

Elizabeth Mancke, Jerry Bannister, Denis McKim, and Scott W. See, eds. *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749–1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019). 519pp. Paperback \$55.00.

What does it mean to say that Canadian history has been significantly less violent than that of the United States? Was not the establishment of British settler colonies in the northern half of the continent inherently violent and disorderly? These are two of the historiographical questions this ambitious collaboration, involving four editors working with nineteen contributors, sets out to answer. Their temporal framing of these questions, from the founding of Halifax in 1749 to the adoption of the Indian Act in 1876, foregrounds the continuing relevance of settler colonialism in facing up to the truths that genuine reconciliation in Canada will require. This then is more than just a diverse collection of 21 case studies in pre-Confederation political history, it is an alternative view of the making of Canada for our troubled times.

The book is divided into five parts, with the opening and closing sections stressing the significance of loyalty and tools of social order respectively. These top-down perspectives are then questioned in the middle three sections exploring the development of settler colonialism, resistance to dispossession, and legitimating and contesting the public sphere. The territory covered is from the Maritimes to the prairies. Despite the variety of topics, there is a conscious and on the whole successful effort, both through the brief introductions to each section and in the frequent cross-references to other chapters, to tie it all together. Clearly, as their extensive endnotes show, the authors learnt much from first sharing exploratory papers at a plenary workshop in Fredericton in 2015 and then making more formal presentations in Halifax in 2016, prior to submitting their final texts for publication. Although the authors do not speak with a single voice, they generally share a common vocabulary and historiographical perspectives. This is a collection that owes more to Habermas than Marx and so to Jeffrey McNairn than Ian McKay. One also senses, throughout the work, the guiding hand of the lead editor Elizabeth Mancke.

Three of the case studies are general in nature: Scott See on the limitations imposed on others by those aspiring for Peace, Order and Good Government; John Reid on the role of violence in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples; and Elsbeth Heaman on space, race, and violence in ‘civilizing’ Canada. See traces POGG all the way back to General Murray’s instructions of 1763. Reid argues that economic and demographic pressures of settler colonialism resulted in a dispossession that was no less systematic for its relative lack of overt violence. Heaman questions this variation on peaceful settlement by stressing, in arguably the must-read of the collection, the overt racism and class-based character of Tory governance. In so doing she reinforces a point See first introduced and that is touched on repeatedly elsewhere: the imposition of order was itself often a violent act engendering disorder.

der. Furthermore, recourse to violence by government actors and supporters appears to have been more generalized than by those opposing colonial policies.

The remaining 18 case studies are all in their own way interesting; certainly there is enough variety and novelty here to provide an undergraduate seminar with the core readings for a semester. Whether these often quite specific examinations of particular historical circumstances combine to provide the necessary heft to carry the weight of the collection's larger historiographical arguments is, however, another matter. But perhaps that is not their purpose, simply by illustrating in such a variety of situations how intrinsic violence and disorder were to settler colonialism might suffice. Nonetheless, I was struck by how often an analysis of a single source was called upon to address issues well beyond its scope: Damien Bélanger's search for Catholic loyalty in a century of Bishop's pastoral letters and Jane Errington's culling of the correspondence of the chief emigration officer for Upper Canada/Canada West being cases in point. Fortunately, this is not the case in the all-important section on resisting dispossession. The studies on Métis culture by Émilie Pigeon, Carolyn Podruchny, and Max Hamon are among the collection's strongest, while Harvey Whitfield, in his careful and empathetic reading between the lines of advertisements for run-away slaves, listens to the silences and hears much we can learn from.

The editors chose to exclude from consideration what they describe as the two poles of societal violence: warfare and interpersonal disputes. As a result, we hear nothing about Acadian deportation, Wolfe's scorched-earth policies along the southern shore of the St-Lawrence in 1759, rape as an act of state policy in the Lower Canadian countryside of 1837, or the suppression of the Métis of Manitoba. Surely, these acts of state violence resonated throughout British North America in ways that the 1853 Gavazzi Riot in Montreal, which graces both the front and back cover despite never being discussed within the book itself, never did. Equally importantly, by excluding interpersonal disputes the fundamental changes in gender relations within families, that laid the basis for the industrialisation of British North America, are simply lost from view. As many of the essays on settler colonialism illustrate, new forms of order beget violence. So too, do new forms of inequality.

Thus, we owe a serious debt of gratitude to Mancke and See for conceiving, successfully funding, and guiding this initiative through to completion. Their highly laudable aims need to be taken up by other scholars with differing interests than those of the new political history, so that questions of gender, class, and the radical transformation in our relations with the rest of nature may be brought into fruitful dialogue with the questions of empire, settler colonialism, and dispossession that they privilege. Now that would really be a new history of British North America.

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