

Lipset, beholding *Homo americanus* dwelling alone in a City on a Hill, had to admit that polls showed that the two neighbouring peoples resembled each other more than any others on earth—for good and bad, one hastens to add. Washington mostly ignored occasional differences with Ottawa and refused to connect—for example—the issue of U.S draft-dodgers in Canada in the late 1960s with tariffs and trade. Good relations with Canada were not a zero-sum game. Azzi is exceptionally good at conveying both the spirit and the details of allied mutual toleration.

But Canada's good relations with the behemoth related to the "deep government" in Washington, with the establishment, whose members had populated the White House ever since someone noticed that Warren Harding had died, in the 1920s, in a puff of corruption, sex, and generalized scandal. (After visiting Vancouver a few days earlier, for Harding was friendly to Canada.)

In a very curious way, the advent of Donald J. Trump in 2016-17 rang a familiar alarm on both sides of the border. Literate Canadians could reach for their copies of Sinclair Lewis (*It Can't Happen Here*) or James Thurber (*The Greatest Man in the World*) or Walter Miller (*A Canticle for Leibowitz*) for predictions of what might follow. A dystopian future is a common theme in English-language literature—indeed in Western literature in general. (And only lack of familiarity prevents me from extending that category from Western to universal.)

Azzi's point of view, liberal and generally progressive, did not really anticipate the rise of Donald Trump. We are not usually taught, these days, about Theseus and the Minotaur. It may be that if we all survive and Azzi writes a second edition of his excellent book, he will include a section on Trump and Trumpism. Let us hope it is a short chapter.

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BARBER, Marilyn and Murray WATSON – *Invisible Immigrants: The English in Canada since 1945*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015. Pp. 288.

Invisible Immigrants' greatest strength lies in its recounting of the multifaceted life experiences of the last major movement of English immigrants to Canada between 1945 and the mid-1970s. The English formed the largest national group—over half a million people—of the approximately four million immigrants who entered Canada in this period. From the decision to leave England to the struggles of settlement and adaptation to life, work, and community in Canada, the memories of over seventy English immigrants take centre stage. The authors deserve praise for not letting the "confused and contested state of theory" overwhelm or obscure immigrants' stories (p. 16).

With their life-story approach, Barber and Watson build on, and offer comparisons with, Jim Hammerton and Al Thomson's *Ten Pound Poms* (a study

of the English in Australia) and Murray Watson's *Being English in Scotland*. The authors challenge the invisibility of English immigrants in Canadian historiography and suggest rather that "in many respects the English are invisible, though audible" (p. 153). Their analysis sheds light on the range of factors motivating English emigrants and on the ways in which they experienced Canada's newly adopted role as a civic nation. The writers ground these narratives in a wealth of secondary literature, select periodicals, and archival documents, and consider them in relation to "contextual issues related to family and gender, social class, welfare, race and ethnicity, sensory perception, technology, and popular culture" (p. 28). However, one should read their conclusions with caution, since about one-third of English immigrants returned to England or moved elsewhere, and the authors interviewed none of these people.

The first half of the book is chronological. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the harsh realities of postwar austerity measures in England, Cold War tensions, and the competitive promotional activities of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Throughout, English immigrants appear as active transnationals who moved pragmatically where there was demand for their expertise and mobilized transatlantic connections. Ontario attracted the highest proportion, with British Columbia and Quebec next. After the 1960s, Alberta's developing oil industry attracted more immigrants, and growing emphasis on French language and culture after the Quiet Revolution made Quebec less attractive. Taking us beyond the typical push-and-pull factors, Barber and Watson show that economic frustrations did not always motivate emigration. For some people, particularly single émigrés, "working as part of travelling was a product of changing attitudes toward leisure, an evolving youth culture, and greater mobility in the postwar decades" (p. 59). After decisions to leave, chapter 3 follows immigrants' touching stories of preparation, departure, and the journey to Canada. Technological advances figure heavily, as ship travel gives way to propeller-driven aircraft and then passenger jets.

Chapter 4 offers an engrossing transition from chronological to thematic. In accounts of adjustment to life in Canada and reactions to anglophone--francophone divides, Barber and Watson's analysis of sensory perception and the "audible immigrant" is the book's most compelling contribution. Following the lead of their interviewees, they forgo theories of one-way assimilation or two-way acculturation in favour of adaptation, "a flexible concept that implies change but not necessarily complete conformity" (p. 100). For immigrants audible in their accent and manner of speech, in Montreal this marker of difference could become a point of discrimination; especially for women active in family and community life who felt as "second-class citizens" (p. 108). In addition, we read stories of adaptation to a different monetary system, shopping, cooking, the absence of the English pub, and the power of the "\$1,000-cure"—a return visit to England.

Chapters 5 and 6 then turn to paid and unpaid work to assess the newcomers' integration into Canadian society. Case studies introduce us to entrepreneurs, professionals, public-sector workers, and working wives. Throughout, English immigrants appear as professional and skilled workers who encountered few

barriers to jobs. Single immigrants accepted accommodations in the city as part of a transient period in their lives, and owning a home provided a sense of belonging and rootedness for families in the suburbs. We also encounter the gendered nature of migration and settlement in chapter 6, as women provided the link between extended family in England and Canada and managed home, family, and community life through associational activities in neighbourhood churches and sites of leisure. While few joined ethnic associations specifically fostering English or British identity (the distinction is never quite clear for many interviewees), those who did sought recognition of a distinct identity, just as other immigrant groups publicly celebrated their heritage.

This observation leads to a problematic discussion of national identity in the final chapter. Foremost, the method is awkward: as Barber and Watson admit, many interviewees did not volunteer their comments, which the authors prompted by questions late in the interview. Yet they offer insightful, though often contradictory conclusions as to how these immigrants came to see themselves as both Canadian and English or British. For example, several interviewees point to the developing language of pluralism and then multiculturalism, growing discrimination in francophone Quebec, and perceived decline in England leading to disillusionment with their country of origin. Several others recount how citizenship and a passport could be merely a matter of convenience or a necessity for crossing borders. Further still, homeownership, children growing up ‘Canadian,’ and opportunities for social mobility appear as factors that led many to feel Canadian or adopt “some form of dual identity combining English and/or British with that of their new country” (p. 252). The variety of these findings may lead the reader to wonder, as I did, why the authors chose to focus on a question of national identity that reads as an attempt to force people’s often-transnational lives into a national framework.

The question of identity formation warrants a more nuanced discussion and, perhaps, greater attention to racial and ethnic tensions between the invisible and visible immigrant groups in an increasingly racially diverse and multicultural Canada. The authors quote five interviewees in their conclusion, and one is very revealing. Noel Taylor, who landed in 1956, suggests that English immigrants “absorb themselves, they just fit into society that much easier. It’s much easier for me than it is for an immigrant from Lebanon or the Philippines, or wherever. They have a problem with language; that must be awful. That’s why they have these little groups in town” (p. 255). How may have the increasing visibility of “these little groups in town” affected others’ desire for distinctiveness?

It is a sign of a good book that it points so clearly to further research questions. *Invisible Immigrants* offers a compelling read for graduate students and researchers exploring post-1945 immigration and ethnicity. Barber and Watson accomplish what they set out to do in a well-written and easily accessible style, and they confirm that the English, while invisible immigrants in many respects, deserve greater attention in Canadian immigration historiography.

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