Dechêne's *Habitants et marchands* as a "masterpiece", for such a category would not exist unless one work of history was not "better" than another. One can only conclude that Rudin himself has succumbed to a weakness he ascribes to a major Quebec historian: "a tendency … to take a good idea and push it to an illogical conclusion."

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David W. Lloyd — *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919–1939*. Oxford: Berg, 1998. Pp. xi, 251.

The cultural historiography of the First World War has long been dominated by a single debate: did the war usher in the modern era, or did it affirm the resilience of the traditional world? For years, one was either a Fussellite or an anti-Fussellite, a classification that determined one's view of everything from postwar literature to art to social relations. However, the polarization of the field is beginning to change. In a fine addition to Berg's series "The Legacy of the Great War", David Lloyd takes another step in the right direction by interpreting the pilgrimage movement as a complex mixture of high and low culture, the sacred and the profane, and tradition and modernism.

The book's scope is actually broader than the title suggests. Studies of postwar pilgrimages are often confined to journeys to the old front lines, but Lloyd makes a convincing case for including visits to the major war memorials in Britain and Australia, like the Cenotaph in Whitehall and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey. These, too, were discussed in terms of pilgrimages and were endowed with the same sacred aura. The exception to this occurred in Canada, where the word "pilgrimage" was rarely applied to visits to domestic memorials, as it was in Britain and Australia. Lloyd puts this down to "a level of understatement in the tone of commemoration in Canada" (p. 188).

It has long been realized that the study of commemoration must account for the interplay of competing interests, particularly the struggle between official and vernacular memories, and Lloyd does not shy away from this thorny issue. He raises some provocative notions, like the suggestion that the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior was a plot by the Church of England to counteract the immense popularity of the non-denominational Cenotaph. He explores this theory fully and effectively, but comments less on an even more interesting revelation, that planners of the Australian pilgrimage of 1938 were interested in including only tall, healthy veterans with no physical disabilities to project an image of a strong, vibrant, manly nation. The participation of two disabled veterans, as suggested by the Blinded Soldiers' Association, was summarily rejected, and only considerable public pressure convinced the planners to allow seven nurses to join the pilgrimage, thereby compromising its masculine identity. Lloyd might have made more of this matter, given his otherwise

excellent discussion of gender issues surrounding pilgrimages and of the idea that the war was an agent of improvement for the Australian people.

However, in tackling the whole notion of elite manipulation, Lloyd tends to equivocate a little too much in his conclusions. He is rightly sceptical of the suggestion that the British government cynically used the unveiling of the Cenotaph in London to mend the social fabric and to paper over divisions, demonstrating that the government did not set the agenda but rather responded to public demands. This interpretation clashes, however, with his later claim that "pilgrimages were part of a conservative reconstruction of the war experiences which stressed continuity with the past" (p. 134). Here, he seems to suggest that there was an element of elite control, although the elites involved are never specified. Certainly it was not the political elites; the Australian government, at least, seems to have been loath to commit much money to pilgrimages, regardless of how valuable they might have been in affirming the national identity or bolstering the social or political status quo.

This point is fuzzy in the book in large part because we get no clear idea of who the pilgrims themselves were; it is difficult to address the notion of elite manipulation without knowing who comprised the group, which may or may not have been under manipulation. The fact that Lloyd is able to say little about the pilgrims themselves begs a number of questions. He draws some very useful distinctions between the bereaved and the ex-soldiers who participated in these excursions, but his discussion of the motivation of the latter group is not as strong as it might be. He admits that many ex-soldiers were moved to return to the front by nostalgia, a sentiment that usually thrives when current realities are less than ideal. Were pilgrims, then, veterans who had endured a hard and difficult peace and returned to the past in an effort to escape from a disappointing present? This would seem logical were it not for the fact that a trip to the battlefields was an expensive proposition, especially for Canadian and Australian ex-soldiers, and can have been available only to veterans with some disposable income. This might lead one to a quite different conclusion: that pilgrims were generally affluent people who had done well out of the peacetime era and could afford to travel, in some cases half-way around the world. If this was the case, what did they have to be nostalgic about? There is no disputing the fact that nostalgia was a major motive for ex-soldiers who went to the front, as it was in the veteran movement as a whole, but it is difficult to say precisely how that nostalgia operated without knowing more about the pilgrims.

Admittedly, a detailed analysis of the pilgrims themselves would have been a tall order, although not an impossible one. A fairly complete nominal roll for the Vimy Pilgrimage does exist, for example, and could be cross-checked against other records to produce a statistical profile of the pilgrimage. This would have enabled the author to test some of the erroneous reports he cites from the contemporary press, like the observation that Quebec City sent only seven pilgrims, which he takes as a sign of French Canada's lack of interest in the event. In fact, Quebec City sent about 30 pilgrims and was as well represented at Vimy as many English-Canadian cities. Nor should he accept *Le Devoir*'s assessment that fewer than 75 French Canadians joined the pilgrimage, a figure which is also low by a significant margin. If Lloyd is going to speak of "the need to be sensitive to the variety and ambiguity of

individual experience" (p. 218), it would be worthwhile to know a little more about the individuals involved.

To compensate for this shortcoming, the book is very strong in setting the context. Lloyd demonstrates that it is impossible to understand postwar pilgrimages without considering their precursors, including religious pilgrimages and trips to the battlefields of Waterloo, the American Civil War, and the South African War. He argues that the invidious comparison between the prewar traveller (someone who journeyed with a moral purpose in mind) and the tourist (the mere holidaymaker) evolved into a postwar contrast between the pilgrim, who returned to the front for moral reasons, and the battlefield tourist, whose interest in seeing "the devastated areas", as they were known, was less noble. In this sense, the pilgrim represented homage to all that was sacred in the memory of the war, while commercial tourism threatened to tarnish that religious aura.

This, in turn, poses interesting questions for historians of later pilgrimages. It is difficult to dispute Lloyd's argument that pilgrimages "merged the secular rhetoric of service to the State with the religious language of sacrifice" (p. 173). What, then, will future scholars make of the apparently media-driven pilgrimages that descended on Europe to mark the significant events of the Second World War?

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Minko Sotiron — *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890–1920.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. Pp. 224.

The concentration of press ownership is of concern today to numerous Canadians who look with trepidation and some fear at the considerable influence wielded by Hollinger Corporation or the Southam newspaper chain. Yet, as this fine study by Minko Sotiron makes clear, the process of press consolidation and the worries it generated stretch back some 100 years. Starting at the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian newspapers, in their search for wider markets, changed their self-appointed role as promoters of social uplift towards maximization of profit.

The organization of Sotiron's book is clear and effective. He first charts the process of modernization and consolidation, then considers its implications. The study begins by noting the large number of newspapers in the rather small Canadian urban markets of the pre-1880 period — newspapers that were openly partisan and often received funding from political parties, but that nevertheless brought before the masses a variety of views and encouraged lively debate. This early proliferation of sources was also made possible by relatively modest start-up costs, a fact prompting a number of journalists to try their hand at publishing. However, by the 1890s cities expanded more quickly, populations were becoming more literate, and, as a result, greater profits loomed in the newspaper trade. To reach larger audiences, successful Canadian dailies increasingly adopted new and rather expensive technology — such