

one integrated steel mill or auto assembly plant closed in Canada between 1969 and 1984” (p. 130) — while American plants, older and more outdated, shut down in droves. The degree of protest registered on the two sides of the border was a function of difference as well: Canadian unions, politically active and used to having impact, intervened, often with success; American unions, business-oriented and surprisingly conservative, accepted much of what the bosses decided to do. The playing of the national card was tied to the different circumstances of the two countries, too: Canada’s high degree of foreign ownership made it easy to blame foreigners — especially Americans — for decisions to close, while the more complicated situation in the United States — where foreigners often created the problem through imports and cheap labour, but responses to that problem came from American owners and managers — meant that this was harder for Americans to do.

Not all pitfalls likely to be encountered in a study of this sort have been avoided. A potentially strong chapter on terminology and terminological difference does not quite establish the significance and meaning of the terms it brings forward. In consequence, as readers contemplate even a number of familiar designations — “middle west”, “heartland”, “dustbowl”, “rustbelt”, “sunbelt”, “smokestack America”, “The Foundry”, “The Golden Horseshoe” — they do not see those designations analysed in a way that negotiates the differences between their status as “regions of the mind” and their role as signifiers of concrete and very tangible social and economic reality. An interesting discussion of plant architecture, industrial parks, and the aesthetics of industry never quite connects to the overall theme. There is much deploying of terms from theory in cultural studies and social analysis, but it remains mechanical and perfunctory. Use of interview material — despite contact with theorists of its relevance and ability — is not managed in a way that attends to the manner in which interviewees, consciously or not, are involved in self-presentation, performance of roles, and position-enactment.

That said, this study stands as a solid, workmanlike, carefully assembled contribution to the understanding of a difficult, complicated, multi-faceted problem. Its emphasis on border-demarcated difference responds to Courchene’s claim that Ontario is essentially a North American region-state and takes up Helliwell’s argument that borders matter in ways that give them a place in an important, ongoing, highly charged debate. Flawed in some areas, strong and effective in others, this book emerges, on balance, as one very much worth having.

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LAMARRE, Jean — *The French Canadians of Michigan: Their Contribution to the Development of the Saginaw Valley and the Keweenaw Peninsula, 1840–1914*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003. Pp. 209.

This excellent book is an English translation of the author’s *Les Canadiens français du Michigan : leur contribution dans le devenir de la nation québécoise*, published

by Septentrion in 2000. The English title more accurately reflects the book's contents, for the immigrants in question assimilated fairly quickly into American society, leaving their traditional *québécois* identity behind. It is fortunate that the book is now available to an English-speaking audience, since it makes an important contribution to American immigration and ethnic history as well as to the history of the Great Lakes region. The translation, by Howard Keillor and Hermione Jack, is accurate and readable.

The opening chapter, on Quebec in the nineteenth century, paints a familiar picture of a rural society beset by demographic pressures, subdivision of farmlands, and heavy debt. It also, however, makes an original argument, namely, that Quebecers responded to this situation by expanding their long-standing tradition of exceptional geographic mobility. Jean Lamarre writes, "The reliance on mobility constitutes a distinctive, and even recurrent, trait in the socioeconomic and cultural life of French Canadians. Its origins go back to the very beginnings of French colonization on the continent, and it must be carefully considered as a means of better understanding the nature of the solutions chosen by French Canadians in times of crisis" (p. 6).

Unlike Quebec historians who focus solely on "the mobility of sedentary life", that is, the slow geographic expansion of a traditional farming society, Lamarre views agricultural colonization as just one among several migratory options. To be sure, some French Canadian immigration to Michigan before 1860 "was of a permanent and familial nature, centered around the acquisition of land with the intention of maintaining an agricultural way of life" (p. 20). But much of it also revolved around the fur trade, a sphere of activity that from the seventeenth century created an economic territory extending far beyond the borders of Quebec. A third occupation, forestry, began drawing French Canadians to Michigan, mostly on a temporary basis, beginning in the 1850s.

The following chapters examine two areas in Michigan that witnessed considerable French Canadian immigration in the nineteenth century: the Saginaw Valley and the Keweenaw Peninsula. Although the motor of economic development was different in each case — forestry in the Saginaw Valley and copper mining in the Keweenaw Peninsula — the French Canadian communities in both places evolved in similar ways. These immigrant communities also contrasted significantly with those of the factory towns of New England, which are probably better known to historians.

French Canadian foresters moved into the Saginaw Valley as the depletion of white pine pushed the lumber frontier westward from northern New England, upstate New York, and Pennsylvania. While some immigrants arrived directly from Quebec, others came via a step-migration that took them from Quebec to the northeastern United States and from thence to Michigan. Based on this second pattern, Lamarre proposes the hypothesis of a migratory triangle linking Quebec, New England, and Michigan. He cautions, however, that further study is required to define it more clearly and reveal "the full continental dimension of the phenomenon" (p. 160).

In the multi-ethnic urban centres of the Saginaw Valley, French Canadian immigrants maintained an ethnic identity based on family and work and buttressed by familiar institutions: parish churches and schools, newspapers, and mutual aid societies. In

contrast to New England, where these institutions (and the clerical and lay elites that ran them) had a stranglehold over community self-definition, in the Saginaw Valley they were more noteworthy for their weakness. Clerical leadership was unstable, and many priests were neither French Canadian nor even francophone. Newspapers, as in New England, had short lives and limited circulation. Catholic and conservative, they reflected elite concerns, while ignoring immigrant experience and regional economic development. Meanwhile, mutual aid societies throughout Michigan were disrupted by disagreement over the annexation movement; in the late 1860s, societies in Detroit (founded by French Canadian settlers in the early eighteenth century) supported annexation of Canada by the United States, while those of the newer immigrant communities were more influenced by the ideology of *survivance*.

By the 1870s the socio-economic integration of the Saginaw Valley's French Canadians into American society was well advanced. One-third of the immigrants had become American citizens. Many participated in the service sector, running hotels, saloons, and liquor stores, in blatant disregard of clerical disapproval. They participated actively in the strikes of 1872 and 1885, and they were prominent in municipal politics, even in neighbourhoods where they were in the minority. Lamarre concludes,

[T]he French Canadians' lifestyle and work culture, together with the weakness and instability of their clerical and lay leaders, soon freed them from a certain social isolation — perhaps sooner than was the case with their compatriots elsewhere — and enabled them to integrate more rapidly into the socioeconomic life of the host society. They were thus better placed to understand the main economic issues and to defend more promptly their own interests. (p. 101)

In the Keweenaw Peninsula, the situation was comparable, with the difference that the French Canadians participated little in the primary economic activity — copper mining — especially in the first generation. Instead, they exhibited a remarkable diversity in their economic integration. As in the Saginaw Valley, they challenged their clerical elites, and their mutual aid societies succumbed to infighting. Significantly, even the first newspaper published by the community, a weekly that appeared for eight months in 1875, was bilingual. The peninsula's French Canadians, like those of the valley, were successful in electoral politics, and they were even more eager to obtain American citizenship. Eighty per cent were citizens by 1910, as opposed to 60 per cent in the Saginaw Valley at the turn of the century.

*The French Canadians of Michigan* provides an important corrective to the stereotypical image of French Canadian immigrants in the United States as ghettoized inhabitants of *Petits Canadas* following the dictates of reactionary elites. Numerically, the exception is significant. In 1860 roughly equal numbers of French Canadians immigrated to the American Northeast and Midwest. Although New England subsequently eclipsed Michigan as the favoured destination, in 1890 more than a quarter of French Canadian immigrants still resided in the Midwest.

Revealing the existence of another, Midwestern model of French Canadian acculturation is thus an important contribution; yet one also wonders how many French

Canadian New Englanders might have fit this same pattern, but have gone unnoticed due to the historiographical emphasis on elite discourse. In any case, the irony that Lamarre notes regarding Michigan's French-language journalists, who found themselves promoting assimilation despite their commitment to *survivance*, is equally true of New England publishers like Fernand Gagnon. Lamarre writes,

By their content and approach, some newspapers more closely resembled assimilation agents than promoters of community survival. The publishers often exerted pressure to bring the political and social behavior of the migrants more in line with the expectations of the host society or attempted to prove to the host society that the French Canadians were adapting well to life in the United States. (p. 88)

In short, *The French Canadians of Michigan* not only brings to light a frequently neglected chapter of French Canadian immigration to the United States. It also raises questions about accepted stereotypes and stimulates further research on the extraordinary peregrinations of this ethnic group — *la nation québécoise* — across Canada and the United States.

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LAMBERTUS, Sandra — *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. 277.

Native protests and police or military response have been recurring events over the past 30 years in Canada. From the occupation of Anishinabe Park in Kenora in 1974 to Oka in 1990, to Ipperwash and Gustafsen Lake in 1995, and most recently to Burnt Church in 1999–2000, struggles have occurred that pitted Aboriginal people against authorities and in which both sides vied for popular support. British Columbia has been pre-eminent as a locale for such confrontations. Indeed, over the past 15 years the highest incidence of Native blockades has occurred in the Pacific province (p. 71). In part, the explanation for this phenomenon is that little of B.C. is covered by treaties and until 1991 political leaders in that province refused to acknowledge Aboriginal title.

It is equally clear that the media have played a major role in the contest for public approval that always accompanies these standoffs. What has not been obvious until now, however, is how and why the parties to these confrontations shaped their messages for the media and, through the media, for Canadians at large. Awareness of the importance of media coverage of these events led Edmonton anthropologist Sandra Lambertus to study the lengthy Gustafsen Lake confrontation during the summer of 1995. Her objective was to analyse the role of the media in the battle for public opinion. How did reporters, columnists, and editors “frame” the Gustafsen Lake story, and why? The “how” of it is that the media ill understood the standoff and depicted it variously as spiritual protest, land claim assertiveness, or Native criminality or terrorism.