Reviews

Empires at War: The Seven Years' War and the Struggle for North America, 1754–1763. WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR. Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 2005. Pp. 332, illus., b&w, $37.95

White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America. STEPHEN BRUMWELL. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2005. Pp. 360, $27.50

As the sesquicentennial of the conflict variously called the Seven Years' War, the French and Indian War, or the War of the Conquest is now upon us, we may expect increased scholarly and popular attention to the final clash between Great Britain and France for imperial ascendancy in North America. The works under review here offer some hope for progress in our understanding of this war, as well as some reminders of intellectual hurdles that remain to be overcome. Both studies are carefully crafted narrative accounts that do much to uncover the human side of the conflict, including lengthy lists of *dramatis personae* to orient readers new to this place and time. Both authors have spent considerable time in archives, and they offer substantial new insights on their respective subjects. Both works depart from the regrettably familiar approach of relying solely on English-language sources, and incorporate crucial French evidence into their narratives. Neither book, however, fully succeeds in crafting an original interpretive framework to recast existing understandings of the conflict.

Brumwell writes well. His narrative is fluid, well-paced, and sprinkled with intriguing details, such as the nugget indicating that a simplified version of Rogers's famous rules for wilderness fighting, cribbed from Kenneth Roberts's historical novel *Northwest Passage*, was issued to American ground troops in Vietnam during the 1960s (100). Evidence of the author's painstaking research is presented in 'source notes' at the end of the volume, rather than in traditional scholarly format, presumably in an effort to enhance the book's appeal to the popular market. Brumwell details the rise of Rogers's career to its climactic moment in October 1759, when he, acting on orders from British General Jeffery Amherst, razed Odanak.

Brumwell is enamoured with his subject as a man of action. Although Rogers and his Rangers were costly and ill-disciplined, sustained heavy casualties, made numerous crucial errors in judgment, committed serious intelligence leaks, and regularly inflated casualty reports throughout their

Robert Rogers comes in for long-overdue scholarly treatment in Brumwell's *White Devil*. Brumwell, centring his narrative on Rogers's destruction of the Abenaki village of Saint-François (Odanak) on 4 October 1759, states as his goal an effort to determine 'exactly what happened' on that fateful day in order to chart a narrative course between contemporary polarized academic opinions of Rogers as a frontier hero or perpetrator of genocide. Interwoven with Brumwell's personal story of Rogers is a narrative account of the war itself, emphasizing regions in which the New Hampshire woodsman played significant roles.
respective careers in the Seven Years' War, the author continually asserts the significance of Rogers's personal bravery and heroism. Readers will be left to decide for themselves the merits of Brumwell's claim that the reputed murder and cannibalization of a captive Abenaki woman by Rogers on his retreat from Odanak is best understood as a reflection of Rogers's 'moral courage to keep his men alive' (231).

Rogers's postwar career was mired in struggles with debt, charges of treason, and alcohol. Although Brumwell eschews a comprehensive assessment of Rogers's overall significance to North American military history, he makes a persuasive case for the larger significance of the raid on Odanak (often treated as simply a nasty episode), in the context of the final phase of the Seven Years' War. The destruction of the home village of a prominent Native nation allied to New France played a key role not only in the subsequent Anglo-American diplomacy that separated many Native

American allies from Canada in 1760, but also in the unprecedented wave of settler expansion into western Abenaki homelands during the 1760s.

Concern for the impact of the war on Native peoples is also present in Fowler's *Empires at War*. 'No one,' he writes, 'had a greater stake in the fate of North America than its Native inhabitants' (241). Fowler's approach is in line with the most recent scholarly perspectives on the Seven Year's War, which emphasize its status as the first 'world war' and criticize provincial views of the conflict as a mere prologue to the Revolution. Fowler sets out in his study to recover the war's 'true importance as a world-shaping event' (2).

Fowler presents a coherent narrative of the Seven Years' War, including concise and useful discussions of the often-neglected theatres of the conflict beyond North America. Fowler's study rightly stresses the contingency of the eventual British victory, even if the majority of his discussion rests on the Anglo-American side of the hill. The level of detail provided to the expeditions of Washington, Braddock, and Wolfe exceeds that accorded to their French counterparts. Canadian scholars will also note that the author's opinion of the value of the French colonial militia as well as the *Troupes de la Marine* is at variance with the classic and more favourable assessment of William Eccles.

In his epilogue, Fowler asserts that the 1760 surrender of Montreal to Great Britain marked a fatal turn in the history of North America's Native peoples. While this is a debatable point, the author's effort to validate his opinion by citing the absence of Native people from a 2001 ceremony in Quebec City pertaining to the reburial of Montcalm's body is not persuasive. More convincing is the picture of the precarious post-1763 British Empire that the author paints, one in which Great Britain committed itself to maintaining a North American empire very much like the one it had just conquered – territorially extensive, officially committed to peaceful relations with numerous and distant Native peoples, and strapped for revenue.

Both of these works have significant classroom potential insofar as they provide excellent syntheses of research to date on the war. Even more significantly, both studies point out some fertile areas of future inquiry into the Seven Years' War, most notably the problems of logistics and human intelligence, the role of Native peoples in the conflict, and its relationship to the subsequent American Revolution. As examples of the recent "narrative turn" in historical writing, they are less successful in offering original perspectives on the conflict as a whole. One suspects that a greater departure from the longstanding Anglo-centric tradition of writing on the Seven Years' War than even these two scholars attain will be necessary to achieve that goal.

JON PARMENTER *Cornell University*

La liberté du pauvre: Crime et pauvreté au XIX^e^ siècle québécois. JEAN-MARIE FECTEAU. Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 2004. Pp. 460, $29.95

How did the liberal revolutions of the eighteenth century, which gave prominence to the individual, change ideas about the dispossessed and the delinquent? In what forms did these ideas survive the nineteenth century? How did philosophers and politicians, theologians and priests, economists and journalists, civil servants and philanthropists, understand the notion of 'freedom' when it came to be that 'of the poor'?

Jean-Marie Fecteau starts with the belief that representations need to be examined in the long term, not only through the texts conveying them, but also as they shaped institutions and conventions and, later, when the results of their 'confrontations on the ground' returned to worry their original adherents. Tracking this process, he suggests, is identifying the very movement that carries societies from one moment to another. And to study the tension between 'freedom and social order,' the author revises his own use of 'social control' as a category of analysis.

In this original review of the recent historiography of liberal values and practices, Fecteau favours a study of institutions, norms, 'personal ethics,' and 'political projects' that is dynamic, attentive to transformations, criticisms, ruptures, and contradictions, and respectful of the inner coherence of representations. His understanding of political relations encompasses representative, executive, and judicial institutions, and he contrasts this 'public' realm to a rich 'private' realm, that comprises intimacy, trade, and civil society. His identification of the important debates of each period is convincing, and his recognition of the changing meanings of the same institutions and practices is judicious. Finally, his attention to what was considered to be a political question at a given time is refreshing. In the mid-nineteenth century, for instance, the abandonment of philanthropic, collective, and reformative ideals was accompanied

by a relegation of the poor and the criminal to a 'pre-political' world from which the earlier, more optimistic version of liberalism had rescued them half a century before.

Reflections on the criminals and the dispossessed, as they stood at the margins of what was normal, revealed much about the 'fragility' of liberal thought and the tensions inherent to the 'construction of the social order' of modern democracy. Similarly, discussions of children exposed the limits of liberal thought, since the notions of freedom and of premeditation of actions did not apply equally to them.

Seen this way, the history of the 'freedom of the poor' occurred in three periods. At the point of departure, in Europe as in the New World, was a 'feudal logic of regulation,' based on status and community integration, and driven locally. This order became overwhelmed by the misery and the crime that arose from wars, epidemics, and the rise of markets. An initial call for freedom occurred, at the end of the eighteenth century. In the eyes of the liberals of this 'utopian' period, poverty appeared as an obstacle to freedom. With the idea of individual freedom came that of the liberty to do ill, which also changed ideas about criminals. The solution to the problems caused to liberal thought by poverty and delinquency was to reform the masses, a project that took different practical directions – philanthropic, Malthusian, Christian, or communalist – but that always relied on collective endeavours.

Ideals of the Enlightenment gave way, half a century later, to a second version of liberalism, pessimistic and reduced this time, carried by the 'hegemonic bourgeoisie' of the mid-nineteenth century. A conservative period started, when mainstream thinkers, having to face the persistence of poverty, turned from the ideal of reforming masses to that of countering the worst effects of liberal changes. Conceiving of a 'political society derived from the laws of the market,' they drew a new 'social geography,' which distinguished between 'natural poverty' – a by-product of social climbing – and 'pathological poverty.' The former explained that charity should be temporary; the latter that jails could act again as disincentives. The social problem of poverty became political, and rights to assistance and work were questioned. As liberal utopia was postponed and displaced, reform found its 'last refuges' in childhood and incarceration. Even within the jails, work was reduced to a discipline, rather than an apprenticeship to the requirements of free will, and reform was relegated to help at the exit of the prison. Freedom now meant the responsibility of helping oneself. Collective institutions for the poor were generally denigrated as 'forced charity,' and philanthropy was castigated as an 'exaggerated love of others.' Both could lead to harmful impositions on individuals, as did kings of yesteryear. More profoundly, humanism, the belief in the goodwill of human nature, was questioned. In this context, mutual help societies flourished because they were accepted as 'collective forms of the demand of autonomy.'

In the late 1800s, this conservative version of liberalism was itself challenged, by socialism and by a 'communautarism' that turned its attention to the scientific study and the betterment of the 'social' world. Inheritors of 'radical utopian critical traditions,' bearers of romantic and religious notions that had survived the Enlightenment, invoked the unavoidable consequences of an economic depression for exemplary individuals. They succeeded in having poverty considered again as a collective problem. In addition, the meaning of liberalism was questioned by the very masses it had contributed to empowering. This new humanism did not represent a full return to the Enlightenment. Rather than speaking of the free will of the criminals, for instance, it spoke of their 'dysfunction.'

Through the three periods, individuals were constantly conceived in relation to social organization. It is the nature of the relation between their will and their 'civic virtue' that changed, enough in fact to defy any idea of a continuous liberal order. In the process, the idea of opposing state and individual gained and lost currency.

Historian of 'social regulations,' head of an interdisciplinary and international research project on charitable institutions, and regular critic of Quebec's historiography, Fecteau is well placed to study the province's ideas in a global context. He has uncovered a surprising number of expressions of liberal concerns from court records, newspapers, pamphlets, and parliamentary debates, to show how Quebec ideas represented manifestations of larger trends. Assessing the specificity of Quebec history, he points especially at the weakness of the local state by the time of Confederation, at the vacuum it created, and at the role the church came to play in that space. What is remarkable, he suggests, is not the scale of the church enterprise, which can be found elsewhere, but the depth of its power. The pages on the new 'freedom of the church' in the new secular context, of the

'competition of faiths' and the 'secularization of religion' that accompanied liberalism, are among the best of the book. Fecteau's theoretical propositions on the study of religion benefit from the historiography of the French right. He follows the 'construction of a catholic social space serving the bourgeois civil society,' where Catholic traditions of authority could still find their place, especially in the second period, when liberals came to criticize state intervention and compulsory philanthropy. The 'strength and the distinction of Catholicism,' at this point, resided in religious orders of nuns and brothers 'entirely devoted to collective charity,' which provided a cheap way to take care of the poor. This original situation helped the idea of a collective responsibility for the poor to remain potent.

The wide-ranging thesis of *La liberté du pauvre* calls for further examination, in light of other bodies of work. Systematic comparisons need to be made to gage the originality of the situation in Quebec, a task many of Fecteau's colleagues have undertaken. Moreover, existing histories of the political culture of mid-nineteenth century Quebec have shown the role of church authorities in the very creation of the vacuum that would help them secure more power. Brian Young has studied the Sulpicians of Montreal and their relations to politicians Lafontaine and Cartier; he has also written about the accommodation for the control of social institutions concluded two decades before Confederation; Jacques Monet – who has examined the relations between political elites of Canada East and West in the 1840s and 1850s – and Gordon T. Stewart have shown how patronage offered a way out of the ethical resolution of the dilemmas of liberalism Fecteau presents. Similarly, the idea of the 'private' would benefit from a more systematic account of the corresponding ideas about family responsibilities, a theme that Young's monograph on the Civil Code of 1864 and Bettina Bradbury's writings on the status of widows have rejuvenated. The study of the ideas of the movements that challenged conservative liberalism at the end of the nineteenth century could have benefited more from the secondary literature on workers, women, and nationalism. Finally, authors of the past could be placed more systematically within bodies of thought and networks of influences. Such difficulties, in many ways, come from the ambition of the project.

To students of welfare and poverty, Fecteau has granted a detailed, subtle, and insurmountable guide for the analysis of traditions of thought.

DOMINIQUE MARSHALL *Carleton University*

Ashore and Afloat: The British Navy and the Halifax Yard before 1820. JULIAN GWYN. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004. Pp. 366, b&w, $35.00

For those of us who live in the Maritime provinces, Halifax and the navy seem virtually synonymous. The impact of the British, and later, Canadian, navy have made a huge impact on the area. It is somewhat surprising that for most of its early history, Halifax was quite marginal among the naval yards of the British Empire. This is only one of the themes Gwyn explores in *Ashore and Afloat: The British Navy and the Halifax Naval Yard before 1820*, a meticulous portrait of the economic impact of the yard in peace and in war.

Construction of the Halifax yard was undertaken in the 1750s to bolster the British presence and its drive for dominance in North America. Originally designed to combat the French, its fortunes rose and fell with imperial policy. It played a small but significant role until 1819, and reached its zenith during the struggles with the Americans in the War of Independence and the War of 1812. While it proved good value for British pounds, once the possibility of maritime warfare against the United States was extinguished, so too was the yard's importance to Britain in the nineteenth century.

Despite being the largest industrial site in British North America, the yard would have been more useful if it had possessed a dry dock. Without it, Halifax lacked adequate facilities to conduct major repairs, and many ships had to be sent back to England. A dry dock would have also facilitated Haligonian shipbuilding, utilizing the outstanding timber of neighbouring New Brunswick.

This is only one example of the Navy Board's policies that Gwyn condemns. The word *myopia* appears frequently in conjunction with the Admiralty and Navy Board. Gwyn demonstrates that the administration that micromanaged the yard from three thousand miles away was seldom up to the task. Had the personnel on site been allowed more autonomy, Halifax, and by extension, the British Empire, would have been better served.

Part of Halifax's handicap was the administration's blind preference for men and supplies from Britain over anything local. This fact held true for just about everything – whether artisans or materials. When skilled local workers were employed, certainly no Acadian, Aboriginal,

or Afro-Nova Scotians would have been given desirable posts. British biases are also evident against local lumber. This is one of the areas where the Halifax yard was unique – its proximity and utilization of timber for the fleet. Even though much of the region's growth would eventually be tied to lumber (mainly from New Brunswick, which was crafted out of the frontiers of Nova Scotia), the motherland was slow to recognize the high quality of local 'sticks' for masts and such.

When it came at all, changes in Britain's policies and attitudes occurred under the extreme circumstances that war can bring. Commissioner Wodehouse seems to have been one of the rare individuals who sought and obtained an increased measure of autonomy for the Halifax yard.

While the Navy Board was often intractable and ignorant, the other serious drawback was that inclement weather rendered Halifax harbour hazardous in winter. Such circumstances are difficult to overcome, and anyone who has endured a Maritime winter can appreciate why the fleet opted primarily for the Bermuda base when the American menace evaporated.

Despite being entitled *Ashore and Afloat*, Gwyn's book deals largely with the naval yard's affairs ashore. Gwyn is correct in emphasizing the importance of the Halifax yard to the town, yet we are mainly shown its economic impact. Even though the book jacket claims there are 'no stones unturned' in this study, Gwyn makes only a few allusions to the social and cultural influence of the yard and the navy.

Gwyn has provided copious, informative endnotes, a helpful biographical directory, and useful tables, as well as a glossary and illustrations. Stylistically, it is well written in a straightforward and organized manner. *Ashore and Afloat* is a storehouse of fascinating facts and information, which can be appreciated by general readers and experts alike.

CHERYL FURY *University of New Brunswick*

Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States. IAN RADFORTH. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. 469, illus., b&w, $39.95

Royal Spectacle is a thoroughly researched and well-written account of the North American tour of Edward Albert, Prince of Wales, in 1860. This was a well-known tour that regularly appears as background elsewhere, but in Ian Radforth's hands takes centre stage. Borrowing from the expanding literature on parades and civic celebrations, the tour becomes for him a means to examine British North American identities, and more. Radforth covers not only the young prince's travels through British North America, but his voyages through the American republic as well. And he covers this four-month odyssey in painstaking detail.

There is perhaps too much detail. At 381 pages, the account is a little excessive. The introduction, for instance, explains Radforth's intellectual influences, which really only amount to a list of the obvious titles. There is nothing unique in his choice of reading, and footnotes – a standard tool of scholarly writing – easily convey the same information. It comes off as a bit indulgent. Similarly lengthy portions provide more narrative about the planning and parading during the trip than are really necessary. There are many places where judicious editing could have reduced the minutiae without sacrificing the argument. Moreover, the detail can be uneven. All the discussion of planning means that, in a book that is largely a chronological narrative, it takes 83 pages for our hero to reach Newfoundland. By contrast, his return voyage, a more arduous and dangerous one nervously anticipated in England, takes a merciful 2 pages. Still, Radforth tells the story of the young prince's travels with a certain panache and a wry sense of humour. If at places one is tempted to flip quickly through the pages, at others it makes engrossing reading.

The book's great strength is that it turns attention away from the dignitaries to the crowds themselves. Perhaps the greatest contribution to this ever-growing literature on public spectacle is Radforth's effort to capture the reception of the events by the faceless masses. Relying primarily on newspaper accounts, he analyses how journalists viewed the common masses of humanity that everywhere met the prince and tried to stake their claims to legitimacy through an audience with royalty. The best chapter deals with the struggles of Orangemen to parade in colours before the heir to the throne, and the equally determined opposition of Bertie's 'political advisor,' the Duke of Newcastle, to prevent sectarian displays from tainting the monarchy. This is a chapter that reveals the multiple layering of interests in civic celebrations, Orange versus Green, Canadian versus English, and Newcastle against just about everybody. Through these moments of confrontation, Radforth is able to peer into the perceptions of the throngs of

journalists covering the events and, reading carefully, divine some understanding of how the crowds understood these issues.

But what we find, like many of Radforth's conclusions, is not really new. It turns out that journalists depicted the same events with the same crowds differently, depending on how they were disposed to see these events. For some, American crowds were enthusiastic, representing the generous hospitality of a free people; for others, the same unruly behaviour showed the dangers of democracy taken too far. Similarly, American women at the balls held in the prince's honour compared favourably and unfavourably to the young women of British North America, depending on who was doing the comparing. But this is not to disparage the whole book. Radforth does hint at further insights than his explicit conclusions reveal. One might be particularly interesting to modern day students of royalty: Edward Albert was, on this tour in particular, one of the first British royals to deal with a key tension within the modern monarchy. Radforth describes that tension succinctly: 'The heir apparent was made to seem both utterly special – the focus of everyone's gaze – *and* one of the people' (163). It is a tension that Radforth does not follow up, neither for what it says about the nature of an emerging democratic monarchy, nor for what it says about the expectations of the crowds attending the festivals. This omission is a shame, but much like those Victorian reporters, readers will find other insights, depending on their disposition to see them.

ALAN GORDON *University of Guelph*

Protection des cultures, construction de la nature: Agriculture, foresterie et entomologie au Canada, 1884–1959. STÉPHANE CASTONGUAY. Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 2004. Pp. 370, illus., $39.95

In *Protection des cultures,* Stéphane Castonguay presents an ode to governmental scientific research. He chronicles the evolution of economic entomology during its formative years in Canada and argues that, contrary to the prevailing conception, it made profound contributions to the development of scientific research and the training of researchers – two functions normally attributed only to those in our universities. His appeal will stimulate an enthusiastic response from fans of the history of science, but a much meeker one from those whose interests are more general.

Castonguay provides a comprehensive institutional history of Canada's entomological service based on a careful reading of primary (mostly Department of Agriculture records) and secondary sources. Starting from the appointment of James Fletcher as the country's first entomologist in the Dominion Department of Agriculture in 1884, Castonguay divides the service's evolution over the next seven decades into two eras during which the entomologists' main focus shifted dramatically. Prior to 1938, these insect specialists – many of whom were self-taught – were engaged primarily in developing control methods against infestations that were wreaking havoc in the country's most important orchards, fields, and forests.

Castonguay asserts that the turning point for the federal insect specialists was the creation of the Division of Entomology in the Department of Agriculture's Science Service just before the Second World War. Henceforth their focus became fundamental scientific research, exploring realms such as the physiology and ecology of insects, and borrowing increasingly from the life sciences to explain entomological phenomena. A radical transformation was the result. Insects like the grey worm morphed from representing strictly noxious insects in the field to biological models in complex laboratory studies. Moreover, the service enjoyed exponential growth in the buoyant era of postwar reconstruction. The Canadian government established a string of labs across the country and hired an extensive corps of highly trained scientists whose impressive postgraduate credentials dwarfed those of their pioneering predecessors. Furthermore, Castonguay contends that, in carrying out their work, the entomologists enjoyed a remarkable degree of autonomy, as they were essentially free to pursue their own research interests. This point was central to what Castonguay describes as the process of 'fondamentalisation' of this applied science.

While his account of the rise of the entomological bureaucracy is thorough, this quality is a source of strength *and* weakness. Castonguay's desire to fill the lacuna left by science historians who have generally ignored *le laboratoire publique* and pay homage to the federal scientific bureaucracy causes him to surfeit the book with detail. For example, the author devotes significant space to chronicling everything from the names of the persons whom the government hired as entomologists to the titles of their graduate theses in an apparent attempt to validate their contributions. A few poignant examples would have made this point more

effectively.

Castonguay also tends to exaggerate the autonomy the entomologists enjoyed in their research work (although he recognizes the limitations of his argument in the conclusion). The raison d'être for the entomological bureaucracy was the fact that commercial farming and forestry were the mainstay of the Canadian economy during the period being examined. Scientists in the laboratories in places like Sault Ste Marie were 'free' to pursue their own research interests, but only as long as their projects related – however tangentially – to some aspect of Canadian economic entomology. Castonguay's treatment of this issue compels the reader to consider it in terms of the classic conundrum involving the chicken and the egg, or in this case, the adult and the larva: Did the entomologists really have the freedom to pursue their interests, which just happened to deal with the most pressing entomological issues of the day, or did the Canadian government simply hire entomologists because they were experts in a field that was germane to a pressing issue involving agricultural or forest production?

This is a minutely detailed account of the development of the entomological service that sticks tightly to its subject and employs the vernacular of the specialist in paying tribute to those in the lab coats. The product is a valuable contribution to the history of science in Canada whose broader appeal is dubious.

MARK KUHLBERG *Laurentian University*

Un Québec en mal d'enfants. La médicalisation de la maternité, 1910-1970. DENYSE BAILLARGEON. Montréal, les éditions du remue-ménage, 2004, 373 p., illus., 29,95 $.

La *médicalisation de la maternité*, c'est « la transformation de la grossesse, de l'accouchement et des soins aux jeunes enfants en autant d'événements nécessitant l'intervention d'un médecin ou la médiation de connaissances médicales ». L'auteure a pour objectif de souligner « les intérêts des différents acteurs qui ont pris part au développement des services, en examinant les alliances et les jeux de pouvoir qui les ont rassemblés ou divisés ». Au cœur de son analyse se trouvent les rapports de pouvoir fondés sur la classe sociale et le « genre »; toutefois, la question nationale et les rapports entre l'Église et l'État occupent aussi une large place, de même que les relations entre le féminisme maternel et la construction de l'État providence. L'étude débute en 1910, date qui correspond à l'ouverture sur une base permanente des cliniques pour nourrissons, et se termine en 1970, avec l'instauration du programme d'assurance maladie et le démantèlement des services de médecine préventive.

L'auteure scrute d'abord des statistiques qui prouvent que tout au long de la période étudiée, le taux de mortalité infantile demeure plus élevé au Québec que dans l'ensemble du Canada. Les deux chapitres suivants sont consacrés au discours médical. Comme la lutte contre la mortalité infantile est entreprise au nom de la sauvegarde de la collectivité canadienne-française, l'auteure insiste sur la récupération de certains thèmes nationalistes. Puis elle montre comment les médecins visent à convaincre les femmes de voir en eux la seule source d'informations en matière de soins infantiles et prénatals. Elle met en évidence les rapports de genre et les préjugés de certains médecins qui attribuent la mortalité infantile à l'ignorance des mères plutôt qu'à la pauvreté.

Le chapitre quatre décrit les services d'origine publique et privée offerts aux mères, en particulier le Victorian Order of Nurses, les infirmières de la Métropolitaine et l'Assistance maternelle. Le chapitre cinq explore les relations parfois conflictuelles au sein de ces organismes : opposition des médecins généralistes aux cliniques qui leur ravissent des clients, opposition de bien des prêtres et des médecins à toute activité féminine qu'ils ne peuvent contrôler, alliance de ces derniers avec des infirmières respectueuses de leur autorité.

Après 227 pages d'une lecture très dense, le dernier chapitre semble une bouffée d'air frais. L'auteure présente avec brio le résultat d'une enquête orale auprès d'une soixantaine de femmes. Elle montre que, tout en acceptant les conseils médicaux, les mères n'hésitaient pas à effectuer les adaptations qu'elles jugeaient nécessaires. Elle constate aussi que c'est à mesure que le nombre d'enfants par famille diminue que les mères peuvent leur donner des soins plus efficaces. Cela l'amène à conclure en traitant de la médicalisation de la contraception.

Cet ouvrage richement documenté laisse de côté les oeuvres littéraires. Choix légitime, mais on regrette l'absence de *Bonheur d'occasion* de Gabrielle Roy (1947) qui confirme si bien la thèse de l'historienne. Rose-Anna Lacasse, mère de famille nombreuse aussi pauvre que dévouée, n'est-elle pas tenue responsable par un médecin de la maladie de son enfant? Les sources se limitent à la période sous

étude, soit le XX[e] siècle, mais l'ouvrage pionnier du docteur Hubert Larue (*De la manière d'élever les jeunes enfants au Canada* [1876]) aurait peut-être mérité une mention. Un des conseils de médecins aurait pu être replacé dans un contexte historique plus large (p. ex. le risque d'étouffer un bébé en le couchant avec ses parents a été signalé par des confesseurs dès le Moyen Âge). La bibliographie contient les études les plus récentes, malgré l'omission de l'ouvrage de 1989 de Denise Lemieux et Lucie Mercier (*Les femmes au tournant du siècle*).

Cet ouvrage solidement charpenté retiendra l'attention des historiens et des sociologues aussi bien que des spécialistes de la santé, même si ces derniers risquent d'être irrités par la mise en lumière des intérêts corporatistes de certains médecins. La présentation est soignée et des illustrations judicieusement choisies agrémentent la lecture. Peu de coquilles et d'erreurs grammaticales ont été oubliées (à l'exception des pages suivantes : 122, 200, 217, 237, 282 et 291). Déjà couronné par le Prix Clio Québec 2005, ce livre confirme la réputation de l'auteure et enrichit la production québécoise en histoire des femmes et de la famille.

MARIE-AIMÉE CLICHÉ *Université du Québec à Montréal*

Pegi by Herself: The Life of Pegi Nicol MacLeod, Canadian Artist. LAURA BRANDON. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. Pp. 246, illus., colour, $39.95

2005 was an exciting year for the study of Pegi Nicol MacLeod (1904–1949) with the release of both Michael Ostroff's feature-length NFB documentary *Pegi Nicol: Something Dancing about Her* and Laura Brandon's illustrated biography. Both were welcome and overdue: At the time of her death, Nicol MacLeod was eulogized as one of Canada's most important painters, but as Brandon notes, she has since received inadequate recognition in histories of Canadian art. Nicol MacLeod's absence from the historiography of Canadian art is typical of artists of her generation who have been, until recently, squeezed into obscurity by a narrative that raced from the Group of Seven of the 1920s to the Automatistes of the 1950s. Nicol MacLeod's brand of modernism, her humanism, her transnationalism, and her socialism do not fit comfortably into this story of Canadian artistic progress. And not only are Nicol MacLeod's style and politics wrong for this narrative, so is her gender.

'Pegi's paintings are like jazz,' Brandon writes, and this goes some distance towards capturing the liveliness, originality, and improvisational quality of Nicol MacLeod's work. Her mature style achieves the chief aims of many of her generation of modern painters in Canada: It is unique and experimental, yet still connected to 'old master' craft traditions; it is personally expressive, yet communicative and socially significant. Brandon's analyses of Nicol MacLeod's paintings focus on connecting them to events of her personal life. This approach is effective when reading her self-portraits of the 1930s. These interpretations are strongest when they rely on specific textual evidence, as when Brandon observes that Nicol MacLeod's depiction of herself with rhubarb (a traditional purgative) was connected to a secret abortion she had in 1935. One wishes that Brandon had been equally daring in interpreting the social and political meanings of Nicol MacLeod's paintings. Indeed, in her own lifetime, Nicol MacLeod bemoaned her critics' inability to understand these broader connotations.

This is not a book of criticism, however, but a biography, and Brandon comprehensively documents the events of Nicol MacLeod's life. After growing up in a staid middle-class family in Ottawa, Nicol MacLeod received artistic training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal. Brandon explains how, after returning to Ottawa, Nicol MacLeod used her considerable charm to develop friendships with powerful culture brokers such as Eric Brown, of the National Gallery of Canada, and Marius Barbeau, of the National Museum. These friendships helped catapult her to the forefront of Canadian painting and encouraged her to draw inspiration from the style and subject matter of the Group of Seven. Nicol MacLeod was critically and financially rewarded for 'Sevenesque' paintings such as *The Log Run* (1930), which won her the Willingdon Arts Prize in 1931, but the onset of the Depression radicalized her politics and her art. Her subject matter became urban life and human beings – including nudes. Her friendships with left-wing cultural figures such as Frank and Marian Scott, Norman Bethune, King Gordon, Paraskeva Clark, and Barker Fairley helped shape her political thinking. She also became the art editor of the social-democratic magazine *Canadian Forum*.

Brandon is somewhat apologetic for Nicol MacLeod's political commitments. She writes that 'for Pegi ... it was easy to see the left as good and brave and as wanting only peace and justice,' and does MacLeod disservice with her observation that 'if Pegi readily supported the left-wing line in

political matters, she did not think deeply about such things, being essentially a follower rather than an initiator' (98, 97). Brandon could have given more credence to Louise Parkin's observation that 'an extraordinary wisdom' underlay Nicol MacLeod's 'gaiety and intense vitality.' Nicol MacLeod first read works by Marx in the 1920s and reread them in the mid-1930s. While she may not have debated the finer points of socialist theory, the sophistication of her 1936 *Canadian Forum* cartoon 'Merry Christmas' belies any notion of superficial leftism.

Although Brandon nicely connects Nicol MacLeod's unconventional sexual behaviour with her feminism and career ambitions, it is surprising that she is not more sympathetic to what she calls Nicol MacLeod's 'constant complaints' about domestic responsibilities after her marriage and move to New York in the late 1930s. Brandon is very understanding of Norman MacLeod's professional difficulties and seems impressed at his tolerance for his wife's 'lamentable housekeeping.' His infidelity is mentioned in passing, but its effect on Nicol Macleod is not discussed at all.

It was Nicol MacLeod's marriage to Norman that led to her connection with his home town: Fredericton, New Brunswick. Here she was to spend some of the happiest and most successful summers of her life as co-founder and instructor of the Observatory Art Centre summer school on the campus of the University of New Brunswick. Nicol MacLeod became an integral part of a developing New Brunswick art scene in which she shared an enthusiasm for art education, child art, handicrafts, and murals, which were all perceived to be part of an emerging democratic cultural life. Nicol MacLeod's co-worker at the centre, Lucy Jarvis, reflected, 'We really thought we were doing "war work" in that old Observatory' (118), suggesting a shared belief that fascism needed to be fought not only militarily in Europe but culturally at home. This idea unites many of Nicol MacLeod's seemingly diverse wartime activities in New Brunswick, and the dawn of the Cold War helps explains the ambivalence of *The Peace Bird* (1946) and an anti-nuclear work like *Molecular Physicist* (1945).

Biographers must choose whether to allow existing historiography to provide context for their subject's life or to use that life to challenge the conventional account of its context. Brandon has taken the safer course, and the historical settings she provides for Nicol MacLeod are generally superficial and occasionally – as with her description of American art of the New Deal or her characterization of Lucy Jarvis – simplistic and misleading (103, 117). By contrast, Anna Hudson's 1997 University of Toronto doctoral dissertation, 'Art and Social Progress: The Toronto Community of Painters, 1933–1950' (a work that is notably absent from Brandon's otherwise extensive bibliography) more successfully links Nicol MacLeod's work to that of other painters working in Toronto in the 1930s to revise not only the history of Canadian painting but our understanding of Canadian cultural politics in the Depression.

Brandon's mandate was to cover the entirety of Nicol MacLeod's life, and she has succeeded in rendering a concise, entertaining, and accessible portrait. She has drawn from a wide array of written and oral sources and has reproduced so many of Nicol MacLeod's quotations and paintings that the reader is free to question Brandon's interpretations of them. As scholars revise the male-dominated, nationalist, progressive history of Canadian painting, Nicol MacLeod will be increasingly visible.

KIRK NIERGARTH *University of New Brunswick*

Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest. CAROL J. WILLIAMS. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 216, illus., b&w, $29.95

Framing the West examines the divergent and often conflicting roles of commercial photographers, governments, and missionaries in the photo-documentation of colonial expansion, and the resulting intercultural encounters during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Carol Williams demonstrates how photographs taken during this period are important material evidence of not only larger government agendas, but also of individual encounters between Native and non-Native peoples. Williams demonstrates how interconnected public and private agendas were for the use of photography. Paramount to the book are issues of politics and shifting power around the public and private use of photography during this era on the northwest coast, and the relationship between photographs as visual documents and the written texts that accompany them in the form of their captions or photographer memoirs.

Williams structures her inquiry using a modest chronology of the history of the photographic frontier. Each chapter of the book efficiently blends

general background information about colonial expansion with particular details of the key roles photography and photographers played in creating the visual record of the time. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the 'pre-industrial early trade and contact relations between Euro-Americans and the Wakashan-speaking Nuu-chah-nulth, on the north-western coast of Vancouver Island' (28). Chapter 2 examines the lives and photographs of the primarily male commercial photographers who produced the public record of settlers, architecture, and geographical surveys now found in the public record. Chapter 3 explores the use of photography by missionaries, detailing the use of honorific portraiture to illustrate cases of successful conversion of Aboriginal peoples. Here Williams details the manner by which these images were viewed very differently by Native peoples (as biblical entertainment) and urban settler communities (as evidence of evangelical success). Chapter 4 investigates the use of photographs of women on the coast (both Native and non-Native) with their children and families to record their 'work' as women on the frontier, namely giving birth and raising children. This emerg- ing economy of studio portraits for settler women and their children extended to Native women who sought to document themselves and their family as successfully converting their lives to a Western model. The final chapter moves away from examining photography from the point of view of Western expansion to thinking about why and how individual Aboriginal people utilized the skills and availability of commercial photographers to take mainly portraiture of families, but also of some aspects of cultural events.

Williams provides a comprehensive record of her use of archival references that she passes on to the reader through her bibliography and endnotes. Her meticulous reading and theoretical critique of the use of archives in social science research provides a potential departure point for further study by others not only in the area of history and photography, but also by those interested in archives and their continual re-interpretation. Williams's argument throughout the first three chapters – that colonial expansion of the coast and the later tourist economy provided a fertile ground for ongoing collaboration between the public and private – is well supported by her use of particular archival references and her detailed discussions of individual photographers and their work. Williams grounds her book with in-depth discussions about photographs that until now have not received critical attention. She weaves together the complicated histories of the people who sat as subjects for photographs and the lives of the photographers who created the images. These contexts of intertwining lives and agendas are made most evident in the later chapters of the book that examine photographs commissioned or taken by individual Native peoples for individual and cultural purposes. Using such examples of Native agency, Williams furthers existing critiques of the colonial gaze and its relationship to race and gender. She illustrates her book with images that allow her to discuss photography and gender from the perspectives of both men and women who employed photographers for their own purpose. This book will be of interest to both researchers working in the areas of history, race, gender, and photography and educators in search of a critically relevant text on these topics.

ANDREA N. WALSH *University of Victoria*

Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920–45. PETER GELLER. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. Pp. 280, illus. b&w, $29.95

In many ways Geller's *Northern Exposures* is ground-breaking. It is the first book to describe and document, with many superb illustrations, some of the extensive camera work done in the Canadian North; it is also the first book, to my knowledge, to provide a critique of certain key institutions and individuals whose images have constructed and conditioned southern Canadians' perceptions of the North. But I want to begin with one aspect of this book that deserves special praise – the illustrations. Rarely does a scholar garner any thanks for the often excruciating and painstaking work involved in finding, selecting, and reproducing illustrations for an academic book, and rarely is a publisher acknowledged for the beauty of design and layout in presenting illustrations. In this case, readers owe Geller and UBC Press much thanks. I cannot imagine this book without the reproductions of photographs and film stills. Moreover, each image is nicely subtitled and perfectly placed. Bravo!

Complementing the illustrations are descriptions of the documenting mandate and ambitions of such institutions as the Hudson's Bay Company and its journal, the *Beaver*, discussions of the role played in capturing the North on film by the churches and the Canadian government, and detailed accounts of the

work of photographers and filmmakers like A.L. Fleming, L.T. Burwash, or Richard Finnie or of films like *Nanook of the North* or *The Romance of the Far Fur Country*. I found the chapter devoted to Finnie of particular interest because Finnie is worth serious consideration as a filmmaker and as the 'unpaid propagandist for the Canadian North' (155). It is also in this chapter that Geller speaks most critically, and analytically, about the ideology reproduced and legitimized by film – notably the ideas of salvage ethnography, paternalism, and the 'masculinist gaze' (169). He names this power precisely when he notes that the 'all-seeing camera, travelling through Arctic waters ... to record and bring back visual documentation of the north, stands as a vivid metaphor for the extension of Canadian government authority in its northern territories' (167).

Geller concludes this study with an excellent bibliography, an item, like illustrations, that reviewers too often fail to mention. Particularly useful are his list of archival sources and his filmography, because he has done extensive primary research and located and screened more than fifty little-known items. Future scholars will be able to draw on this information and their own work will be made easier.

My complaints about this book are few and certainly not major. I wish, for example, that Geller had been a bit more attuned to the sexism of some of this film work (especially with Finnie) and that he had devoted more space to women's camera work in the North. The only female photographer he mentions is Florence Hirst, but there were others, one of the most interesting of whom was Mina Benson Hubbard. But Hubbard crossed Labrador in 1905 and her narrative, *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador*, first published in 1908, places it outside the time span included by Geller. Perhaps, in another book, he will dig further back in time or possibly come further forward to bring his view of the documenting process closer to the present. I also wish that he had had time and space to examine feature films and the work of the National Film Board, but that again would mean extending his parameters. Given his time frame and the wealth of material lying in archives just begging for discovery, he has accomplished a great deal. Most importantly, he has reminded us about a fascinating, powerful, and hitherto ignored (or taken for granted) aspect of Canadian heritage, and in the process, expanded our appreciation of the ways, as southerners, we have acquired what Glenn Gould once called our 'idea of North.'

SHERRILL GRACE *University of British Columbia*

The Dominion and the Rising Sun: Canada Encounters Japan 1929–1941. JOHN D. MEEHAN. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. Pp. 288, illus., b&w, $29.95

In his *A Personal History*, A.J.P. Taylor noted that if he were to rewrite *The Origins of the Second World War* he would place much more emphasis on the importance of the 'Far East' as a factor in British foreign policy during the 1930s. By the time Taylor's memoirs appeared in the early 1980s, a number of important works on British foreign policy in the 'Far East' had already been published, and more work uncovered just how much developments in that part of the world had affected Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's handling of foreign policy. In the United States, the importance of producing works on American interaction with the Pacific seemed to be much more self-evident and would now require more than a lifetime to read, much less master.

But what of Canada, which, after all, was a member of the Pacific Rim club, however insignificant in the larger scheme of international relations? The short answer, astonishing as it might sound, is that it has taken this long for a single monograph covering Canada's relations with Japan during the 1930s to appear, at least one that is based on the archival records. For that reason alone this is an important book. Drawing on the University of Toronto doctoral dissertation he completed in 2000, John Meehan covers Canada's relations with Japan from the establishment of the Canadian legation in Tokyo in 1929 to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War in 1941. His basic thesis is that Canada and Japan began as friends and then slowly became enemies (his PhD thesis was titled 'From Ally to Menace'). Within that general framework Meehan covers the major developments in what at the time was known as the Far East. The book is well grounded in the records of the Department of External Affairs and the private papers of the leading actors. He has also written a useful annotated bibliography to introduce prospective students to some of the literature on Canada's interaction with Asia and the Pacific Rim.

One of the main points to emerge from this book is the impact that developments in the Far East had on Canada's external relations (as it was called) during the 1930s. Meehan is quite critical of the

'Eurocentric focus of studies of Canada's interwar foreign policy,' and he believes that 'Canada's preoccupation with Germany's aggrandizement has led scholars to overlook its responses to threats to global security elsewhere,' especially after 1937 (148). While Meehan is at times critical of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's handling of external relations, there is a good understanding of the difficulties Mackenzie King and others faced during that 'low dishonest decade.'

Meehan makes some observations that dedicated students will find interesting. For example, he claims that Caroline Macdonald was 'the most famous Canadian in Japan due to her pioneering work with the YWCA' (23). That accolade is usually offered to Herbert Norman. Meehan also questions the accuracy of the charges that the well-known Canadian missionary Dr. Robert McClure levelled against the Canadian government about nickel shipments to Japan (189–91).

If there is a weakness in this book it is in the treatment of defence. Meehan suggests it was not until after the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931–3 that 'defence planners in Ottawa seriously considered the prospect of a full-blown Pacific war' and that this represented a 'dramatic shift in focus' (94). In fact, if Meehan had done just a bit more research in the files of the Department of National Defence he would have discovered that Canadian military officials had been expressing growing concern over Japan since before the outbreak of the First World War. The book could also have stressed the seriousness of the Tientsin crisis during the summer of 1939. Here one needs to recall British Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax's remark to the cabinet in August 1939 that 'the position in the Far East was now causing him more anxiety than the position in any other part of the world' – and that at a time when so many were convinced that the crisis over the Danzig corridor was certain to lead to war!

Those quibbles aside, this is a fine study and a valuable contribution to the history of Canadian foreign policy.

GREGORY A. JOHNSON *Athabasca University*

Profiting the Crown: Canada's Polymer Corporation, 1942–1990. MATTHEW J. BELLAMY. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. Pp. 304, illus., $65.00

Au cours du XX^{e} siècle, le Canada est devenu une véritable pépinière de sociétés de la couronne dans les domaines du transport, des communications et de l'énergie. Dans cette étude monographique bien ficelée, Matthew J. Bellamy, historien à l'Université Carleton, brosse le portrait de l'une d'entre elles : la Polymer Corporation. Sur l'instigation de Clarence Decatur Howe, ministre des Approvisionnements et maître d'œuvre des sociétés de la couronne, elle devait apporter une solution à la rupture des approvisionnements en caoutchouc naturel au Canada au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Ainsi en 1942, un vaste complexe d'usines situé à Sarnia, Ontario, débuta la production de caoutchouc synthétique fait à base de polymères. Durant la période d'après-guerre, le département de recherche et développement contribua à asseoir la réputation de la société par l'invention du caoutchouc de marque commerciale Polysar. Reconvertie en entreprise civile, la Polymer Corporation se tailla une part importante du marché européen du caoutchouc ; mais, en tentant de diversifier ses activités, elle connut des ratées importantes sur le plan de la gestion. En 1990, la multinationale allemande Bayer Aktiengesellschaft, chef de file de l'industrie chimique mondiale, l'acheta sous le nom de Polysar Corporation.

Afin de donner une interprétation rigoureuse des faits, Matthew J. Bellamy a inscrit son étude dans le prolongement des travaux des économistes évolutionnistes tels Edith Penrose et Alfred Chandler. Plusieurs économistes ont réalisé des analyses sur le comportement des entreprises selon la loi de l'équilibre entre l'offre et la demande. À l'encontre de cette théorie classique, les économistes évolutionnistes tiennent compte des facteurs historiques qui modèlent la trajectoire spécifique de chaque entreprise. En obéissant à cette logique, Matthew J. Bellamy divise l'histoire de la Polymer Corporation en périodes chronologiques dans lesquelles il passe en revue une série de thèmes porteurs. Il considère les rapports entre l'entreprise et le gouvernement fédéral, les stratégies d'élargissement des marchés, les changements dans l'industrie chimique, les activités de recherche et développement. Tout compte fait, le cheminement utilisé est une façon assez courante d'écrire l'histoire d'une entreprise privée, soit la biographie.

Dans un récit concis, nuancé et rythmé, Matthew J. Bellamy croise ses sources originales avec le résultat d'études de sciences humaines et sociales. Il a consulté de nombreux documents inédits des fonds Polysar et Howe de Bibliothèque et Archives Canada. Ses sources premières ont été complétées par les délibérations de la Chambre des communes et par des articles de journaux financiers,

scientifiques et politiques. En outre, Matthew J. Bellamy amène des comparaisons instructives sur les entreprises chimiques internationales (telles Bayer, DuPont et IG Farben) et les sociétés de la couronne (telles Air Canada, Énergie atomique du Canada et Pétro Canada). On trouve cependant quelques passages discutables sur l'histoire de la recherche industrielle au Canada. Par exemple, l'auteur tire une conclusion générale mais sans preuve sur la création du département de recherche et développement en 1944 : « *Polymer was thus among the first Canadian firms to acknowledge that economic growth could be knowledge-based and science-driven* » (p. 72). En fait en 1939, l'industrie canadienne possédait déjà 998 laboratoires et dépensait 8 903 140 $ en activités de recherche, selon le Bureau de la statistique du Dominion. Elle n'était plus à ses tous premiers balbutiements.

La lacune majeure du livre, par ailleurs si intéressant à maints égards, réside dans la prise de position politique ostensible de l'auteur. Des politiciens néoconservateurs, et à leur suite quelques historiens de l'économie, estiment que les sociétés de la couronne rencontrent rarement leurs objectifs politiques. En outre, ils se scandalisent qu'elles gaspillent des millions de dollars perçus par l'impôt sur le revenu des personnes. Si l'on applique leur programme politique, elles devraient disparaître de l'économie de marché. Or Matthew J. Bellamy exprime une opinion diamétralement opposée. D'après lui, le gouvernement fédéral, tout en satisfaisant des objectifs politiques, réalisa un investissement financier sain avec la Polymer Corporation. « *Canadians might do well to see Polymer not just as a unique bit of our national history but also as a template for the future relationship of state and market place* », écrit-il à la toute fin du livre (p. 222). On peut heureusement supprimer cette conclusion politique - sans diminuer la valeur du livre - et la laisser en délibération à la Chambre des communes à Ottawa.

Avec le livre *Profiting the Crown,* Matthew J. Bellamy offre une contribution originale et généreuse à l'histoire économique du Canada. On verra très certainement apparaître des références à ce livre dans les études à venir sur l'histoire des sociétés de la couronne, des entreprises privées et de l'industrie chimique. Quel qu'en soit le rayonnement futur, c'est en tout cas l'étude la plus complète à ce jour sur l'histoire de la Polymer Corporation.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS AUGER *Université Louis-Pasteur, Strasbourg*

Michael Power: The Struggle To Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier. MARK G. MCGOWAN. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. Pp. xvii, 378, illus. $49.95

Although bishop of Toronto for only six years, Michael Power has received from the pen of Mark McGowan a carefully researched and elegantly written biography. It is a very interesting story well told. McGowan artistically paints the historical context of the events from Power's youth to his leadership of the Catholic Church in Toronto. It is a delight to read the adventures of the boy from Halifax studying at the seminaries in Montreal and Quebec *en français*. At the same time, young Michael learned Amerindian languages to exercise Christian ministry in the remote corners of the Montreal diocese. At thirty-five years of age, he was sent as pastor to the parish of La Prairie, and two years later, appointed the first bishop of Toronto.

Michael Power is a detailed history of Canadian Catholicism during the first half of the nineteenth century. It offers a new interpretation that goes beyond the essay-length interpretations of H.F. McIntosh, Murray Nicolson, and Robert Choquette. The book's first theme focuses on the leadership of Bishop Power's founding of the Toronto diocese not only in spirit but in its legal incorporation in the Province of Ontario. The story describes Power being on the front line of the Catholic devotional revolution in Canada West, where he out-manoeuvred the lay trustees to unite parish properties into one episcopal corporation. McGowan leads the reader to understand that Michael Power was more than a martyr of service resulting in his heroic death after attending the plague-stricken Irish at the Toronto harbour, but that, in the short period of six years, he disciplined the Catholic clergy, instructed the laity, established an episcopal corporation, and founded the separate school system. Power's dual loyalties to the Catholic Church and the colonial government were always firm and never questioned.

A second theme that McGowan sketches is the difficulties of the frontier church. Educated as a proper French-Canadian priest, Power was ready to maintain the canons of the Roman church. Arriving in Canada West, he discovered he was not presiding over an established diocese, but over a sprinkling of Catholics in a sea of Protestants. The bishop had to emphasize to his scattered flock the importance of baptism, accustom himself to mixed

marriages, and deal with independent frontier clergy. McGowan does not gloss over the delays to Michael Power's ordination but sensitively unwraps his sources. Nor does he shy away from an open discussion of Michael Power's handling of the finances at Petite-Nation but clarifies the issues with new data and excellent research.

What would a book on Canadian Catholicism be without an extensive treatment of the separate school issue! From his youth, Power had learned the importance of working with those of other faiths, but the study clarifies the historical misunderstanding that Power was thus soft on separate schools in favour of the common schools. The author demonstrates beyond a doubt that the intellectually sophisticated Michael Power considered different models for delivering education to Catholic children, and of those considered, that Catholic separate schools were his priority.

A fourth theme McGowan develops is Power's Irishness. Although formed as a French-Canadian cleric, Power never forgot his roots. He cultivated Irish connections and sought help from the Irish church. During the Irish Famine of 1847, Michael Power tended the stricken Irish at the Toronto waterfront until he himself was stricken by the typhus virus and died within ten days. In writing about Irish immigration, McGowan reveals his command of the history.

Michael Power analyses the struggles of a frontier church during the first half of the nineteenth century. In his fresh and comprehensive interpretation, Mark McGowan includes insightful comments about the related personalities of John Hughes, Michael Fleming, Alexander Macdonell, and Ignace Bourget. The careful research displayed in this volume makes this study on Michael Power and the early-nineteenth-century frontier church authoritative. This well-crafted and interesting volume will be of interest to Quebec and Ontario historians and to scholars of religious and social studies for many years to come.

TERENCE J. FAY *University of Toronto*

W. Stanford Reid: An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy. A. DONALD MACLEOD. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004. Pp. 402, illus. b&w, $29.00

A. Donald MacLeod opens his biography of W. Stanford Reid with the image of a granite boulder in rural Quebec. It marks the site of Reid's church, where members of the family worshipped until it closed in 1952. Although students still recreate the area's past as a tourist attraction, MacLeod finds what remains 'strangely alien'; the cairn's inscription is an 'epitaph for a way of life irretrievably gone.' One wonders after reading this book if the same can be said of Stanford Reid's brand of Calvinism.

The core of the book deals with Reid's confessional evangelicalism, which was rooted in Calvinist doctrine as presented in the Westminster Standards. MacLeod deftly analyses how it differed from related varieties, notably the dispensationalist theology of fundamentalism and the narrow morality of pietism. It differed as well from the liberal evangelicalism of those who founded the United Church of Canada in 1925. Church union divided not only the Presbyterian Church but Reid's own family, with his father and uncle taking different sides. He remained a critic of the doctrinal ambiguity he associated with the United Church's founding, but was just as dogged in confronting those in Presbyterian circles who were wandering toward the same slippery theological slope. This suspicion of ecumenism was reinforced by an ongoing relationship with Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, where he studied soon after it was founded by fundamentalist leader Gresham Machen.

MacLeod is at his best as raconteur, presenting in graceful prose Reid's family life, academic accomplishments, theological battles, and complicated relationships. Along the way he attends to Reid's work as a historian at McGill, his witness to the end of Anglophone influence in Quebec higher education, and his move to Guelph to launch the Scottish Studies program. Although MacLeod uses words well, one occasionally wishes for a few less of them. Details such as the particulars of the purchase of a boat in a chapter on life at McGill may be an effort to match the rich texture of the sections on church affairs (which sometime have the feel of 'family gossip' in their juicy tidbits). But occasionally words get in the way of effective analysis. For example, a blow-by-blow account of the dismissal of a Westminster Theological Seminary professor accurately portrays the defence of fine points of theology that set Reid apart from his Presbyterian co-religionists. But Reid himself tends to become lost in the minutiae of correspondence and board minutes. There are a few organizational slips as well. Reid's professional and religious activities are separated into chapters that

overlap more or less chronologically, a strategy that is not always effective. Chapter 7 is a case in point. The title refers to the period 1951–62 and purports to deal with 'McGill during and after Duplessis.' It concludes with Reid's resigna- tion – in 1965. Meanwhile there is no significant analysis of the significance of Duplessis's defeat, and the situation of Anglophones in higher education in Quebec in that era is highlighted in a later chapter that covers (again) the period from 1958 to 1965.

MacLeod suggests that Reid paid a professional price for his religious observance, but received little thanks for it in evangelical circles: They respected him as a 'secular' historian but declined to hire him when church history positions came open. His is also a cautionary tale of cultural and generational change – bruised by political wrangling time and again, considered too conservative for most of the next generation, and yet too liberal for some younger confessionalists. Those he mentored, including a group led by his biographer (who oddly refers to himself in the third person as 'Donald MacLeod' when describing events in which he was involved) moved in directions he could not support. Particularly intriguing is MacLeod's role in a Presbyterian renewal movement that Reid saw as a challenge to his own leadership of the confessional wing.

The preface to the book is pointedly dated – the feast day of Polycarp, an early Christian martyr. While MacLeod expresses the hope that his account of Reid's life will lead to a rediscovery of the lapsed principles he stood for, one still wonders if the image of the cairn comes closer to conveying his expectations for the future of evangelical Calvinist confessionalism.

PHYLLIS D. AIRHART *University of Toronto*

Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays. J.R. MILLER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. 304, $27.95

This collection of essays was assembled at the invitation of the Press to foreground developments in the historical literature on Native peoples over the past thirty years. Their choice of J.R. Miller's writings as the vehicle is appropriate; this author is one of the most prolific writers on Native-newcomer history in Canada. In addition to in-depth studies of a variety of historic events, such as the Northwest Rebellion, residential schools, and treaties, two of his texts were the first to facilitate university level courses. The selection of articles for this volume covers some of these research interests but mainly they feature broader questions and concerns. There are twelve articles, seven of which have been published before and are grouped under five headings. The brief introduction explains the circumstances under which each was written; there is no conclusion or index.

The first article, 'Bringing Native People in from the Margins,' examines why writing on Native peoples issues, in all disciplines, is recent. While Miller finds many advances, he points to the shortcomings that could be rectified using Aboriginal sources and scholars (28), although recognizing many communities' mistrust of social scientists. 'From Riel to the Métis' (1988) similarly shows how and why they have remained invisible in the literature. Importantly, Miller provides proposals for the direction that Metis history could and should take but signals the dangers of censorship, partisanship, and government subsidies of the research. He has not updated this analysis.

His 'Methodology' section includes one article that probes the issues and another that demonstrates the benefits of using visual images, as in residential schools. 'Shifting Notions of Historical Understanding in the 1990s' focuses on, among other contentious concerns, self-censorship and cultural appropriation, which he views as intertwined with the new and shifting trends in interpretive thinking, most recently found in history and later than in the social sciences.

Under the 'Policy' heading, Miller has republished four articles. A well-known one, 'Owen Glendower,' received a 'rocky reception' in 1990, as he admits (6), because in it he tried to demonstrate Native agency and was accused of downplaying the suffering of the children in the residential schools. A second, on the 1990 Oka crisis, published in 1991, exemplifies Miller's excellent research and interpretive abilities and in a research field new to him, though Native agency is less apparent here. The third article probably should not have been included; it is a general article on the first fifty years of Canada's rule over the Native peoples. The absence of Miller's usually extensive endnotes points to its more synoptic nature. Readers of this book are likely to have this knowledge. The fourth essay is a more restricted look at the differences in expectations between the federal government and the churches in the operations of the residential schools.

A section entitled the 'Crown' covers two detailed discussions of why it is so important in the thinking and rhetoric of Native peoples – one

covering the symbolism and the other demonstrating why the treaty agents and the western Native peoples invoked the 'Great White Mother.'

The last section, 'Academe,' includes an article on how universities could be better institutions if they incorporated the Iroquoian notions of leadership, presented in an idealized form, and one on changing developments in Native studies programs at the University of Saskatchewan as a result of the emergence of Native issues.

Miller is critical of anthropology's contribution prior to the 1970s, referring to the approach as descriptive and static (15), and is dismissive of the anthropological reports produced outside the 'academy.' However, these studies, produced for the National Museum of Man, the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs, and universities (for example, Shimpo and Williams, *Socio-cultural disintegration among the Fringe Saulteaux*, 1965), did enquire into the social conditions and offered suggestions. They were used in university courses, and many of the professors had first-hand experience on reserves. His emphasizing of the use of Aboriginal sources is, of course, laudable and important but lacks understanding of the difficulty in translating the highly symbolic oral accounts from the Native language, unless each unilingual Euro-Canadian researcher is twinned with a bilingual, bicultural Native scholar. His criticism of top-down Canadian history fails to acknowledge it was a failing of all Western history. His searing attacks on government policy ought to have been buttressed with a full account of the societal values and thinking of the period, not just portrayed as 'racist ideology' (195). Otherwise it smacks of 'presentism.' The look to Iroquoian forms of leadership as a model for universities to combat, in part, the reduced commitment among staff (275) ought to have placed greater emphasis on the communal nature of Iroquoian society and the duties and obligations of everyone, not just the leaders. Overall, Miller, with his broad and deep understanding of Native-newcomer history, might have provided in the Introduction much-needed suggestions for new fields of research, in addition to the all-important one of involving Native scholars and sources. Surely twentieth-century regional histories are one example, as are studies of not only government policy but also the individual Indian agents who interpreted and enforced these policies.

These criticisms aside, this selection of articles will provide students and teachers with probing examinations of historical periods and subjects along with Miller's highly insightful, self-critical examination of the important complementary issues and concerns.

TOBY MORANTZ *McGill University*

Insiders and Outsiders: Alan Cairns and the Reshaping of Canadian Citizenship. Edited by GERALD KERNERMAN and PHILIP RESNICK. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005. Pp. 378, illus., $85.00 cloth, $24.95 paper

For forty years, Alan Cairns has towered over the Crisis of Canada, as patriot, prophet, and political theorist. He was among the first to understand the epochal significance of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a transmogrifying agent of the Canadian imagined community. He has been a most significant and subtle (if hardly the most vociferous) interpreter of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. He added his own clarifying 'Plan C' to the Plans A and B to the sovereignty- vs.-federalism struggle. This often rewarding festschrift brings together twenty-nine scholars, mainly political scientists, who have all been influenced by Cairns's remarkable writings. One of its many virtues is that, unlike most collections in this genre, it makes so much room for incisive critiques of the work of the scholar it honours – who enjoys an enviable record of quietly reshaping every major debate he enters.

Cairns's own brief contribution helps us grasp why he could make such an original contribution. He was trained at Oxford as an Africanist, and approached the Canadian scene with a sharp sense of the turmoil that empires can leave behind them. His assumption was that if the Canadian centre could survive the centrifugal forces of modernity, conflicting nationalisms, and the rights revolution, it would be only through its self-disciplined disavowal of absolutes and its openness to complexity. Cairns was thus prepared by his training as an Africanist to make a uniquely cosmopolitan and mature contribution to the discussion of the Canadian Crisis – although, to his and many of his colleagues' cost, they do not exhibit many signs of having read much recent Canadian history per se.

Read against its grain, this collection documents a liberal order enmeshed in ever-deepening, perhaps fatal, contradictions. As Cairns shows, and subsequent experience largely confirms, the electoral system routinely generates results unreflective of the political diversity of the country's regions. As contributors to the outstanding four-chapter section on Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations variously demonstrate, the upshot of First Nations nationalism is to de-legitimize the conventional Canadian narrative. As Cairns showed so clearly, the colonial status quo cannot be preserved. It also seems impossible to change it. The voices of our political scientists wisely counsel calm discussion, active listening, moderate words. Many do not seem to grasp the deep pattern of the crisis. They cannot grasp the structural contradictions of a liberal order dangerously incapable of understanding its conflicted past or theorizing its post-colonial future.

One has to wonder if all's well with this liberal world when as eminent a publishing house as UBC Press permits a book with its imprint to include the following sentence: 'After all, it is not self-evident that spousal benefits as a justiciable right belong to lesbian couples, or that men may collect kiddie porn instead of stamps' (109).

IAN MCKAY *Queen's University*

From Subjects to Citizens: A Hundred Years of Citizenship in Australia and Canada. Edited by PIERRE BOYER, LINDA CARDINAL, and DAVID HEADON. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004. Pp. xvi, 328. $29.95

The editors of *From Subjects to Citizens* (the latest addition to the University of Ottawa Press Governance Series) set out to accomplish two goals: demonstrate the value of comparative research between Canada and Australia, and deepen our understanding of the concept of citizenship. Unfortunately, they fall short of both objectives. No fewer than nineteen articles are published in this collection, yet barely two could honestly be characterized as 'comparative.' Most of these pieces provide only a cursory discussion of how ideas of citizenship have evolved in both countries. If we learn anything from this book, it is to avoid forcing a publication out of an awkward collection of conference papers with only tenuous links.

At first glance, the endeavour appears laudable. Although fully a third of the contributors are political scientists, the other authors come from myriad backgrounds including professors of law, English, sociology, Aboriginal studies, and public policy. Among the non-academics are two writers, an appellate judge, and a representative from Screen Sound Australia. It is a truly interdisciplinary work. At the same time, the lack of historical work in this field is evident by the fact that only one historian (Constance Backhouse) contributed to this collection.

The essays explore a variety of issues including civic debate and deliberative democracy, the relationship between culture and citizens' sense of identity, multiculturalism, the implications of multiple identities and citizenships, the meaning of nation, women's issues, Aboriginal citizenship, and globalization. Instead of encouraging the development of truly comparative work, however, most of the essays simply deal with either Canada or Australia. The editors have left it up to readers to draw their own comparisons. Since few of the articles deal with similar topics, the reader will be excused from finding this a difficult task.

Eight of the contributors deal with Australia. Helen Irving introduces us to the evolution of citizenship as a legal construct, and argues that Australian citizenship has always been a highly racialized concept. David Headon laments the lack of current debate in Australia on issues of identity, civic pride, and duty; his essay is a superficial review of manifestations of public debate over the meaning of citizenship. A similarly inadequate discussion of citizenship is provided by John M. Williams, who predicts the downfall of the monarchy in Australia in favour of republicanism. His account of the impact of the principle 'sovereign- ty of the people' leads him to suggest that judges may soon use this section of the constitution to justify invalidating statutes, although not because a statute violates the constitution, but because the government has failed in its trusteeship with the people. Marian Sawer provides an overview of the history of the secret ballot and argues that Australians' notions of citizenship have evolved from an ethnically based identity to a civic identity rooted in liberal democratic principles. Sawer's empirical analysis, however, is weak and does not go far beyond the study of political rhetoric. Several of the articles on Australia are also questionably relevant to the theme of citizenship, including Alasdair McGregor's discussion of Australian exploration of

Antarctica, Jeff Brownrigg's short biography of opera signer Dame Nellie Melba, Sara Dowse's personal account of life as a woman in Australia in the 1970s, and Marcia Langton's critique of the Australian government's Aboriginal policy.

The Canadian contributors offer a great deal more insight into the nature and function of citizenship. David E. Smith reminds us of the simple but critical fact that notions of citizenship evolve over time. Smith offers a list of useful indices that currently define Canadian citizenship, although his assumption (shared by many) about the centrality of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is open to debate. While it is true that Canadians are linked by an ideology of universal human rights, Australians are no less bound by similar beliefs in fundamental freedoms, yet their constitution says virtually nothing about rights. Linda Cardinal demonstrates a greater appreciation of the complexities of the Trudeau legacy in her article on the impact of the human rights paradigm, and points out that the notion of rights-bearing citizens dates back to the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, Cardinal has not exploited the rich literature on the post-Second World War human rights movement in Canada and thus fails to take into consideration the role of non-state actors in shaping contemporary ideas about citizenship. François Houle raises questions about multiculturalism and the implications of ethnically based citizenship, and James R. Mitchell explores how the state promotes culture and identity in Canada. Three interesting pieces by Micheline Label and François Rocher, Gerry Turcotte, and Peter J. Smith discuss the future of citizenship in Canada. Although they do not present strong empirical research, they all raise new questions about citizenship and globalization, particularly Smith, who traces the creation of new public spaces through the Internet. The Canadian contingent is also supported by brief pieces on Aboriginal policy (René Dussault) and women as citizens (Caroline Andrew).

The two strongest articles are easily Constance Backhouse's comparative study of criminal cases dealing with sexual assault, and Gilles Paquet's wonderful piece on conceptualizing citizenship. According to Backhouse, the (male) judiciary imported the principle of corroboration (requiring additional evidence to support victim testimony) from Britain, using common law precedents, despite the fact that neither Canada nor Australia had legislated this principle into their respective criminal codes. As a result, it became far more difficult for women to seek redress for sexual assaults, given the lack of physical evidence common to such crimes. Granted, the piece says virtually nothing about citizenship, but it is a fascinating historical study on gender and the law, and how both countries' judiciary remained trapped by a colonial mentality well into the twentieth century. In contrast, Paquet forces us to consider a radical new way of conceiving of citizenship, not as a set of identifiably shared values, but a willingness to work together. He demonstrates the benefits of comparative research and argues that Canadians have come to conceive of citizenship in a rights framework, requiring only obligations by the state, whereas Australians associate individual duty and responsibilities with citizenship.

Backhouse and Paquet are the only two authors to offer tangible comparative analyses. It is not sufficient to simply publish articles on Canada and Australia in the same volume. Genuine comparative work requires authors to conduct solid empirical research in both countries and present their findings in a single analysis. In the most recent issue of *Labour History*, editor Greg Patmore has lamented the lack of comparative historical work between Canada and Australia. As Patmore notes, his journal has published only a few truly comparative articles in the past decade. A similar criticism could be made for most Canadian and Australian journals (including the *Canadian Historical Review*). Even the leading journal in the field, *Australian Canadian Studies*, publishes very few comparative pieces, although it makes an honest effort to publish research in areas where Canada and Australia find common ground, notably Aboriginal studies. Comparative work between the two nations remains, surprisingly, a relatively unexplored field outside foreign policy studies. We are often blind to aspects of our own culture and history as a result of the unquestioned assumptions we embrace as a national community. Serious comparative work, including the two pieces in this volume and a few recent publications by UBC Press, raises new and exciting questions. Australia is arguably the ideal setting for comparative work with Canada, given the vast commonalities shared by the two countries. It is a pity that this collection of essays has not exploited this potential to offer us new insights into the concept of citizenship.

DOMINIQUE CLÉMENT *Memorial University of Newfoundland and University of British Columbia*

The Intimate Life of L.M. Montgomery. Edited by IRENE GAMMEL. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. Pp. 302, illus. $29.95

This collection of twelve essays is drawn from papers presented at the Fifth International Biannual L.M. Montgomery Conference in 2002, which focused on Montgomery and life writing. It follows the publication of essays from the 2000 Montgomery conference, also edited by Irene Gammel, and titled *Making Avonlea: L.M. Montgomery and Popular Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 2002). The quality of these collections illustrates the depth of scholarly interest that has developed around Montgomery in the last twenty years, initially prodded by Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston from the University of Guelph, who have since been joined by many impressive scholars not only in Canada but also in England, Scotland, Finland, the United States, and elsewhere.

Despite the popularity of Montgomery's five published diaries and the increasing interest in her scrapbooks and photographs, relatively little scholarship existed on the author's life writing before the publication of this collection. Divided into four parts, 'Staging the Bad Girl,' 'Confessions and Body Writing,' 'Writing for the Intimate Audience,' and 'Where Life Writing Meets Fiction,' this collection goes a long way toward filling that gap.

Montgomery fans and scholars have almost recovered from the shock of finding out, through Montgomery's published diaries, that the author known for sweet children's books was often depressed, had a very unhappy marriage, hated being a minister's wife, disliked many of her acquaintances, and was quite sarcastic. Now they are in for more surprises in this collection, which includes Gammel's edited version of the diary Montgomery co-authored with Nora Lefurgey for six months in 1903. The lighthearted diary was discovered in the University of Guelph Archives by Jennifer Litster, a University of Edinburgh Ph.D. candidate whose provocative essay on the diary is also included in this collection. In 'The Secret Diary of Maud Montgomery, Aged 28 1/4,' Litster notes, 'The collaborative diary presents another self: a playful, self-confident young woman and proverbial social animal' (98). The second significant surprise is Gammel's essay, '"I loved Herman Leard madly": L.M. Montgomery's Confession of Desire,' which explores the significance of Montgomery falling in love with farmer Herman Leard in 1897 while still engaged to Edwin Simpson. Gammel explains that Montgomery was boarding with the Leard family while teaching in Bedeque, and notes, 'Although the sex act remains unconsummated, there is a great deal of kissing of lips and faces; on at least one occasion Herman kisses her fingers, wrist, and bare arm' (135–6). Gammel further explains that never again did Montgomery show such sexual passion, a passion that Gammel says grew out of a 'sexual aversion' to her fiancé Edwin Simpson: 'This unresolved conflict explains why this intensely controlled woman would plunge into a mad fling with Herman and record every single kiss and caress in her journal with the meticulousness of an accountant. She had something to prove to herself' (140). Historians may be disappointed with Gammel's sources, however, which include interviews with descendants of the relatives and acquaintances of Montgomery and Leard, who are remembering their second-hand versions of the context of the 'affair' a full century after it happened. On the other hand, Gammel's conclusions are in keeping with the codes of behaviour under which the affair happened.

All of the essays in the collection are strongly grounded in theories of life writing that are applied appropriately to Montgomery's journals, scrapbook, and photos. Historians will find the theory applicable to unpublished diaries and other life writing of other women who never reached the level of fame that Montgomery did. For example, Janice Fiamengo writes of Montgomery's depression 'as a discourse rather than a biological fact,' concluding that 'Montgomery crafted an autobiographical "I" whose record of private pain had the power to shatter and rebuild her public identity' (184). Moreover, all the articles in the collection provide inter-textual analysis, usually between Montgomery's novels or her novels and journals, but also between her scrapbooks and writing. In particular, the collection includes the first substantial analysis of Montgomery's six personal scrapbooks. In 'Visual Drama: Capturing Life in L.M. Montgomery's Scrapbooks,' Elizabeth Epperly writes, 'Montgomery arranges the images themselves so that they sometimes seem to speak to and among each other. Sometimes the images may even form part of a dialogue among Montgomery's own texts – between or among journal entries, letters, her fiction – or between Montgomery and the newspapers and magazines she read' (195).

This is a groundbreaking, first-rate collection of particular interest to scholars of life writing and the

history of women in Canada.

HEIDI MACDONALD *University of Lethbridge*

The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*. Volume 5, *1935–1942. Edited by MARY RUBIO and ELIZABETH WATERSTON. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xix, 410 pp., illus. b&w, $37.95

Anyone who fondly remembers childhood encounters with Anne (or Emily, or Rilla, or others in the fictional sisterhood) will find this volume difficult to read. Montgomery's final decades saw her in pleasant surroundings in the (then suburban) Swansea district of Toronto, secure in her reputation, still writing, and with family, garden, and friends to occupy the day. Under this surface lay another reality – living in exile from Prince Edward Island and from the Ontario village where she had found a second home; tending a manic-depressive husband and a troubled son; forced by financial circumstances to mimic the fictions that made her initial fame. This is the story Montgomery records in her journals. (And even then, omissions, euphemisms, and codings hint at other secrets or shames.) There is still more, between the lines: Clearly the instabilities of her husband and son enabled Montgomery, and those around her, to neglect her own steadily worsening psychic condition. And having been chained for decades to her creation Anne Shirley, Montgomery now found herself caught in a cruel chiasmus, of art overtaking life, as the provincial government threatened to expropriate the PEI farms of her friends for a 'Green Gables' tourist site. A Fr(anne)kenstein indeed.

As with most journals, this book has a loosely episodic structure, but there is a common, twisting theme of loss. An armchair analyst might diagnose melancholia, in which the loss, because suffusive, finds odd places to fix: Montgomery's dead cat recalled, nightmarishly, over and over again. (Freud theorized melancholia as incomplete mourning or separation, and saw repetition as intrinsic to it, giving the melancholic a sense of control over what cannot otherwise be worked through.) But it would be possible to frame the situation differently. Montgomery's journals were not unmediated effusions of thought and feeling. Notes and diary scraps were shaped and copied at leisure into ledgers, intended for publication, albeit not in her lifetime. She was a canny editor of her own work and a keen judge of the book market. Thus the journals may be less melancholic than (technically speaking) melodramatic, with the allegorized sufferings and flattened characterizations of that genre. In either case, the journals' misproportions, narrative gaps, and relentless rehearsals mean that they will provide reading for only the most chastened devotee.

The merit of this book is a scholarly one. It is the fifth and final volume of the Montgomery journals to be meticulously edited by the team of Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, in a project spanning more than twenty years: The first volume appeared in 1985. Recently a critical cottage industry (the term seems appropriate) has taken Montgomery's works as windows onto English-Canadian culture in the first third of the twentieth century, particularly as providing a rural or regional perspective on modernization. Further, Montgomery's prolific pen and international sales make her important to both 'CanLit' and book history scholars. However, with their restricted focus, these final journal entries principally round out our sense of this author's biography while contributing to the understanding of middle-class life in the expanding ex-urban areas. What is lacking in the entries is supplemented by the painstakingly detailed glosses supplied by the editors and by the judicious introduction, which contextualizes these (sometimes cryptic or fragmentary) entries. Noteworthy, as well, are the carefully articulated editorial principles that Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston have used to guide their emendations and arrangements.

In an afterword to a new edition of *Anne of Green Gables*, Margaret Atwood focuses surprisingly on the character of the aging Marilla, normally in the shadow of the effervescent Anne. With the assistance of these five journal volumes, cultural scholars may now turn to the tough side of Montgomery's fictions, and the emotional and economic realities that their heroically labouring author knew so well.

HEATHER MURRAY *University of Toronto*

On the Front Line of Life: Stephen Leacock: Memories and Reflections, 1935–1944. Edited by ALAN BOWKER. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2004. Pp. 264, $29.99

Not long ago I spoke to a group of retired people, trying to put the collapse of the 1990s stock market boom into historical perspective. Some of the illustrative material I chose came from two linked

stories by Stephen Leacock: 'The Wizard of Finance' and 'The Arrested Philanthropy of Mr Tomlinson,' published in *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* (1914). Almost a century later, Leacock's shrewd and amusing take on wealth and the wealthy, and on speculation, continues to be relevant.

Additional evidence of Leacock's lasting significance may be found in this fine collection of essays from Leacock's ten last years, selected and edited by Alan Bowker. Not all are of equal interest, and I would have replaced a snoozer like 'Bass Fishing on Lake Simcoe with Jake Gaudaur' with 'Academic Freedom,' published in *Maclean's* in 1936. (No doubt this betrays my *déformation professionelle*.) Almost all of the essays repay reading, though, and most are interesting not just for what they tell us about Leacock but what they say about the Depression and the war. We owe Bowker a debt of gratitude for making them available in this form.

Bowker's admirable introduction helps to interpret the autobiographical essays and to place all of the pieces in the context of their time. A political economist and a conservative (in both senses of the word), Leacock recognized that the Depression had definitively demonstrated the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of classical economics. Speaking to the Canadian Political Science Association in 1934, he asked, 'What Is Left of Adam Smith?' His answer, only the recognition that economic man is selfish. However, the belief inherent in Smith's 'invisible hand,' the conviction 'that the pursuit of the individual's own interest made for the welfare of mankind,' was mistaken. 'It does not. The welfare of mankind has got to be achieved against it and in spite of it.' This insight seemed startling to many Canadian economists at the time, and may startle some even today. 'The intellectual garage mechanics of Canadian capitalism,' Frank Underhill called them in 1935, and he was painfully close to the truth.

Leacock believed, though, that 'it is an equal error to base public policy on a system which does not acknowledge and allow for this individual selfishness.' Socialism, to him, was not the answer to the problems associated with free-market economics, an assessment that earned him Underhill's disdain. What the solution might be, Leacock did not presume to know, but he did believe that we needed not *laissez-faire* but *faire-faire*, that governments needed to counteract the effects of the economic slump. His ideas were not fully fleshed out, however, and Bowker comments, 'Fundamentally, Leacock drew back from any proposals that might really threaten the social order.' After all, he was a Conservative who was materially, though not morally, at ease in Zion.

Another fascinating essay, aimed at an American audience and published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1939, is 'Canada and the Monarchy.' It explains clearly what will lead Canada, though effectively an independent country, to go to war when Great Britain does. Himself born in England, Leacock understood, better than some of his academic acquaintances at the time and at least one prominent historian since, why English Canadians would line up with Britain.

McGill forced Leacock to retire in 1936, and two of the essays deal with that experience. They are wryly humorous and a bit wistful, though less so than his essay about growing old. 'Three Score and Ten' begins with the line that gives this book its title: 'Old Age is the "Front Line" of life, moving into No Man's Land'; it should be compulsory reading in our schools.

This essay and the last two in the book, 'War-Time Santa Claus' and 'To Every Child,' show Leacock at his wisest and most humane. 'You can never have international peace as long as you have national poverty,' he writes in 'To Every Child,' dating from 1944, his year of death. It is a lesson we have yet to learn.

MICHIEL HORN *York University*

Lionel Groulx: le mythe du berger. MARIE-PIER LUNEAU. Montreal: Leméac, 2003. Pp. 226, $23.95

Luneau maintains that for historiographer, nationalist luminary, and ecclesiastical man of letters Lionel Groulx (1878–1967), 'the role of historian entails by definition that of the shepherd who must guide their people' (53, all translations mine). In this vein she notes that 'by publishing the tellingly entitled book *Orientations* (1935) Groulx concretized his leadership' (145), while its sequel, *Directives* (1937), 'reaffirmed the tacit agreement designating him "leader" of the nation' (153).

Yet Groulx's stature resulted from the cumulative effect of his manifold writings. To ensure their dissemination he left nothing to chance, despite piously attributing everything in his life to Providence. Indeed, Luneau argues that 'Groulx stands as one of the first *best-selling* authors in Quebec because he raised himself to the top of the charts through a literary strategy' (11).

She demonstrates her point by surveying Groulx's relevant correspondence with 'writers,

journalists, critics, intellectuals, editors, newspaper owners, librarians, archivists, educational institutions, and governmental bodies' (20). Luneau then compares these letters with correlative passages in Groulx's posthumously published *Mes mémoires* (1970–4).

Her study discloses Groulx's astute publishing tactics and lays bare his boundless self-promotion, albeit veiled in the guise of religious and national welfare. Luneau unmasks the two-faced scheme whereby on one hand Groulx feigned authorial aloofness and academic dispassion, but on the other hand methodically orchestrated the dissemination of his works. Further, by examining Groulx's memoirs in the light of private correspondence, Luneau reveals how Groulx carefully crafted his public image for posterity.

However, Luneau makes statements that require qualification. First, as a literary scholar she professes to 'leave historians with the task of judging [Groulx's] historical work' (217). Nevertheless she asserts that 'his history books at best evidence bias, if not dishonesty' (10). This hardly does justice to Groulx, 'the individual most responsible for the emergence of a historical profession in Quebec' (Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec*, 1997, 220).

Second, regarding journalist and politician Henri Bourassa (1868–1953), Luneau claims that 'Groulx's correspondence derisively refers to him as the "master"' (65). Yet when nationalist author Raymond Barbeau (1930–92) criticized Bourassa, Groulx penned a letter in his defence, as evident from this excerpt:

> For my contemporaries he represented the man sent by Providence, the one in those days whose powerful impetus roused our people. He delivered us from idolizing Laurier and temporarily healed us from the disease of partisanship. He restored the meaning of our French identity. The present generation must not forget his contribution. I wonder what would remain of our little people without the Bourassa era of our history and the burst of pride he inspired (*Les cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX^e siècle* 8 [automne 1997]: 173).

Third, Luneau declares, 'Groulx is obviously not a separatist' (152). However, in response to Barbeau's *J'ai choisi l'indépendance* (1961), Groulx confided to him,

> I remain convinced that in forty, perhaps thirty or even twenty-five years – history goes so fast – independence will prove the inevitable solution. French Canadians' predicament seems tragic: can we stay in Confederation without forfeiting our existence? ... We must therefore prepare an entire generation – the generation of independence ... If I were you I would immediately incite young people in the name of economic liberation ... it has enough explosive potential to ignite youth. (*Les cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX^e siècle* 8 [automne 1997]: 173–4).[1]

Finally, with respect to *Chemins de l'avenir* (1964), Groulx's critique of the Quiet Revolution, editor Claude Ryan (1925–2004) at worst called it a 'collection of indictments brought by one generation against another' (*Le Devoir*, 28 December 1964), but his review did not 'consign the book to flames' (216) as Luneau alleges. Such exaggeration ill suits her otherwise judicious monograph.

NORMAN CORNETT *McGill University*

Brève histoire des institutrices au Québec de la Nouvelle-France a nos jours. ANDRÉE DUFOUR and MICHELINE DUMONT. Montreal: Boréal, 2004. Pp. 220, $17.95

While some subscribers to *The Canadian Historical Review* may be guilty of writing voluminously about a micro-topic, Professors Dufour and Dumont undertook a small book about a large subject. Female schoolteachers in Quebec constitute a cast of thousands that influenced most of the population at an impressionable age. Covering four and a half centuries of francophone and anglophone teachers in some two hundred pages, the authors have produced a serviceable text that will appeal to those interested in the history of Quebec, education, and women. Schoolteachers themselves might prefer it to another coffee mug the next time a gift is in order, for here is stimulation of another kind. Concise *longue durée* history allows even the harried the pleasure of reflecting on the steps that led to today.

As the authors note, curriculum and teaching

1 **'Je demeure persuadé que, dans quarante, peut-être trente ou même vingt-cinq ans—l'histoire va si vite—l'indépendance deviendra l'inévitable solution. La [*sic*] drame des Canadiens français relève du tragique: pourrons-nous rester dans la Confédération sans y laisser notre vie?...C'est donc toute une génération qu'il faut préparer: la génération de l'indépendance...à votre place, j'essaierais de soulever tout [de] suite la jeune génération au nom de la libération économique...il y a là-dedans assez de passion explosive pour remuer une jeunesse.'**

conditions say a great deal about changing times. According to their schema, teaching girls in New France was the preserve of nuns and arose for purposes of Christianization. This restriction was followed by new forms of teaching by both Protestant and Catholic laywomen stressing literacy and numeracy to meet the needs of industrialism. Later sections show the transition towards universal, standardized, and secularized schooling in the decades around the Second World War. Finally, feminism and the late twentieth century brought equitable treatment to female teachers, who had so long been under-trained, underpaid, and insecure. The schema sits somewhat uncomfortably at times; for example, educational historian Roger Magnuson found a few colonial laywomen teaching in the seventeenth century, and the supposition that schooling took a sharp turn in the British period as a result of exigencies of the Industrial Revolution runs up against the realities that industrialism touched few Quebeckers before 1850, and that Catholic nationalism from the 1840s posed a strong counterweight to any materialist agenda.

Catholicism figures largely in any survey of teaching in Quebec. The book shows clearly how nuns quickly became the female elite of the profession, teaching at the higher levels, serving as administrators, and conducting normal schools while youthful lay recruits toiled away in the lower grades. Intriguing questions surface about how the legions of communally subsidized nuns affected the pay and status of lay teachers. A future researcher might make fuller comparative use of the literature on schoolteachers in Ontario and the Maritimes, and delve more deeply into the apparently earlier feminization of the profession in Lower Canada than in sister provinces.

All around the countryside, young women living alone in schoolhouses rose early to light the stove and sweep the room before their motley class arrived. They were highly disposable workers. Well into the twentieth century they needed only a grade 8 education (in contrast to male teachers, who were better educated and paid double). Fired at the end of each year, they were not rehired if they married. Yet an expanding school system created such demand that by the early twentieth century over two thousand teachers a year were being certified, mostly women who taught for about five years. Here, the authors show, was fertile ground for early feminism, beginning with National Council of Women support for Protestant teachers in the 1890s. Feminist syndicalist Laure Gaudreault rallied rural teachers in the depths of the Depression. With the labour-friendly encyclical *Rerum Novarum* softening the authorities a bit, at last they got a federation, $400 a year, and a little more security. The concept that only a man could earn a 'family wage' (even when females supported elderly parents) persisted into the 1950s.

Teachers have come a long way. The historical sections document the changes with apt statistics and frequent allusion to findings of other educational historians (unannotated, but appearing in the bibliography). The book's weakest chapter is 'L'institutrice d'aujourd'hui,' which overuses data from the mid-1980s. Needed are up-to-date statistics about how many women make it into administration, particularly in the primary system where some 85 per cent of female teachers remain concentrated. Maybe data are scarce as a result of educational cutbacks in recent decades. On the whole, the story satisfies. The sweep of endeavour from the landing of the first Ursulines in 1639, through the nineteenth century schoolmistress heating her snowbound classroom, to the unionized, university-educated teachers of today is well captured in this little book.

JAN NOEL *University of Toronto*

The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, 1754–2004: From Imperial Bastion to Provincial Oracle. Edited by PHILIP GIRARD, JIM PHILLIPS, and BARRY CAHILL. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. 515, b&w, $75.00

As an academic discipline, legal history in English Canada is less than thirty years old. Its characteristic literature has been the essay compilation rather than free-standing monographs. These compilations, published mostly by the Osgoode Society, began in the 1980s as wholly miscellaneous in content but in time became focused on some particular geography or theme. While such collections have a use, they are too diffuse to be really satisfactory, and one had come to wonder whether the genre had not run its course. It is with pleasure, then, that one notes the appearance of this Cahill/Phillips/Girard compilation on the history of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. By combining quite narrow thematic and geographical coverage, it is able to present an admirable contribution to Canadian legal historical literature.

The occasion for the collection was the 250th

anniversary of the opening, in 1754, of the first common law court in what is now Canada. Thirteen essays outline aspects of the history of that court and its successors from earliest times to the present. Despite its commemorative genesis, this is not pious history. Neither the eighteenth-century impeachment proceedings nor their recent analogue in the inquiry into the wrongful conviction of Donald Marshall is slighted. It is no part of the editors' contention that, in jurisprudential terms, the Nova Scotia court has been one of particular significance. Yet this collection illustrates how focused treatment of a court of no special importance can generate an historiography of considerable importance.

Essays by Douglas Hay and Elizabeth Manke set the establishment of the Supreme Court in imperial context. Manke is one of those now rare historians who can read eighteenth-century imperial concerns in intercolonial perspective. Her chapter explains how the decision to restructure Nova Scotia's court system in 1754 so as to create a relatively autonomous Supreme Court departed from the traditional American arrangements, anticipated developments in the remaining colonies after the Revolution, and created a new pole of influence within local political culture. Although the volume's thrust is institutional, several contributions treat the work of the court from a social or intellectual perspective. Julian Gwyn offers an analysis of *all* cases between 1754 and 1830 in which women appeared either as plaintiff or defendant; 40 per cent of these female litigants were widows. While his prodigious research yields modest conclusions, it lays a solid basis for comparison when comparable studies of women in other jurisdictions are generated. Years of patient sifting are also reflected in Bernard Hibbitts's essay on the nineteenth-century Supreme Court's citation of US authority. As one would have expected from the comparable work of Blaine Baker on Upper Canada, Hibbitts concludes that the Nova Scotia court was rather more willing to cite American legal authorities before 1875 than in the late-Victorian period, when Canadian high culture 'anglicized.' William Lahey offers a quite subtle account of the Supreme Court's adjustment to Confederation as viewed through its constitutional jurisprudence. James Muir and Blake Brown focus on the jurisprudence of nineteenth-century industrial injuries and mid-twentieth-century administrative review respectively. Brian Cuthbertson offers a polished research note on the homes of the Supreme Court, and Susan Jones and Blake Brown present an extended biographical report on the twentieth-century judges as a collectivity.

The stand-out contributions in the volume are those of the editors themselves, who offer institutional overviews of Supreme Court history running to nearly 150 pages. Cahill and Phillips together survey the period down to Confederation. For these years there has been quite an extensive historiography already, so that what the authors offer is really a detailed, authoritative restatement. Girard's task in covering the period from Confederation to the twenty-first century was formidable in a different way, for here there was little secondary literature to rely on. The result, built on sampling of court records, dipping into the prime ministers' papers, and reading widely in the public record, is a masterful combination of generalization and particularity. It is a genuinely interesting read. Both of these institutional chapters attempt to relate the Supreme Court story to wider concerns in Nova Scotia history and will be of quite general interest. One wonders whether an institutional history of comparable merit could have been pulled together for any other of the common law provinces. In this volume Barry Cahill, Jim Phillips, and Philip Girard go far towards laying the basis for a general legal history of Nova Scotia.

DAVID BELL *University of New Brunswick*

Familles, terre, marchés: Logiques économiques et stratégies dans les milieux ruraux (XVII^e–XX^e siècles). Edited by GÉRARD BÉAUR, CHRISTIAN DESSUREAULT, and JOSEPH GOY. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004. Pp. 284, ¤18

Familles, terre, marchés presents nineteen essays that explore the relationship between families and markets in rural society from the seventeenth century forwards. It is the product of a conference held in Paris in 2002, the second of three meetings among French, Canadian, and Swiss scholars devoted to the transformation of the rural family and the peasant economy, and must be read in conjunction with the papers from the other conferences (the first published in 2003 and the third forthcoming). In the introduction, the editors suggest that the family is a 'major actor in the transformation of societies,' thus departing radically from the Chayanov model and its opposition of dynamic markets and immutable and inward-looking peasant households. Mobility, family strategies, and the logic of economic actors are notions frequently used in the collection, within a wide range of issues, problems, and historical

landscapes.

The book is divided into five parts, whose composition seems largely dictated by convenience. For instance, three disparate essays are grouped under the broad heading 'Exploitations familiales et conditions économiques': Christian Dessureault's examination of the relationships among life cycle, family structure, and farm productivity; Béatrice Craig's study of the impact of general stores on consumption habits in rural areas; and Jacques Rémy's narration of the long-term evolution of a community of stockbreeders and the challenges it faced in managing access to collective property. Rather than following the book's internal divisions, its broad scope is best addressed by concentrating on a few key themes – inheritance practices, family behaviour, markets, and migration patterns.

Inheritance practices are at the heart of several contributions. Thus, Nadine Vivier and Bernard Derouet use national surveys to chart variations in French inheritance practices, a return to a now less frequently used methodology that nonetheless yields surprising findings, notably that in some regions, the *famille-souche* (stem family), praised by Frederic Le Play and others, was not the creation of a distant past but rather an innovation of the second half of the nineteenth century. In contrast, Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga's work on Basque families in the nineteenth century shows strong continuity in local customs of primogeniture, despite legal changes requiring equal division among heirs.

Several scholars concentrate on family behaviour, including Sylvie Perrier, Jean-Paul Desaive Rolande Bonnain-Dulon, and Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux. For example, Fauve-Chamoux addresses the largely unexplored theme of household authority and its transmission. Concentrating on a French Pyrenean community, she argues convincingly that the stem family was fragile when faced with deep demographic changes and thus nuances the 'nuclear hardship hypothesis' of scholars such as Peter Laslett; her notion of a *marché des responsabilités* is particularly attractive.

A pervasive concern throughout the book is the influence of the market economy on the peasantry. Hence, the land market is explored in several papers, including that of Jean Lafleur, Gilles Paquet, and Jean-Pierre Wallot: They undertake a thorough survey of real estate transactions in two seigneuries in the Montreal area and assert that market fluctuations confirm their long-held hypothesis of the enrichment of the *Canadien* peasantry at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, the different aspects of the market economy are unevenly addressed in the book. Only one author, Lorenzo Lorenzetti, directly addresses the important issue of credit in rural society. Likewise, only two essays (both on New France) focus more closely on the rural labour market: Sylvie Dépatie asserts that farm size explains the (limited) presence of wage labour in Montreal parishes, thereby clarifying Allan Greer's previous interpretation, whereas Thomas Wien looks at the pattern of *engagement* for the *Pays d'en Haut* to demonstrate the fragile equilibrium between the needs of the fur trade and the imperatives of agriculture in the Montreal area.

Rural migration is another key issue, which will be more fully explored in the third collection. Annick Foucrier discusses long-term migration from rural France to California during the gold rush, with particular sensitivity to the initial conditions of departure and the capital needed to emigrate. And Anne-Lise Head König outlines the reasons for the internal migration of Swiss rural families and analyses their insertion into their new communities.

Overall, this is a sound collection of papers, although somewhat diffuse in purpose and uneven in significance. Many of the essays adopt a comparative perspective, but no attempt is made at an overall comparison of the different themes in the three countries under study. This would of course have been an entirely different and challenging endeavour, but would surely yield more satisfying results.

JEAN-PHILIPPE GARNEAU and DONALD FYSON
Université Laval

***Rendezvous at the Straits: Fur Trade and Military Activities at Fort de Buade and Fort Michilimackinac, 1669–1781.* 2 vols.** TIMOTHY J. KENT. Ossineke, MI: Silver Fox Enterprises, 2004. Pp. 320, b&w, $89.95

The strategic importance of Michilimackinac, and its rich local natural resource base, made it an ideal location for a French settlement. It is the history of that settlement, or at least the fur trade and military history, that has moved Timothy J. Kent to write this exhaustive two-volume history. Readers must not expect a traditional scholarly history in any sense of the word. These volumes are unconventional, even unorthodox, and highly original. Mr Kent does not appear to be a trained academic, and his self-published study does not have the benefit of the usual support – such as

evaluators, colleagues, or editors – that trained academics enjoy. Still, Kent has created a remarkably detailed and useful piece of work.

Nevertheless, it is still necessary to assert that the standards of academic publishing exist for a reason. Kent's unedited writing is prolix and idiosyncratic and his language choices are odd. He makes a very good argument for using standard names for Native peoples but at the same time curious idiosyncrasies abound; for example, he refers to French colonizers as 'civilian personnel.' His wordiness makes the work much longer than it needs to be and it also renders parts of it dense and impenetrable. This is a shame, because Kent has brought to light a wealth of really useful information.

Kent's readers will be immediately impressed with the amount of detailed research that he brings to his subject. Quotations, very long quotations, are everywhere. In fact in some ways this text is more an edited piece of primary documents than it is a traditional social history. These long inclusions are sometimes a strength of the work as they allow the reader immediate access to the history of the fort. Some of the quotations include extraneous material, and nowhere are they supported with enough analysis. Many ought to have been judiciously pruned.

Beyond quibbles about language and style lies the question of reliability. While the detailed account of trading activities is impressive and the immense knowledge of the trade goods and material culture is praiseworthy, readers are left with a book without a strong sense of context. At the outset Kent informs his readers that 'priests often acted as on-site government agents' (1:1). He further notes that they 'submitted reports concerning local events and rumors to the civil administrators in the St. Lawrence Valley' (1:1). Priests, or more precisely Jesuit missionaries, wrote only to the civil administrators, or more precisely to the intendant or the governor, to complain about the trade in *eaux-de-vie* or other French transgressions against the Jesuit sense of propriety. The conflict between the Jesuits and the governors is a central part of the history of Fort Michilimackinac, and Kent appears to have misunderstood it.

The other problem associated with a lack of context concerns the wider worlds of French policy and Ottawa policy. Although there are several well-documented references to Ottawa and Ojibwa people, Kent does not provide his readers with an analytical discussion of their motivations. Similarly the motivations of the French policy makers are given short shrift. For example, the long report of Clairambault d'Aigremont, a *commissaire de la marine* who was sent on a fact-finding tour of the *pays d'en haut*, is given only a short paragraph on page 174 of volume one (although a large part of the report is transcribed). D'Aigremont's report is central to the development of French colonial policy in the region.

In spite of these problems, the strength of the work is found in the author's willingness to go to great lengths to explore the material culture of the fort. He strives to understand his topic through total immersion in the life of the French trader. Anyone interested in the material culture of the trade in the *pays d'en haut* is going to find Kent's study a goldmine of information, and critics must concede that this may well have been Kent's intention.

WILLIAM NEWBIGGING *Algoma University College*

Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: Evolving Métis Identities, 1850–1914. NICOLE ST-ONGE. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004. Pp. 138, illus, b&w, $14.95

The study of Metis history has, since the 1980s, focused more on the diversity of experience and instrumental definitions of ethnicity than essentialist or biological categories. Even this recent scholarship, however, in documenting Metis communities very different from that of Red River, has left intact the view of the Red River Metis as a relatively homogenous population of buffalo hunters and small-scale horticulturalists. This new study by Nicole St-Onge goes further and questions the very concept of 'Red River Metis,' arguing that Red River itself was a mixture of heterogeneous Metis communities and identities. This observation alone makes this slim book a worthwhile addition to Metis scholarship.

St-Onge's focus is the community and parish of St-Laurent, MB, located on the eastern shore of Lake Manitoba on the periphery of the Red River Settlement. She argues that St Laurent, although settled initially by Metis from Red River and the Northwest, had a more diverse economy than many other communities on the Red and Assiniboine rivers. This economy consisted of salt making, fishing, hunting and gathering, trapping, and trading, and resembled more a 'Saulteaux' way of

life than that of the more settled Metis parishes along the Red River (here St-Onge is herself guilty of homogenizing the other Red River parishes). St-Onge argues that in the decades after the 1870s, adaptations to immigration, new economic pursuits, and new attitudes to metissage propelled an increasing number of Metis families to identify with either the dominant white society or Indian treaty populations. In this process, ethnicity became tied to class divisions, and *Metis* was seen increasingly as a term for the marginal or destitute subclass in the district. *Metis* became a derogatory term which was rejected by the more prosperous St Laurent residents.

St-Onge ably documents the increasing negative perception of the Metis with reference to Oblate missionary correspondence and their immigration schemes, but has more difficulty showing that these perceptions were internalized by the Metis themselves. The problem, acknowledged by St-Onge, is the paucity of evidence relating to the self-perception of the Metis in the St Laurent district prior to 1914. St-Onge tries to make up for this shortage of documentary evidence by using census data on occupations to show how the economic pursuits that had previously defined a Metis way of life were expanded to increasingly favour mixed farming and cattle ranching (presumably 'white' pursuits). To her surprise, however, she found the 1881 census did not indicate this trend, as the vast majority of St Laurent residents identified themselves as hunters. St-Onge tries to downplay this apparent contradiction by pointing out the reasons why census takers might misidentify their subjects. She may be correct in her diagnosis, but in other parts of her analysis she accepts census data at face value, assuming them to be correct.

More curious still is the fact that St-Onge more or less ignores census data that point to the continued self-identification as Metis. In the 1901 census, the last to use 'Half Breed' or 'Breed' as a category of 'Racial or Tribal Origin,' 623 of the 769 inhabitants of the St Laurent district identified themselves as 'Breeds.' This finding hardly supports the contention that the Metis of St Laurent were merging either with the white dominant society or with the northern treaty populations. Since no subsequent census had any 'Metis' designator, this is the last quantitative measure of her thesis.

In fact, the main support for her larger argument that by 1914 Metis had become a class designation and ceased to be a nation (96), are interviews collected in the 1980s in which some respondents with Native ancestry from St Laurent 'vehemently denied' being Metis and claimed to be French Canadian. As interesting as this interview material is, it hardly makes St-Onge's case for the period prior to 1914. In short, the book presents a brief but useful portrait of the changing Metis community of St Laurent in the century prior to 1914, but its main argument remains to be tested.

GERHARD J. ENS *University of Alberta*

Death, Danger, and Disaster in the Crowsnest Pass Mines 1902–1928. KAREN BUCKLEY. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004. Pp. 204, illus., b&w, $34.95

Coal mines have long been sites of occupational and community terror, nowhere more so than in the Crowsnest Pass of British Columbia and Alberta during the early twentieth century. In the space of a quarter century – from 1902 to 1926 – more than 450 men died in 'disasters,' and this figure does not include the many who died singly in fatal accidents or from the lingering effects of mining injuries. Two disasters in particular loom over the record as a whole, one of which was hardly a mining event at all – at Frank in 1903 seventy-two people were killed when the top of Turtle Mountain slid into the valley, destroying half the town and killing almost incidentally two miners working the night shift; and at Hillcrest in June 1914, where a catastrophic explosion in the mine killed 187 men, widowed dozens of women, and effectively gutted the town. Karen Buckley, a records analyst in the University of Calgary Archives, follows the Grim Reaper throughout this little-studied region, describing the multifarious ways in which lives were lost, the consequences of those deaths, and the very meaning of disaster in industrial communities where workplace fatalities were commonplace.

By focusing on the hazards of the mine and the devastation that marked disasters, Buckley turns the usual narrative about coal-mining towns away from union struggles and toward instead the tragedies and anxieties that framed coal-field life. The purpose of the book is to show how the experience of workplace danger and death – sometimes large-scale death – connected the Crowsnest Pass communities to other colliery towns while recognizing the unique qualities of the Pass and its population. It succeeds in the former but not so much in the latter. Her closing lines are 'Men died and families grieved. Life continued' (145). Indeed. Historians of mining in general and coal-mining in particular will find little here that is surprising or new; one thinks immediately of June

Nash's *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us*, but also of Carol Giesen's *Coal Miners' Wives: Portraits of Endurance*. We do, however, benefit from the work of an assiduous researcher who ferrets out interesting snippets of life and death in the Pass. Having said that, evidence from the region is hard to come by, and the author is repeatedly forced back upon American and British studies for the sorts of accounts one assumes she wishes she could find at home. Photos of funeral finery from an uncertain location (66–68) and miners' songs plucked from Wallsend (83) may be illustrative of a shared experience associated with producing the fuel needed by an industrializing world, but they do not necessarily pertain to the Crowsnest Pass. Even the provision of a map of the area would have grounded the study more firmly in the locale.

As a primer on the horrors of mining, this is nonetheless engaging in a harrowing sort of way, and it is one from which non-specialists and a popular audience will benefit. As a historical thanatology – a study of death in the past – it needs work. The literature is not sufficiently tapped, and the opportunity to flesh out the work of undertakers and to firmly connect death to the raison d'etre of fraternal societies and unions is squandered. As a final comment, the fissures and factions of race, ethnicity, and gender loom large in any history of mining in the West, but not here. If death and disaster in the Crowsnest Pass were sufficient to overcome community division and misunderstanding, that would constitute a significant finding on its own.

JOHN DOUGLAS BELSHAW *Thompson Rivers University*

Red Serge and Polar Bear Pants: The Biography of Harry Stallworthy, *RCMP.* WILLIAM BARR. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004. Pp. 400, illus., b&w, $34.95

Although the annals of exemplary northern Canadians boast several members of the RCMP – F.J. Fitzgerald, Sam Steele, and J.D. Moodie come to mind – William Barr seeks now to add Harry Stallworthy's name to that list. A professor emeritus of geography at the University of Saskatchewan, Barr has, in his past publications, brought attention to northern explorers who have been undeservedly forgotten. In recent years, he has translated exploration accounts out of the French and German originals. Now a body of English sources forms the basis for this original narrative about Stallworthy's life.

Stallworthy is an engaging subject both symbolically and personally. In the early twentieth century the federal government depended upon RCMP constables in the Northern Service to exemplify Canadian sovereignty in far-flung regions. Stallworthy occupied Bache Peninsula, on Ellesmere Island's eastern coast, at a crucial time in Canadian-Norwegian territorial negotiations. Because of the continuous presence of Stallworthy and other officers from 1922 onward, Norway withdrew its claim to those lands in 1930. William Morrison, in his introduction, makes a pertinent historical connection by noting that Canadian sovereignty in the North will be contested once more because of rising global temperatures.

The particulars of Stallworthy's career from 1913 to 1946 not only provide exciting reading, but also demonstrate the range of capabilities of a gifted RCMP officer. Undoubtedly Stallworthy's most important work occurred in the North. From 1930–2 he aided in the search for the German biologist Hans Krüger, who had disappeared west of Bache Peninsula in the spring of 1930. One of Stallworthy's sledge patrols comprised 65 days of winter travel over an estimated 2,250 kilometres – a staggering feat by any standard. Stallworthy also guided the Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition through the same territory in 1934–5. The leader of that expedition, Edward Shackleton (son of the famous Ernest), later admitted that 'had it not been for Sergeant Stallworthy, our difficulties would have been so increased that it is probable we should have had very little success' (270). Aside from Ellesmere, Stallworthy enjoyed postings at Dawson, Moncton, Ottawa, Stony Rapids, Fort Smith, and Thorold, among other places. His varied experiences are representative of the challenges that RCMP officers faced in adapting themselves to different regions, and illustrate the widely diverse nation these men served.

The book achieves most in emphasizing Stallworthy's complex personality. Barr's access to Stallworthy's correspondence with his brother, Bill, and the diaries of his wife, Hilda, bestows a very human character upon a man who could have been portrayed as superhuman. Throughout, Barr sprinkles evidence of Stallworthy's roguishness – an 'illegal possession of alcohol' citation that dogged his career, attempts to work personal traplines against Force regulations and smuggle the furs south, and a fight with his Ellesmere co-worker that knocked out some of the latter's teeth. Nor does Barr hesitate to describe the physical ailments that plagued Stallworthy his whole life. Such

information enhances, not detracts, from the virtues that such a man would be expected to display – his calm yet passionate nature, his affection for the Inughuit of Greenland and their lifestyle, and his love for Hilda despite their long separations. Barr is to be applauded for this well-balanced portrayal.

Red Serge and Polar Bear Pants is one of Barr's most accessible books to date: It is a coherent narrative with quotations from primary sources interspersed. The author's smooth and polished prose contrasts with the staccato, jerky rhythm of Stallworthy's, and mutes the latter's voice somewhat. Yet Stallworthy is often quoted at great length, and certainly enough to establish his unique character. When Stallworthy's life intersects with important events, Barr gives adequate background information without detracting from his subject's primacy. This reviewer appreciated most that, when the primary sources failed to provide information, Barr admitted it candidly. He did not attempt to present his speculations as truth, as other authors working with relatively unknown material would have done.

I cannot agree with William Morrison's exaggerated claim that Stallworthy is 'one of the most accomplished northern explorers in Canadian history' (vii), but Stallworthy, for representing the tension and milieu of his times, and for achieving several noteworthy feats, should ascend to the pantheon of exceptional northern travellers. William Barr has given him an able foothold.

C.M. SAWCHUK *University of Cambridge*

Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe. Edited by ROBERT LEWIS. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004. Pp. 304, illus., b&w, US$24.95

In the study of cities, a recent research finding is the fact that manufacturing suburbs – where factories and houses gather together beyond the built-up limits of an urban place – are not a post–Second World War phenomenon. This fact has overturned long-held assumptions about suburbanization. As Robert Lewis and his colleagues affirm, manufacturing suburbs, whether lying inside or outside the political boundaries of North American cities, have functioned as places of production, livelihood, and residence for well over *three hundred* years. Take Lachine, QC, as an example. In his previous and well-received research on the historical geography of manufacturing in the Greater Montreal region, Lewis demonstrated that seventeenth-century Lachine was a fur-processing, staple depot. This was long before the nearby and celebrated Lachine Canal district emerged in the early-nineteenth century as a focal point of suburban manufacturing. Comparable examples mark the rural-urban fringe of all the metropolitan places discussed in this book: Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago, Montreal, Detroit, Toronto, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Forget about the twentieth century! With this key point established, what else is there to say about the historical geography of manufacturing suburbs? A great deal, in fact. The objectives of this collection of theoretically inclined and empirically defended essays by well-respected scholars of suburban-industrial growth are successfully met, and they go well beyond the analysis of manufacturing for its own sake: *First*, the authors establish clear links between fluctuations in the business cycle, building construction, and suburban industrialization; *second*, they say much about the sorting of the metropolitan area's social geography, especially the home work linkage and the gathering momentum of social class and ethnic segregation in the suburbs; *third*, they expand upon standard studies of industrial organization (large, expanding, and vertically integrated corporations versus small, declining, and labour-intensive firms) by considering a fuller array of manufacturing production systems and strategies for growth and development; *fourth*, they successfully demonstrate that there is diversity in the structure or make-up of metropolitan manufacturing; and *finally*, they clarify the historical timeline that marks the suburbanization of manufacturing – several centuries, not several decades.

Success is aided by the fact that most (six of ten) essays were published previously (and hence subjected to a thorough review) in a 2001 issue of the well-respected *Journal of Historical Geography*. Important too is the comparative focus of the volume. As a result, and of particular utility for Canadian historians, the manufacturing suburbs of Toronto and Montreal are placed in wider context. This is not to say that Canadian cities have mirrored the American experience – quite the contrary – or that we understand all that there is to comprehend about the suburbanization of manufacturing industries. But what we do know is that a diverse geography characterizes the metropolitan fringe of all large North American cities, and that the spatial and historical parameters of this geography vary from city to city depending upon such factors as regional industrial specialization, inter-industry

and inter-firm linkages, the politics of place, and yes, even the physical conditions of the manufacturing landscape itself. According to Gunter Gad, unlike Montreal, dating the suburbanization of manufacturing in Toronto is difficult, but it probably took place later there than in Montreal, mostly since the 1880s. For both places in the late-nineteenth century, suburban-industrial growth was typically associated with the creation of new municipalities, suggesting that an infrastructure of public utilities was an essential precondition for factories to flee a central city location.

Each of the Canadian authors – Gunter Gad writing on Toronto, Robert Lewis on Montreal and North America generally, and Richard Harris on the employment linkage – agree that much still needs to be done to flesh out both the historical and spatial dimensions of manufacturing suburbs. How did firms receive production materials and ship finished products to markets? How did people journey to work? What role did manufacturing play in the shaping of community spirit in these typically working-class suburbs? And what about middle-class municipalities that excluded manufacturing from locating within its boundaries? To these can be added the obvious need to consider other Canadian examples. This is not to criticize the careful gathering and editing of essays by Robert Lewis. Rather, it is, so-to-speak, a call to research arms, a plea to investigate the suburbanization of manufacturing in Halifax, Saint John, Winnipeg, Calgary, and Vancouver, for example. Just as Toronto and Montreal differ in their industrial make-up, timing of suburbanization, and spatial patterning, it is quite likely that the cities of Canada's eastern and western peripheries vary from one another and their central Canadian counterparts; and almost certainly from their American seaboard competitors, because manufacturing is, after all, a capitalist process that produces winners and losers. The great value of this book, then, is the successful melding of a North American perspective that establishes a meaningful benchmark for further research in the field.

LARRY MCCANN *University of Victoria*

Developing Alberta's Oil Sands: From Karl Clark to Kyoto. PAUL CHASTKO. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004. Pp. 320, $44.95

Developing Alberta's Oil Sands is a well-researched, well-written, tightly argued book. In Part One (to 1945) the author reveals the early history of the sands and the complicated manoeuvres carried out by the federal and provincial governments over its development. Until 1930, Chastko points out, the federal government controlled research on the tar sands and retained ownership of the resources of Western Canada, and this led to countless disputes over who could or could not carry out experimentation on, and then refine them. Acrimony between the two levels of government marked these years, but there was a bright spot – Karl Clark at the University of Alberta and the Scientific and Industrial Research Council. As a result, in large part of Clark's work on the hot-water extraction process, both levels of government saw the sands as a practical source of energy as the Second World War approached. Absand, a private concern operating with the permission of Ottawa, ran a problem-plagued operation during the war, but did show that oil could be abstracted from the sands. The plant's future was anything but secure as long as Ottawa ignored Alberta's expertise and brought in outsiders, who insisted on separation techniques that were certain to fail. In the end (1945), Ottawa washed its hands of the oil sands project.

The provincial government continued to invest in the oil sands for two reasons: It believed the project was feasible and there was no alternative. As the author points out, until the early 1970s, the sands were left to Edmonton to experiment with and to exploit. The problems were many, and although the oil strikes at Leduc and elsewhere drew attention away from synthetic fuels, Edmonton continued with the project. Chastko leads his readers through the labyrinth from the late forties until the early seventies, backlighting the passage of events in Alberta with the image of the United States and its position in the international energy market. One important question dominated the discussion: Could a barrel of oil sands oil compete with a barrel of conventional oil? If it could not, the oil sands project made no sense. When commercial development of the sands began in 1960, it sprang from the union of American interest, American capital, and access to American markets; the Americans believed that at some future date synthetic oil would be able to compete.

The Social Credit government of E.C. Manning had walked a narrow path between developing the sands for the future and ensuring that conventional oil would not be displaced by it. Manning, looking ahead, encouraged the Syncrude group (1968) to submit a plan to exploit the sands. The 1973 OPEC

oil embargo demonstrated the wisdom of his decision and added urgency to the development of the sands as a viable energy source. Peter Lougheed's Conservative Party took power in 1971 and, as the author points out, immediately indicated that his government would not be handling the conventional oil companies with kid gloves. Moreover, Lougheed was prepared to tackle Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau over energy questions. Chastko effectively analyses the Ottawa-Alberta shoving match, the creation of Petro Canada, and the National Energy Policy. The NEP tinkered with the price of oil as well as the conditions under which it could be sold and introduced new taxes to skim off billions of energy dollars and direct them from the province to Ottawa. Ottawa also took away the structure capable of establishing the true value of synthetic crude and invented its own, causing investors to back away from synthetic fuel projects. Oil sands development could not afford to turn back or go forward. In Chastko's words, 'In effect, the NEP gutted the oil patch and severely jeopardized the country's energy future.' Furthermore, he claims, it set the development of the oil sands back by five years.

The eighties and nineties, says the author, marked a new beginning for the oil sands. The election of Brian Mulroney's government in Ottawa and his famous 1984 comment 'Canada is open for business again,' argues Chastko, produced a reconstruction of the oil sands industry. New technologies revolutionized the oil sands operation and enabled smaller companies to join the game. Changes in the tax structure encouraged investment and development.

Chastko concludes the book with a fine analysis of the ins and outs of the Kyoto protocol. As he points out, by positioning Kyoto as the cornerstone of an environmental program, and not as an energy package, Ottawa assumed leadership early in the debate that it has never surrendered. The whole question of the importance of hydrocarbons to the economy, the complications associated with enforcing the ratification of the accord, and the impact of the ratification upon the economies of Alberta and Canada is well presented.

As oil sands development intensifies, the story will continue. For now, though, Chastko's book is the definitive study.

BONAR A. GOW *Concordia University College of Alberta*

Managing Changing Prairie Landscapes. Edited by TODD A. RADENBAUGH and GLENN C. SUTTER. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2005. $29.95

Managing Changing Prairie Landscapes is a collection of eleven articles that came out of a 2003 conference held in Regina on management policies affecting northern prairie ecosystems. This is a good collection of research drawn from authors working in the social, agricultural, and environmental sciences. Introductory and concluding commentaries assemble the individual chapters within a broader framework that assesses the ecological footprint of nineteenth- and twentieth-century economic activities on the northern prairies; raises concerns about the sustainability of these activities, particularly in the context of climate change; and considers the past and present character of natural, social, and manufactured capital across the region. The authors evaluate both government and community-based policy initiatives, such as the Frenchman River Biodiversity Project. Individual chapters speak directly to one another, and early context – including an outline of social capital – provides the foundation necessary for subsequent discussion. In these respects the collection is a successful example of what editors Radenbaugh and Sutter identify as trans-disciplinary (as opposed to interdisciplinary) research and writing.

Chapters 4 through 6 variously consider the changing social landscape and economic well-being of prairie communities at the turn of the twenty-first century. These chapters build on recent works in the social sciences, including Roger Epp and Dave Whitson's *Writing Off the Rural West* (2001), that explore the encounters among rural communities, governments, and globalization.

Readers of this journal will find that the authors and editors of this collection do not adequately historicize their research, even though chapters on energy trends, endemic bugs, sand hills, and desertification directly address historical change. Contributors repeatedly evoke 'original' and 'undisturbed' prairie landscapes and present the advent of Euro-Canadian settlement on the prairies as the critical but unexplored conjuncture in the environmental history of the region. The main problem is that most of the authors seem unaware of the existing historiography. Classics of prairie agricultural historiography such as Gray's *Men against the Desert* (1967) or Fowke's *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (1957) are referenced, but more recent literature by Gerhard Ens (1996) or

Clinton Evans (2002), for example, is noticeably absent. The research that adopts a historical perspective does so uncritically. In chapter 11, Sauchyn, Kennedy, and Stroich present a 'chronology of definitions [to reveal] the evolution of thinking and changing context' of desertification (137). Although this is an interesting overview, history is presented here as an uncontested record.

One important exception is Andy Hamilton's chapter on endemic bugs, in which the author notes that the 'original extent and character' of the Canadian Great Plains is 'inadequately understood and subject to much more romanticism and overstatement' as compared to the American Great Plains (102). Hamilton's assessment of early sources, including eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maps for information on original vegetation, is an enlightened survey but would benefit from the insights offered by Alwynne Beaudoin regarding settlers' perceptions of prairie environments (Beaudoin 1999). Hamilton's observation that fewer sources exist to assess the historical character of the Great Plains in Canada is only partly correct. Detailed nineteenth-century census records and early-twentieth-century aerial photographs from south of the border, which form the documentary basis of the Great Plains Population and Environment Project (www.icpsr.umich.edu/PLAINS/), are exceptional sources and well-suited to digitization and technical analysis. This wealth of information should not obscure the censuses, surveyors journals, published accounts, and personal records that detail northern prairie environments prior to and alongside Euro-Canadian settlement.

The chapter 'Energy Trends for Saskatchewan Farming, 1931–1991,' by Bob Stirling, offers the most effective historical analysis. Stirling concludes that as non-renewable energy sources replaced animal power and human labour, outputs increased while energy efficiency remained constant or declined (36). Stirling outlines a valuable methodology to compare early and late twentieth-century energy inputs and outputs, but one that demands greater qualification. Stirling notes, but does not account for, changing energy efficiencies in this period that affect the standardized coefficients used to represent the amount of energy embedded in machinery and other forms of manufactured capital. The authors of this collection are talking history, but not to historians. This is an unfortunate result, because historians (environmental, social, and economic, among others) have valuable contributions to make to the policy issues raised in this collection and could learn from the methodologies set forth.

LIZA PIPER

'Real' Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood. BONITA LAWRENCE. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. Pp. 328, $69.95 cloth, $34.95 paper

The body of literature today that deals with Aboriginal peoples in Canada is centred mainly on the issues – past and present – that dominate the lives of those peoples for whom the federal government bears direct responsibility. Primarily the literature is focused on First Nations peoples (those who are subject to the Indian Act), and on the Inuit. There is also a substantial literature on the Metis, although here the federal government's role is, especially since late May 2005, only beginning to emerge. The greatest gap in the literature – though it is not wholly neglected – lies in the area of those Native peoples who do not have legal status in Canada and for whom no level of government accepts any responsibility, save that reserved for all citizens of Canada. In *'Real' Indians and Others*, Bonita Lawrence begins to fill that gap with a description and analysis of the dilemmas facing those who, through legal and administrative actions of the federal and sometimes provincial governments, have either lost, never had, or have recently re-acquired their Indian status.

Her book is not historical. It falls more accurately into ethnic, colonial, and post-colonial studies and is informed by sociology and social anthropology. Nevertheless it brings us to a historical moment. It is a book about the outcome of history and its ongoing ramifications. It is this aspect of the book that is both its strength and its weakness. Lawrence is concerned mainly with identity – in this case, Native identity – and its construction both by the community in which people live and by the external, government forces that, she argues, dictate it. Throughout the book she examines the issues of identity confronting the lives of Native persons that the state refuses to recognize and that 'legitimized' members of the Native community frequently ignore. Motivated by her own history as the child of an Anglo-Saxon father and an Indian mother, Lawrence explores the world of those who live in an official identity vacuum and who consequently are left to struggle with constructing, negotiating, and living their Native heritage. Her exploration is

conducted largely through the participation of twenty-nine persons of mixed origin living in Toronto.

Lawrence divides her book into three sections. The first part of the book explores the historical origins and continued practice of regulation of Native identity. She pays particular attention to the Indian Act since it is (and was) the primary tool through which the state confers or denies Indian status, and to Bill C-31, which in 1985 restored Indian status to limited numbers of Native persons, especially women. In this section – as she does throughout the book – Lawrence stresses the importance of gender in regulating Native identity and the ways in which the federal government discriminated against Indian women, systematically undermining matriarchal tribal organization and traditional female roles. In the second section she turns to her participants to examine how they survive and negotiate their identities as Native people in a city, Toronto, chosen because it represents 'the final stage of a process of urbanization,' a process that, over generations, has gradually, relentlessly, expunged 'Nativeness.' Toronto, Lawrence ironically implies, celebrates difference to the extent that urban Natives are simply one more ingredient in the maw of multiculturalism. In the book's final section Lawrence returns to her central theme, colonization and the state regulation of Native identity, but enhances her argument by tying in her participants' comments, common observations, and experiences. She re-emphasizes the destructiveness of the Indian Act and how the state has methodically utilized its provisions to create both Indians and non-Indians, with the result that most persons of Native ancestry turned against each other in a struggle for the meagre benefits that the state bestows.

The solution to this legalistic, bureaucratic nightmare, she posits, lies in three directions. First, the current movement to renegotiate the numbered treaties should include the admission into treaty of the descendants of those who took half-breed scrip. Second, status Indian organizations should challenge the provisions of Bill C-31 that presently limit the transmission of Indian status so that 'the continued bleeding off' of Indians would be stopped. Finally, a concerted effort must be made to have Canada establish a fiduciary obligation with those non-status Native peoples – especially in Eastern Canada – who were excluded from the treaty process.

Lawrence writes with a sense of urgency propelled by her own sadness and anger at the often-tragic situation of Canada's forgotten Native peoples – those who, in effect, are the dregs of the Indian Act. The strength of her book and its analysis lies in her use of her participants' lived experiences and their recollections of their parents' own struggles as Indians, Metis, mixed bloods, or descendants of these groups. Despite the strength of its narrative and analysis, the book as an overall work of scholarship is troubling. Lawrence does not give the reader a strong historical overview of what has happened here: The reader is left to accept at face value the statement that the state is determined to eradicate the Indian presence in Canada through what she refers to as the constant process of colonization. This may be true, but there is little discussion of colonization, its meaning past and present, and why the state should wish to pursue its bleak objective with respect to Native peoples. Much of her argument hinges on the Indian Act and on Bill C-31. There is, however, little direct, quoted reference within the text to either piece of legislation. With the exception of Bill C-31, there is little discussion of how other scholars have interpreted the Indian Act, its related legislation, and its impact. Indeed, there is almost no archival or historical evidence in the book to support or illuminate the reader's understanding of Canadian Indian policy and its ultimate ends.

While Lawrence's argument is always interesting it is, in my view, selectively supported. For example, her discussion of the effects of the child welfare system on Native identity is referenced largely by Patrick Johnston's 1983 book on the sixties swoop, despite the fact that there is a substantial body of literature that has followed it. There is also a lengthy discussion about blood quantum and its use in determining Indianness. Lawrence is rightly critical of it as a method but she doesn't question its legitimacy as a concept. Surely the issue is ancestry and descent – not blood quantum for which, so far as I know, there is no scientific evidence of its existence. Although she clearly limits her study to Toronto, she tends to extrapolate to a broader reality. The book, however, lacks demographic data about actual numbers and backgrounds of persons of mixed Native ancestry in Canadian cities. It is difficult to know therefore whether the issues she discusses are the same for other substantial urban Native populations in Canada. Is Toronto unique in its composition, or do Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Regina compare?

Finally, the book is poorly indexed and at times badly edited. The author cannot be faulted here. However, at times sentences were unwieldy. There

was also an inconsistency in reporting the number of participants (twenty-nine or thirty) in her study. Despite these weaknesses, the book represents an important contribution to an often-neglected group of people in Canada. The strength and passion of the narrative, together with the consistency of the argument, builds a powerful case for government redress and certainly for further study and action.

HUGH SHEWELL *York University*

Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis. KATHARYNE MITCHELL. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004. Pp. 296, illus., b&w, US$24.95

Immigration to British Columbia has always been politically contentious. Indeed, some of Canada's most notoriously racist immigration polices, such as the head tax on Chinese immigrants and the continuous journey regulation that targeted immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, were originally hatched in the context of developments in BC. Historically, however, white British Columbians have not spoken with one voice in these highly charged debates about immigration; nor have immigrants been silent in debates about the social and economic value, and consequences, of immigration.

Mitchell's 'spatial ethnography' picks up on both of these themes and is a fascinating account of the migration to Vancouver of wealthy Hong Kong immigrants in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and of the complexity of the corresponding debates about how Vancouver was changing as a result of this migration. All the key actors make an appearance in what Mitchell characterizes as a battle over the rights to the city. In addition to using a variety of documentary materials, she conducted extensive interviews with politicians, developers, city planners, grassroots community activists, and immigrants. Mitchell characterizes the conflicts over 'monster houses,' zoning regulations, the cutting of trees in established neighbourhoods, and the meaning of multiculturalism in Vancouver as a war of positioning between socially liberal philosophies of national belonging and neo-liberal philosophies of globalization. The book is an analysis of how these different philosophies of liberalism were mobilized and articulated by different political actors. What is particularly interesting about Mitchell's work is her nuanced analysis of the crosscutting of class and 'racial' alliances that emerged in the course of these battles. Perhaps not surprisingly, wealthy immigrants became allied with developers, neo-liberal politicians, and city planners who used neo-liberalism as a way to challenge dominant socially liberal discourses about landscape, design, citizenship, home, and belonging that were articulated by leftist progressives and grassroots social conservatives. Neo-racist fringe groups also tried to insert themselves into this alliance, albeit with different motives. Mitchell also develops an interesting account of how the 'race' card was played by both sides in these debates; opponents of so-called monster houses played on nationally (i.e., British) oriented symbols and narratives of belonging, whereas developers, and some immigrants, in her view, effectively played the 'race' card to paint their opponents as racist.

Though already theoretically dense, with extensive discussions of liberalism, neo-liberalism, globalization, and transnationalism, there is surprisingly little theoretical discussion of the meaning of racism, even though this concept turns out to be central to the analysis. The defenders of particular neighbourhood styles, landscapes, and aesthetics are all characterized as defending racist cultural norms associated with Vancouver's social and historical spaces (215). However, in the absence of a theoretical definition of racism, it is not clear why all those community activists who expressed concerns over the transformation of their neighbourhoods should be painted with the same racist brush as skinheads; nor is it clear why their opposition is not, in fact, better characterized as a reflection of nationalism. Furthermore, Mitchell's analysis begins in the 1980s, when urban policy began to shift from an ethic of social liberalism towards neo-liberalism, and it is in the context of this shift that she locates the significance of racism. However, racism directed against Chinese and other Pacific Rim immigrants is not new to the province. Many of the same arguments were rehearsed over a hundred years ago, before social liberalism, neo-liberalism, multiculturalism, globalization, and transnationalism. And there were similarly complex alliances, with immigrants and capitalist interests on one side, and trade unions and social conservatives on the other side. In many ways, their battles were also over the rights to the cities of Vancouver and Victoria, and to the province more generally. Given the centrality of racism to this analysis, it would have been useful for Mitchell to trace some of the continuities and discontinuities of racism. Even though this book comes up somewhat short in its analysis of racism, this is nevertheless an excellent read that historians,

sociologists, and geographers will find very useful.

VIC SATZEWICH *McMaster University*

Elections. JOHN C. COURTNEY. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. Pp. 192, illus., b&w, $65.00 cloth, $22.95 paper

John C. Courtney is the leading scholar on the history, principles, and current practice of elections in Canada. Thus, he is the best choice to analyse the Canadian electoral system for the Canadian Democratic Audit series. Courtney's basic conclusion is that, overall, Canadian elections are democratic. Yet he examines areas that are still open to democratic weakness such as the plurality vote system and representational fairness.

As Courtney argues, the story of the historical development of Canadian and provincial electoral regimes is a happy one. Four of the five components of our electoral systems – voter eligibility, election districts, registration practices, and election administration – have slowly and consistently improved since Confederation. These components changed as a result of popular democratic pressure but slowly enough to allow the dominant parties to adjust their appeals to the electorate so as to maintain, more or less, their competitive electoral positions.

Today, the most controversial aspect of our electoral system is plurality voting. Its critics are vocal, its defenders, to the extent they exist, are quiet. So why does this system persist?

The major change would likely be dramatic. Political parties and our representational system would be most affected, perhaps in unexpected ways. As Courtney points out, changing the electoral system would change the campaign strategies of the political parties and the voting strategies of voters. Finally the election results might produce outcomes that severely damage the governability of the country.

Yet defenders are hard pressed to ignore the faults of the plurality system as it works in Canada. Even though the major parties try to run regionally balanced campaigns, election results consistently produce outcomes that grossly under-represent regions and, at the federal level, provinces. Regionally strong parties with limited geographical appeal are over-represented in legislatures, while broad-based parties with non-concentrated support are often grossly under-represented.

Courtney also argues that change may not always be good. In recent years, a permanent voters list was seen as being preferable to an election-specific registry of voters. However, as Courtney points out, the establishment of a permanent voters list did not result in a democratic expansion of suffrage, increase voting participation, or reduce a perceived democratic failing in the enumeration procedure.

Overall Courtney's volume is an even-handed comprehensive overview of the Canadian electoral system and its historical development. Some will see too much conservatism in his analysis, others, like myself, will see an overdue defence of traditional Canadian institutions and their evolution. Certainly, to this reviewer, a critical assessment of the move to a permanent voters list was long overdue. Just as importantly, while the faults of the plurality system are justly seen as undemocratic, we need to understand why Canadians have been loath to change this system, and we need to be aware that the expected benefits of change may not materialize and indeed may produce consequences worse than the present system.

Clearly, most hand-wringing observers of lower voting participation have not asked an important question: What is the effect of a permanent voting list on citizen participation in elections? When we add to this question a similar query about a recent characteristic of election campaigns – shorter election campaigns – the question becomes even more compelling. Indeed, sitting governments' desire for shorter campaigns is seen as an additional justification for a permanent list.

As Courtney notes, these two reinforcing factors likely reduce voting participation, especially among young citizens, and affect our actual measurement of voting participation. Approximately one-fifth of our population moves each year, most comprising young, poor, tenants, and poorly educated. These citizens are not likely to wind up on our registration list, and they are not stimulated to pay attention to the campaign by enumerators on their doorstep. Also while it is now more difficult to get on the registration rolls, it is even more difficult to eliminate the deceased and those who have moved out of a constituency. Thus, our purported lower voting rates in recent years may be partially due to actual deterrents to vote as well as an overestimate of some populations that are factored into the denominator of voting participation.

A great deal has been written about plurality voting, but few are as careful in their analysis as Courtney. What could be added is that organized citizens may very well make the outcomes more

democratic. Over the past ten years, the Ontario election of 1999 appears to be the most congruent in popular vote/legislative seat congruence. In that election, a number of groups provided citizens with information about partisan competition in specific constituencies. Thus, there is more research to be done on Canadian elections, but Courtney's book is a good starting point.

HENRY J. JACEK *McMaster University*