

Gowan's role in the parliament of 1836-40 is also treated sketchily, which is a pity because that parliament is one of the most interesting Upper Canada's history. The session of 1836-7 provides a microcosm of pre-rebellion popular Toryism, and it would have been instructive had Gowan been placed accurately within its shifting alliances. The scheme for settling the clergy reserves question which Gowan introduced in April 1839 is described as radical and Romanist (p. 215). In fact it had been proposed in 1836 by the Tory member for Toronto, W. H. Draper, and had then gathered considerable support amongst Constitutionalists. Gowan's clash with Lieutenant Governor Arthur over the disbanding of the Queen's Royal Borderers was not unique — Sir Allan MacNab, for example, suffered a similar disappointment and took the same view of its causes. Finally, Gowan's adoption of responsible government in 1839 has to be seen against the background of the movement which swept Upper Canada in the wake of Lord Durham's Report. Many people who had formerly regarded responsible government as veiled treason swung over to its support. What is perhaps surprising is that a politician of Gowan's extreme views on loyalty should have joined the movement and that he should have continued to ally himself with Tories rather than Reformers.

The remainder of Gowan's political career — his role in provincial parliament in the years 1844-7 and 1859-61, his contribution to the British American League, his work in local government in the Johnstown district and in Toronto — is similarly treated. The truth seems to be that Akenson is not seriously interested in Gowan the politician and still less interested in the context within which he (Gowan) operated. Even Gowan's political ideas attract little attention — there is no analysis, for example, of the editorials of Gowan's *Brockville Statesman* or the *Toronto Patriot* of 1852-4, when the latter was under his management. Even when Gowan's political principles are described, their significance is too often unexplained.

In short, *The Orangeman* is better literature than history. The book is fun, as Akenson meant it to be, but, if it is to be taken as anything more than that, it should be read alongside the more sober and in some ways more informative account given by Hereward Senior.

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Karl Aun — *The Political Refugees: A History of the Estonians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985. Pp. viii, 193. Maps, illustrations.

To the uninitiated, the Estonians of Canada appear to be one of the most cohesive and dynamic immigrant ethnic groups in this country. Karl Aun's book, published in the *Generations: A History of Canada's Peoples* series of the Multicultural Sector of the Secretary of State of Canada, both confirms and explodes this image. What emerges from his study is the picture of an embattled community capable of great achievements but often at the price of much intra-ethnic strife.

Although a few Estonians had settled in the Canadian West as early as the turn of the last century, the vast majority of this group's members arrived in Canada in the wake of the Second World War. They were political refugees in the strictest sense of that term, having fled their war-torn country during or after its various occupations by Soviet and German forces. In fact, the Estonians were one of Canada's first 'boat peoples': many of them had escaped from their homeland to Finland or Sweden by boat, and re-embarked after the war's end on a voyage to Canada. They were driven by a fear for their lives both times. During the war they wanted to avoid such dangers as being drafted into the service of one or the other of the occupying powers, or being accused by them of having supported the enemy. After the war they wished to get as far from Europe as possible in case of a new military conflict broke out and Sweden would be forced to deliver those who had sought refuge there to the Soviets. The dramatic circumstances of the Estonians' departure from Europe, coupled with the

uncertainties of the first stages of their exile, made a lasting impression on this group and continues to mould their community life and ideology even today.

Estonians constitute one of Canada's small ethnic groups. They number less than 20,000. The community's small size is compensated for by its relative cohesiveness. Most other European immigrant communities in Canada are fragmented. Many of them are divided along religious lines. Others have brought with them sharp ideological differences. Some of them are also weakened by conflicts between or among two or three 'vintages' of newcomers. And nearly all of them are divided geographically among several centres of concentration. Not so the Estonians. The vast majority of them belong to the Lutheran faith. They had come to Canada at about the same time, and most of them had settled in Toronto. They are also united by their solidly anticommunist outlook that they had brought with them as political refugees. These circumstances tend to counteract centrifugal tendencies within the ethnic group. Yet, conflict has not escaped the Estonian community. Differences of cultural and political outlook inevitably developed between the original immigrants on the one hand, and their Canadian-educated and Canadian-born children on the other. The most acute conflicts of views concerned attitudes toward the new homeland and the Old country.

To the original refugees, Canada was a place of temporary residence from where one day, perhaps in the not-too-distant future, they would return to a liberated Estonia. For them there could be no compromises in the community's anti-Soviet stance. The members of the second generation, however, Canada is 'home'; they have no desire to prepare for life in the country of their parents. Nor do they feel politically compromised by visiting Soviet Estonia. As a result of differences over these and other issues, the conflict between generations every now-and-then tends to rend the Estonian community asunder.

The conflict between generations is not the only circumstance that beclouds the future prospects of the Estonian community. Another threat is cultural erosion. Evidence suggests that as the community becomes older and more and more of the original refugees die, the use of Estonian in the home declines. An increasing number of second-generation Estonians marry outside of the group, and many abandon all serious contacts with the community. The more the average individual Estonian integrates into Canadian society, the more he or she becomes prone to cultural assimilation. While there are many exceptions to this trend both within the Estonian community and other immigrant groups, successful integration does tend to facilitate assimilation. In dynamic communities, such as the Estonian colony of Toronto, this tendency is less pronounced; however, time — together with societal integration — does take its toll of all immigrant minorities.

The prospects of the Estonian community are further compounded by a low birth-rate, seemingly a byproduct of material well-being in many societies. Many of the successes of this ethnic group have resulted from the fact that most of its members have been individual achievers; they have become part of Canada's middle class. But this very factor has brought with it seeds of the group's decline.

These and other aspects of the Estonian group's existence are amply exposed and explained in Karl Aun's book. The volume is organized thematically. This makes it handy for most social scientists interested in certain aspects of the group's community life. It is not so convenient for the historian who will find the author backtracking in time in virtually every chapter. Indeed, the book is not really what most scholars would consider history. It contains very little information on the early Estonian immigrants to Canada (and whatever information it provides on them is scattered in various chapters), and it lacks a sense of chronology. Of these two weaknesses, the first is more regrettable. The early Estonian immigrants to Canada, while few in numbers, made important contributions to the country and their story is quite interesting. Moreover, it is well documented; it should have been quite easy to outline their history in more detail. As most of these people were also to a large extent political refugees, telling more about them would not have detracted from the author's thesis.

These deficiencies aside, the book is a well-crafted and well-written work. It is probably one of the better ones in the series. In writing the book, Aun has relied on a great variety of primary and secondary sources, as well as his own extensive knowledge of the Estonian community. He had

collected much statistical information some of which is presented in the text, while the rest is contained in tables at the end of the volume. His book should be of interest not only to Estonians in Canada and elsewhere but to students of Canadian immigration and Canada's ethnic groups.

This book should also be of great interest to Estonians in the U.S.S.R. At the present, it is not likely to be found on the open shelves of public libraries there. This reviewer's own book on the Hungarians of Canada has encountered difficulties in entering some East European countries where Hungarians live (such as Czechoslovakia). At the same time, visitors from Hungary (as well as at least one scholar from Yugoslavia) apparently had no problem in taking individual copies of the work home with them. Whether Aun's book will become readily available to the Estonian reading public in the U.S.S.R. will be a small but poignant test of Soviet Leader Gorbachov's new policy of "openness."

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Paul Bairoch et Anne-Marie Piuze (éd.) — *Les passages des économies traditionnelles européennes aux Sociétés industrielles. Quatrième rencontre franco-suisse d'histoire économique et sociale. Genève, mai 1982. Genève, Droz, 1985. 480 p.*

Cette nouvelle rencontre témoigne une fois de plus de la vitalité des échanges franco-suisse d'histoire économique et sociale, inaugurés par le regretté Pierre Léon et Jean-François Bergier, et qui se tiennent alternativement à Lyon (1965, 1976) et à Genève (1967, 1982). Les actes des trois premières rencontres avaient paru successivement dans les *Cahiers d'histoire*, t. XII, n° 1-2, 1967; dans les Publications de la Faculté des sciences économiques et sociales de l'Université de Genève, t. XX, 1969; et dans les deux vols. *Démographie urbaine, XV^e-XX^e s.* et *Villes et campagnes, XV^e-XX^e s.*, du Centre d'histoire économique et sociale de la région lyonnaise, publiés à Lyon en 1977.

Deux thèmes essentiels lors de ce quatrième colloque: 1) la transition de la ville — ou plutôt des villes — des « sociétés traditionnelles » à celles de l'ère industrielle, comme le rappelle Paul Bairoch en introduction; 2) la « modernisation » des secteurs de production. Sous le premier thème, on peut suivre une série de continuités ou de mutations: continuité et transition démographiques — et sociales — à Genève, avec A. Perrenoud, et parallèlement accroissement et géographie des achats de blé, à Genève également, avec D. Zumkeller (XVII^e-XVIII^e s.); persistance des activités agricoles des villes dauphinoises au XVIII^e s. avec R. Favier; affirmation commerciale de Bâle (XVI^e-XVIII^e), avec N. Roethlin, ou concentration impressionnante de l'industrie horlogère, dans le village de La Chaux-de-Fonds devenant ville ouvrière au XIX^e s., avec J.-M. Barrelet.

C'est sous le thème plus précis d'une « modernisation » que s'inscrivent ensuite les réflexions critiques de G. Busino sur la « transition » en général; une estimation de la persistance des activités « traditionnelles », par P. Bairoch, et un aperçu du secteur de la meunerie en France, par L. Bergeron (XIX^e s.). Puis le contraste entre secteurs céréalière et viticole en Mâconnais et en Andalousie (Jerez de la Frontera) au XIX^e s. également, par P. Goujon et P. Ponsot; mais aussi la transformation remarquable des campagnes vénitienes (cas de Bottenigo notamment), dès le XVIII^e s., par J. Georgelin. Ou encore l'examen des rapports de symbiose entre agriculture et industrie à domicile, dans les villages industrialisés suisses et bâlois au XVIII^e s., par M. Mattmueller, et, d'un point de vue « proto-industriel », le cas de la région rurale et cotonnière de Roanne au siècle suivant, par R. Estier. La diversification de la production au sein de la firme Paillard, à Ste-Croix et Yverdon, fin XIX^e-XX^e s., clôt cette deuxième partie du volume.

Deux études sont finalement présentées en marge des deux thèmes principaux: l'une sur les coûts de transport pour le ravitaillement de Genève aux XVI^e-XVII^e s., par L. Mottu-Weber, et l'autre, l'article de R. Chartier « Espace social et imaginaire social. Les intellectuels frustrés, XVII^e-XIX^e