

lished materials — though these would always give the voice second-hand — also required taking into account an oral tradition and necessitated carrying out interviews with the people themselves.

The research on which this book is based is very extensive in archival and secondary sources; there are 69 pages of footnotes and 27 pages of bibliography. Such deep digging has enabled Dick to throw light on subjects which rarely appear in the printed historical record, notably, for example, sexual relations between explorers and the Inuit. The papers of E. B. Baldwin, a member of Robert Peary's 1893–1895 expedition, reveal that some of the other members expected to be able to sleep with Inuit women and that their quarters had been “converted to a whore-house” (p. 383). Peary himself wrote in his diary that “Feminine companionship not only causes greater contentment but as a matter of both physical and mental health and the retention of the top notch of manhood it is a necessity” (p. 382). None of this should come as a surprise to anyone, but it was certainly not the picture of his expedition that was published to thrill generations of readers of the *National Geographic*.

The most contentious modern issue concerning Ellesmere Island and its inhabitants is, of course, the matter of the relocation of the Inuit in the 1950s. The debate is over the motives for the relocation: was it done with the welfare of the Inuit in mind, or was it mostly to put a Canadian population on an uninhabited island (as it was then) for purposes of sovereignty? The debate, which is argued in Tester and Kulchyski's *Tammarniit* (1994), is laid out in evenhanded fashion by Dick, who concludes that there was more than one motive, and, on the matter of whether the Inuit went voluntarily or under compulsion, that there were elements of both factors. Officialdom may have been unaware of applying pressure, while the Inuit lacked the political power or knowledge to assert their rights.

Lyle Dick is an historian with Parks Canada, and the book grew out of research done in connection with the establishment of Quttinirpaaq National Park on Ellesmere Island. Parks Canada is to be congratulated for giving its professional historians enough time to carry out such a thorough job of research and writing. It is gratifying to see that a government organization has the foresight to fund a scholar, even if only partly, to undertake a work of this kind.

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Alan Gordon — *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montréal's Public Memories, 1891–1930*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Pp. xxxiv, 233.

In a year that marks the tenth anniversary of the defeated Charlottetown Accord and the twentieth anniversary of the patriation of Canada's constitution — not to mention Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee — most observers would agree with historian Alan Gordon that public memory is both political and contested. In *Making Public Pasts*, Gordon examines the construction and deployment of public memories in Montreal between 1891 and 1930. Public memory was, he claims, “a discourse”

(p. 48) that reflected, perpetuated, and created relations of power in what was then Canada's largest city.

A revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation, *Making Public Pasts* assesses the public memories expressed in Montreal through the erection of historic plaques and monuments. Gordon's actors are those he calls "heritage elites" (p. 19) — an assortment of workers in the knowledge trades that included librarians, archivists, teachers, and lawyers. Yet similar occupations and a shared *petit bourgeois* background did not necessarily foster homogeneous outlooks: the city's heritage elites were divided by language and religion. Their versions of history were shaped by their identities as francophones or anglophones, Catholics or Protestants; such versions competed for "mnemonic hegemony" (p. 17). Gordon finds, for instance, that while francophones tended to commemorate the people and places of New France, anglophones chose to designate post-Conquest events as significant. Notably absent from the ranks of the heritage elites were the professionals who laboured in McGill University's History Department; unlike colleagues at the Université de Montréal such as Lionel Groulx, McGill's historians were largely indifferent to the history of Canada or Quebec in this period.

One of the strengths of *Making Public Pasts* is the author's familiarity with the international historical and theoretical literature on the public sphere, commemoration, memory, nationalism, anti-modernism, advertising, and tourism. Maurice Halbwachs, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and Pierre Nora rub shoulders in these pages. A ten-page bibliographical essay at the end of the book guides readers through much of this literature. Equally laudable is the very detailed research in the records of the city's numerous heritage organizations. Finally, Gordon not only considers the city's "two hegemonic cultures" (p. 174) — French-speaking Catholics and Anglo-Protestants — but also alludes to the citizens sometimes publicly "forgotten", including Irish, Italian, and Jewish Montrealers and the region's First Nations.

*Making Public Pasts* is best described as a political history of public memory, rather than a cultural history of memory such as those written by Paul Fussell and Jonathan Vance. It is a book concerned with decisions, processes, and results. How exactly, Gordon asks, did sentiment and patriotism become enshrined in granite in the city's streets and public squares? What caused the turn-of-the-century boom in monument building? How did anti-modernism result in a concern for historical preservation? Who were the members of heritage associations such as the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Commission des monuments historiques du Québec? Which sectors of society were at the forefront of public memory-making? Gordon argues that, although the First World War helped to bring the state into the heritage field at both federal and provincial levels, the interests of particular heritage elites continued to dictate what was commemorated and how. Likewise, although the early-twentieth-century marketing revolution and the anticipation of tourist preferences might have influenced the marking of public sites, Gordon claims that public memory in Montreal "was more fundamentally a discourse for insiders" (p. 177).

Gordon focuses especially on the ways in which the city's public memories treated — indeed, constructed — the national question. Anglo-Montrealers celebrated the monarchy and the imperial connection with monuments to Admiral Nelson, Queen

Victoria, and the South African War. Francophones commemorated Dollard des Ormeaux and the *Patriotes* and, in 1924, erected an illuminated cross atop Mount Royal. *Rouge* and clerical nationalisms — hitherto antagonistic — merged in the 1920s (in part, Gordon claims, as a response to anglophones' pro-conscription chauvinism during the Great War) and joined a secular consumer capitalism to revive Saint-Jean-Baptiste festivities that had declined in the late nineteenth century.

The author contends that, by the twentieth century, nationalism had become the overriding concern of the heritage elites, to the exclusion of memories particularized by class or gender. Unlike his subjects, Gordon does not ignore class and gender: he insists that Montreal's public commemorations were the product of a particular class culture, and he notes the general absence of women from heritage societies as well as from most of the city's commemorative statuary. He also remarks upon the particular kinds of masculinity (middle-class and patriotic) embodied in Montreal's monuments. This gendered analysis could perhaps have been further developed, taking into account the important work on iconography and the public sphere by historians such as Joan B. Landes, Lynn Hunt, and Mary P. Ryan.

Moreover, Gordon makes tantalizing allusions to alternative ways of occupying public space and to more spontaneous kinds of claims to public memory: brawls between Irish and French-Canadian canal workers in the 1840s; the impromptu funeral procession for tavern-keeper Joe Beef (Charles McKiernan) in 1889; the anti-conscription riots of 1917; and the crowds who turned out to welcome the returned soldiers of Quebec's 22nd Battalion in 1919. Fuller discussions of these noisier, sometimes rougher claims would complement Gordon's detailed analyses of the more decorous disputes among competing heritage elites. In drawing out other "uses of the streets" (to borrow historian Christine Stansell's phrase), such discussions would also contribute a more dynamic element to a history centred on the static markers of memory that are monuments and plaques. Finally, they would help to support Gordon's argument that the study of public memory allows us to examine "nationalism's underlying popular foundations" (pp. 17, 172).

*Making Public Pasts* acknowledges the importance of "mental geography" (p. 141) to public memory: particular moments in time are commemorated through specific sites or spaces. In mapping the plaques and monuments that began to dot Montreal's landscape at the turn of the last century, Gordon encourages urban historians to consider the competing memories and histories constructed alongside the new monuments to modernity that were factories, skyscrapers, and department stores.

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Jonathan A. Grant — *Big Business in Russia: The Putilov Company in Late Imperial Russia, 1868–1917*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999. Pp. viii, 203.

In writing the half-century of history of a single business enterprise, Jonathan Grant offers a fresh perspective on conventional wisdom about the tsarist regime and its