question; il explique aussi que'à titre de moyenne puissance, le Canada n'a pas les moyens de ses ambitions. Peut-être faut-il choisir entre une politique étrangère « économique », qui assure notre prospérité (et qui, donc, suit plus ou moins docilement les États-Unis) et une politique étrangère « politique » qui assure notre différence dans le monde, notamment à travers nos activités traditionnelles de maintien de la paix. Les sondages montrent une extrême division des Canadiens à ce sujet. Mais selon l'auteur, et les derniers chapitres du livre le démontrent, on ne peut faire les deux. Les gouvernements de Chrétien et de Martin, qui ont voulu internationaliser la politique étrangère canadienne, ont dû déplaire souvent aux États-Unis et, selon l'auteur, cette politique n'a rien apporté d'intéressant au Canada. L'intérêt principal du Canada en politique étrangère reste notre lien avec les États-Unis, le nier ou essayer de le défaire est suicidaire selon l'auteur.

L'auteur convaincra les convaincus, mais il ne parvient guère à captiver l'attention du spécialiste qui aurait souhaité, à la lecture de la bibliographie impressionnante, des suggestions sur le fond du problème ici : les valeurs contemporaines canadiennes, notre identité internationale, les alternatives à l'intégration canado-américaine ou

encore l'évaluation de la politique étrangère de S. Harper, qui semble se rapprocher de ce que prône l'auteur. Un livre, donc, à conseiller aux étudiants néophytes en politique étrangère.

MAGALI DELEUZE *Département d'histoire Collège militaire Royal du Canada*

Rain/Drizzle/Fog: Film and Television in Atlantic Canada. Edited by DARREL VARGA. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009. Pp. 300, $34.95 paper

Rain/Drizzle/Fog, the terms at the top of the title, sound like a script-writer's instructions for a film in the land of the Maritime stereotype; in fact they are borrowed from a 1998 documentary that mocks regional stereotypes while celebrating the vigour of urban life in St John's, Newfoundland. The collection that follows offers critical insights into past and present film traditions in the Maritimes and Newfoundland. Editor Darrell Varga, the Canada Research Chair in Contemporary Film and Media Studies at NSCAD University, has encouraged contributors to situate their work within the social and historical contexts of the region and the prevailing structures of cultural production. As Varga explains, the approach is 'to understand film and video production not simply as closed texts but also as a social technology through which concepts of place and space, or of margin and centre, are produced and negotiated' (xiv).

In an introductory chapter, historians Colin Howell and Peter Twohig explore documentary traditions in the region, noting that filmmakers often conformed to anti-modernist assumptions about regional culture and history at the very time that regional scholars were advancing interpretations that called for more sophisticated visual texts; more recently, however, filmmakers have broken new ground in presenting layered versions of contemporary life. Similarly, film historian Pierre Vérroneau contributes an informative chapter on Acadian filmmakers, highlighting their struggle both for recognition of the francophone film outside Québec and for alternatives to folkloric and picturesque expectations; he notes their achievement of a distinctive 'fictive documentary' style and a 'fragile state of maturity' (38), often led by independent producers. The earliest days of film culture in small-town Nova Scotia prior to 1914 are examined by Gregory Canning; he finds a steady diet of vaudeville, film, and music, and fewer anxieties about the new medium than in the better-studied big-city environments of North America. However, by the time the new tele-visual age had arrived in full force half a century later, the

Maritimes had been effectively coded as a source of 'simplicity' and 'nostalgia' within Canadian culture; Jen Vanderburgh implies that the cancellation of *Don Messer's Jubilee* in 1969 can be read as a rejection of a partial version of 'Maritime culture' in favour of an equally incomplete performance of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. Meanwhile, the representation of Newfoundland on film is considered by several authors. Noreen Golfman identifies the dominant theme in film images of the seal hunt, from the time of *The Viking* (1931) onward, as one of respect for the arduous conditions of the labouring men on the ice, a tradition more recently challenged by a 'misguided environmentalism' favouring 'seal snuff footage' (74) and in turn contested by contemporary Newfoundland filmmakers. Jerry White's reconsideration of the Fogo Island films produced by the Challenge for Change project of the National Film Board in the 1960s invites us to consider these as a form of 'non-narrative poetic cinema' (103) rather than as 'process' films promoting community agency in outport Newfoundland in the 1960s. Also addressing a film dealing with the same era, Malek Khouri's reading of Gordon Pinsent's *John and the Missus* (1987) shows this to be a highly nuanced drama on responses to the era of resettlement, sympathetic to individualized resistance but ultimately acquiescent in the prevailing common sense of modernization.

Perhaps the most striking observations in this book relate to the ambiguous position of the regional film today within what is called the New International Division of Cultural Labour. Filmmakers who wish to take the complexity of their home region seriously are increasingly drawn into a world where they risk becoming no more than hewers of stories and drawers of pictures for the international market. John McCullough's provocative chapter on *Gullage's* and *Trailer Park Boys* suggests that these television series have mobilized humanism and regionalism in ways that normalize the ethnography of underdevelopment and satisfy a niche market for 'glocalism' (160) that allows occasional allegories of resistance. Tracy Zhang explores the experience of independent filmmakers in Halifax who, since the 1960s, have sought to carve out 'utopian spaces' (171) for their own productions, even as the city evolved into the fourth-largest film production centre in the country. Two local features receive separate attention, as Bruce Barber discusses Thom Fitzgerald's *Movie of the Week* (1990) and Andrew Burke examines Andrea Dorfman's *Parsley Days* (2000); in each case the creative vision of the filmmakers is enriched by a grounding in place and time. In his own chapter, Varga focuses on three influential features, *Life Classes* (1987), *Candy Mountain* (1987) and *New Waterford Girl* (1999) as well as Mike Jones's

brilliant ironic tribute to the Toronto International Film Festival, *Congratulations* (2000). Here he shows how these films articulate 'the specificity of place' (239) while also demonstrating the limits imposed by the cultural infrastructure of the state and the market imperatives of a global media economy.

Despite the narrow spaces of manoeuvre often available to filmmakers, the volume ends with a constructive discussion by Sylvia Hamilton about the ten years of work that went into the making of *Portia White: Think on Me* (2000), her film about the great Africadian singer whose neglect by cultural historians seems to have been due to multiple forms of marginalization. As in the case of the late Errol Williams's *Echoes in the Rink: The Willie O'Ree Story* (1997), a portrait of the first black player in the National Hockey League, it is not always the print historians who are in the vanguard of historical research. In all, this volume shows an informed intelligence at work in film studies in Atlantic Canada that engages seriously with the history of the region and the social position of the filmmaker.

DAVID FRANK *University of New Brunswick*

York University: The Way Must Be Tried. MICHIEL HORN. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Pp. 328, $49.95

Canadian universities appear to be in a retrospective mood. Several new histories have appeared recently (University of Toronto, Carleton, Simon Fraser, and Regina, to name a few) and others are in the works. Michiel Horn's *York University* is the best of the lot. Scholarly, engaging, beautifully illustrated, remarkably comprehensive, steeped in affection, but not sentimental, it is a master work of the genre. The main narrative is based on thorough archival research, which is enhanced and enlivened by 250 interviews with students, faculty, administrators, librarians, technicians, and other staff. All aspects of the university life are substantially dealt with – curriculum, teaching, research, scholarly publication, theatre, music, drama, the visual arts, sports, professional faculties, continuing education, student life, politics, and power struggles. The author's voice is distinctive, but not obtrusive. We appreciate his wry asides, but the story is that of the *university community* as it sees itself, in all its diversity and multiplicity of perspective, not the community as filtered through the predilections of the author. Horn stands on the sidelines – bemused, entertained, heartened, and inspired – and always with a sly smile on his face.

York was the brainchild of a handful of North Toronto business and professional people who began to meet in 1955 to discuss the possibility of expanding opportunities for post-secondary education in the Toronto area. The enabling legislation received royal assent on 26 March 1959, and in September of that year York entered into an affiliation agreement with the University of Toronto. The latter provided financial assistance, and, in exchange, York promised not to fundraise in the corporate sector until 1964, when the University of Toronto financial campaign would be completed. Seventy-six students registered in the fall of 1960 for classes in Falconer Hall on Queen's Park Crescent. The next year the move was made to the Glendon campus, an attractive property at Lawrence Avenue East and Bayview Avenue. In 1965, York severed its ties with the University of Toronto and opened a second campus at Keele Street, south of Steeles Avenue. 'Utterly bleak,' 'pretty raw,' 'Siberia,' 'hideous wasteland,' 'a godforsaken place' – and these were the comments of those who chose to go to York!

The period from 1965 to 1972 was a time of explosive growth. Full-time undergraduate enrolment soared to 10,735 in the fall of 1971, then stagnated. It was only 10,714 in the fall of 1979. Not coincidentally, York experienced a good deal of turmoil. The selection of a successor to founding president Murray Ross in 1970 was as messy as it could possibly have been. It stands as a case study in how a search committee should *not* conduct its affairs. The budget crisis toppled President David Slater in 1973, but, finally, a degree of stability was achieved under the administration of H. Ian Macdonald (1974–84). Horn calls the decade that began in 1973 'the big freeze.' Building construction came to a halt, and enrolment faltered. Growth returned in the mid-1980s to the point that York is now the third-largest university in Canada with well over 50,000 students.

Horn's audience is primarily York people. He makes very little effort to reach out to readers who do not have a direct connection with the university. The index is proper name only, so that scholars wishing to make thematic comparisons with other universities cannot readily do so. In focusing so entirely on York, Horn has missed an opportunity, since the York story is in some ways Canada's story. Canada in the 1960s and 1970s shed its British symbols and identity (except for the monarchy) and reinvented itself. York, with its white rose symbol (representing the 'House of York'), its Beefeater-hat ceremonial garb, its student newspaper named *Excalibur*, is outwardly very British. But beneath the externalities, it embodies the new Canada. Over the years, it has attracted significant numbers of students who were the first in

their family to attend university. Today, the student body is multicultural, with more than a third of the students of visible minorities.

When Murray Ross began looking for teaching staff in 1960, he had a call from Fulton Anderson, the head of philosophy at the University of Toronto, who told Ross that he had a faculty member for him by the name of Lionel Rubinoff. 'He's just finishing his doctorate and he's the most brilliant student we've had in years.' 'If he's so able, why wouldn't you keep him?' Ross asked. 'Murray, you know we have one of them in our department now. I can't have another' (188). 'Them,' of course, meant Jews. The academy is a different place now. As York's president, Mamdouh Shoukri said at his installation ceremony in 2007, 'We are blessed with students who come from every culture, who speak every language. We are connected to the world because we come from every part of it' (4).

The photo on page 252 of Horn's book tells it all. It depicts the members of the research team headed by Doug Crawford, who holds a Canada Research Chair in Visual-Motor Neuroscience. Their names are Florin Feloui, Gerald Keith, Michael Vesia, Alina Constantin, Matthias Niemeier, Jachin Ascensio-Monteon, Gunnar Blohm, HonyingWang, Farshad Farshadmanesh, Denise Henriques, Joe DeSouza, Aarlenne Khan, Jessica Klassen, Lei Ren, Saihong Sun, and Xiaogang Yan – the new Canada.

JAMES M. PITSULA *University of Regina*