

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.

The “why” is explained largely by the strategy contrived and vigorously pursued by the RCMP of controlling reporters’ access to the site to shape their understanding of events. The Mounties barricaded the road to Gustafsen Lake and prevented press access, staged briefings for reporters 35 kilometres away in 100 Mile House, and, in an extraordinary bit of Machiavellianism, facilitated the insertion of a lawyer, Bruce Clark, into the situation because they expected that Clark would embarrass himself and discredit the protestors. Such tactics worked.

Lambertus provides a painstaking analysis of newspaper, radio, and television coverage of the standoff. She focuses particular attention on key steps in the process, such as the police decision to block access to the site immediately after a visit to the protestors’ camp by Assembly of First Nations Chief Ovide Mercredi, as well as a dramatic press conference after a “firefight” at which police representatives made unjustified charges against the Natives and took the extraordinary step of informing the press that some at the protestors’ camp had criminal records. Although it would not have been obvious to reporters at the time, the RCMP consistently followed a particular line, even if its media liaison people had to deviate from police policy to do so. The protestors, whom almost all reporters soon took to calling “rebels”, were regularly portrayed in a negative light, while the police were depicted as favourably as possible. All in all, Lambertus makes a persuasive case that the police effectively manipulated the press at Gustafsen Lake. Anyone who reads *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds* will be unlikely to view another of these confrontations in the same way again.

As fine as the analysis by Lambertus is, it does have some shortcomings. One is the inclusion of a columnist’s quotation, described as “[o]ne of the most personal attacks on [lawyer Bruce] Clark” (p. 230, n. 14), without allowance for the fact that the writer in question consistently struck — and strikes (he still writes for *The Star-Phoenix* in Saskatoon) — a populist, right-wing stance that relied heavily on sarcastic humour and exaggeration. In other words, this column should not have been taken at face value. Another peculiarity of the Lambertus account is that, although it points out that the *Vancouver Sun* was an exception to the media’s general inclination to follow RCMP leads, frequently criticizing the force and using electronic clips illegally obtained from radio telephone conversations, it does not delve very deeply into why the *Sun* followed its maverick line in face of police disapproval and threats of legal action. Because the *Vancouver Sun*, along with the weekly newspaper in 100 Mile House, was a notable exception to the credulous behaviour of most media representatives, the reasons for its actions merited more explanation.

One hesitates to complain that such a detailed, careful analysis should have probed its sources more deeply. However, *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds* somewhat shortchanges the reader by not paying close attention to the role of the media people behind the front lines, the individuals who processed the news that reporters filed from 100 Mile House. It seems clear at many points in the volume that editors — who determined how coverage would be carried out, thereby helping to shape the reporters’ approaches — were instrumental in how the story was “framed”. One very clear instance of this is terminology. Some reporters expressed discomfort about characterizing the protestors as “rebels” rather than using less

loaded terms such as demonstrators, but editors in the newsrooms back in Vancouver or Toronto decided such questions. Another example of probable editorial influence is the fact, which Lambertus passes over without much comment, that Grand Chief Ovide Mercredi's visit to Gustafsen Lake was quickly cast as a failure by the press. It is highly likely that editors, and perhaps reporters, recalling Mercredi's inability to deliver a First Nations "Yes" vote on the Charlottetown Accord in 1992, were merely continuing a press tendency to portray him as a political failure. More analysis of both editors' contributions and the influence of media owners would have strengthened the account.

These comments are more suggestions than criticisms, for Lambertus has contributed significantly to our understanding of how confrontations between Aboriginal groups and state authorities are portrayed in Canada.

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LAMBTON, Gunda — *Sun in Winter: A Toronto Wartime Journal, 1942 to 1945*.
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003. Pp. 286.

This memoir represents a significant addition to literature on the Canadian experience in the Second World War. While there are numerous first-hand published accounts of Canadians in uniform, comparatively few works describe life on the home front. Indeed, only in recent years have there appeared significant academic studies of Canadian communities at war delineating the multi-dimensional impact of the conflict upon those who remained behind to keep the home fires burning brightly.

Gunda Lambton was a British War Guest who arrived with her two small children in Barrie, Ontario, in late 1940 and soon after moved to Toronto. Her journal conveys many fascinating, and sometimes surprising, details about wartime life in the Queen City. For instance, readers learn about the trials people often endured in locating decent accommodation and childcare, as well as — with gas rationing in effect — coping with packed public transit vehicles in war-congested cities. In Lambton's case, difficulties with landlords or the need for proximity to work or a crèche resulted in five moves during one two-year stretch, to places that she sometimes found by literally walking up and down streets seeking out "For Rent" signs. Her book effectively conveys the formidable challenges and stresses experienced by women left on their own, many with children and paltry funds, who in numerous cases were forced to accept shift work in war plants that tremendously complicated their ability to obtain satisfactory childcare. *Sun in Winter* is also very strong in describing the wartime workplace, in which Lambton held several positions, including inspector at Victory Aircraft, the maker of Lancaster bombers. She makes clear that in many cases, including her own, such participation produced not only profound fatigue, but also pride and growing self-confidence.

Despite its many gems of information, *Sun in Winter* is not without its faults. For instance, quite distinct from the three-quarters of Canadians who, according to the