

Yet, for all its insights into the frontier myth and the Boy Scouts movement, *Sons of the Empire* is at times frustrating to read. MacDonald never defines the frontier: to argue his thesis he freely draws on evidence from the imperial frontier (in all its diversity) and the American frontier (with its multiplicity of meanings and multitude of contradictions). The reader is thus advised to “Be Prepared” for an often confusing journey through several frontier myths. MacDonald himself appears confused when he ignores his own insistence on the importance of the American frontier and oddly concludes “that the myth of the *imperial frontier* [emphasis added] provided both the context and the material for the construction of Scouting” (p. 204).

In part a study of masculinist ideology, *Sons of the Empire* contributes to the expanding literature on the history of masculinities. Beyond citing Michael Kimmel’s “crisis of masculinity” and the introduction to Elaine Showalter’s *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the fin de siècle* (Viking, 1990), however, MacDonald fails to provide an account of how he intends to use gender as a category of analysis. Given all that has been written on the history and theory of gender in the past two decades, this remains a glaring omission. Moreover, Kimmel points out that at least three masculinities emerged in response to America’s turn-of-the-century New Woman who resisted existing definitions of femininity and challenged established structures of power. The pro-feminist man (albeit a minority) embraced the possibility of a future free from a dangerous, compulsive masculinity. The anti-feminist man sought refuge in an aggressive misogyny and ideas about the natural inferiority and subordination of women. The pro-male man, meanwhile, placed a renewed emphasis on traditional masculinity, one that rejected sentimentality for virility and the martial spirit. Was Baden-Powell’s notion of masculinity one of these? Or was it a different masculinity altogether?

These shortcomings notwithstanding, *Sons of the Empire* will be of interest to historians interested in the study of myths, masculinities, and youth movements.

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Eviatar Zerubavel — *Terra Cognita*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992. Pp. xiv, 164.

Peggy Brock — *Outback Ghettos: A History of Aboriginal Institutionalisation and Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. v, 180.

The 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s first voyage to the Americas sparked a heated debate about his place in history. Eviatar Zerubavel’s *Terra Cognita* is one of the countless books to address this controversy. Unlike most other scholars, however, Zerubavel is not interested in using the commemoration as an opportunity to reassess the impact of European expansion on aboriginal peoples. Rather, he took the occasion to rethink what is meant by the concept of “discovery”. Zerubavel’s purpose is to challenge the popular notion that Columbus was

the European discoverer of North America. The author contends that to assign anyone that “honour” is to misunderstand the process.

Zerubavel argues that the discovery of new worlds is a complex intellectual process for any cultural group. Certainly it is not an instantaneously epic event, which, according to Zerubavel, is the way our “action-oriented civilization” mistakenly prefers to see it. In the case of Europe, the intellectual discovery of the “Americas” as a world “other” than Africa or Asia was a lengthy process involving many adventurers and scholars who preceded and followed Columbus. Indeed, the author contends that Columbus contributed little to this recognition by doggedly asserting he had reached the Orient despite mounting evidence to the contrary.

Zerubavel shows that Portuguese explorers and cartographers — and those who expanded on their ideas — played crucial roles in Europe’s mental discovery of the new world. Among them, the explorer-cosmographer Amerigo Vespucci stands out. He accompanied an expedition in 1501 and 1502 that sailed southward along the coast of South America as far as Uruguay, or perhaps Argentina. Vespucci noted that the continent extended too far south to offer the sailing route that Marco Polo had used 200 years previously on a voyage from the South China Sea into the Indian Ocean. It followed, therefore, that the vast landmass was an entity entirely different from Asia. Vespucci’s ideas soon circulated widely in print beginning in 1504, albeit in a pirated Latin translation entitled *Mundus Novus*. A year later a fellow Portuguese cosmographer, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, expanded on these ideas in a book (*Esmeraldo de situ orbis*) in which he envisioned the Americas as a “fourth part” of the world, separate from Europe, Africa, or Asia.

Although the Portuguese were among the first Europeans to begin to reconceptualize the world into four parts, according to Zerubavel it was the “armchair explorer” Martin Waldseemüller who played the critical role in altering the European world view. Waldseemüller had this opportunity because the Portuguese court censored heavily maps and documents relating to its discoveries to protect its vested interests. Thus Waldseemüller’s *Cosmographiae Introductio*, published in 1507, proved to be the seminal work in the popularization of the notion that America was absolutely separate from Asia. Included in this widely disseminated work was the first European map of the world that displayed North and South America as an unbroken landmass separate from Asia. Zerubavel notes that Waldseemüller made a bold speculation in this regard: no European would actually see South America’s west coast for another six years, and Captain James Cook would not firmly establish the separateness of North America from northeastern Asia for another 271 years. In *Cosmographiae Introductio* Waldseemüller also named this “fourth world” “America” to honour Amerigo Vespucci, whom he credited as its “discoverer”.

So, although Zerubavel admits Columbus’s role in the physical discovery of America by Europe, he honours the intellectual pioneers, particularly Vespucci, Pereira, and Waldseemüller, for having had the “intellectual guts” to re-examine the available information and use it to speculate and create a “modern cosmography” that recognized the New World as separate from the old. In doing so he explains why scholars, who often had none of the first-hand knowledge of new worlds which explorers like Columbus possessed, actually played a bigger role in the process of

mental discovery. Too often explorers clung to outdated cosmographies that prevented them from truly understanding what they had accomplished. Columbus is a classic example.

In *Outback Ghettos*, Australian historian Peggy Brock shifts the focus from Europe to the lands affected by European expansion. She looks at the ways European colonists mentally reconstructed the reality of Australia to suit their own ends and explores the ways Aborigines responded. One of the most remarkable of these constructs was the legal doctrine of *terra nullius*. Put simply, this notion held that Aborigines “wandered over the land” before European contact, but did not occupy it because they erected no permanent structures. This legal and political fiction maintained that the country was developed by settlers, not invaders. State policies toward Aborigines helped perpetuate this notion by removing them from the sight and awareness of the general white population by largely confining them to dependent communities. These settlements served as pools of labour in times of labour scarcity. Brock notes that, until recently, the dominant historiographic tradition of the country justified these policies by perpetuating the myth that “the act of ‘settlement’ was swift and not resisted by Aborigines and that superior technology rightfully predominated over people with outmoded, ‘primitive’ crafts.”

In the new tradition of scholarship concerning aboriginal people throughout the former domains of European colonial empires, Brock challenges this old mentality. She looks at the agency of Aborigines through histories of three outback ghettos — Poonindie, Koonibba, and Nepabunna — located in the state of South Australia. Brock carefully chose these settlements because their histories bracketed crucial periods and they represented different Aboriginal responses. Missionaries created the first two settlements; in contrast, the Aborigines of the Flinders Ranges initiated the latter community before these newcomers arrived.

Brock sets the stage for her case studies by providing the reader with an excellent historical overview of government legislation and policy concerning Aborigines. She notes that the purpose of the state’s policies shifted over time. Initially the government segregated Aborigines in order to Christianize, educate, and train them; in the later nineteenth century its purpose was to isolate Aborigines from the destructive influences of the “superior” white society; and in the early twentieth century it sought to remove Aborigines so that they would not “contaminate” white communities. Two aspects of the discussion will be particularly striking for Canadian readers. There are many parallels between the state’s treatment of Aborigines in Australia and of First Nations in Canada. For instance, the various Aboriginal Protection Acts (and amendments to them) controlled all aspects of Aborigines’ lives in much the same way that the sundry amended versions of the Indian Act regulated the lives of Canada’s First Nations people. On the other hand, the Protector of Aborigines had more arbitrary authority than Canada’s Minister (and deputy minister) of Indian Affairs.

Through her case studies Brock delineates a three-stage pattern of development that apparently was common to most Aboriginal communities. During the first stage, resident Aborigines “knew life away from the institution” and could withdraw from it at any time. During this phase the missionaries had to work hard, create

economic opportunities, and be accommodating to earn the Aborigines' loyalty. By the second stage Aborigines had lost their connection with the old order and were no longer comfortable with the idea of a life completely separate from the missionary settlement. Missionary staff responded to this development by shifting their attention away from winning converts and toward treating the Aborigines under their care as "inmates" who had to be closely disciplined. During these first two stages Aborigines used the missions as refuges and bases of operations. Individuals and whole groups moved in and out of these communities depending on internal and external social and economic conditions. The third stage began in the 1950s when state policy for Aborigines shifted from a segregationist to an assimilationist mode. This change made alternative lifestyles possible and many Aborigines responded by abandoning the mission communities. While outlining these broad trends, Brock also notes that environmental circumstances and geographic location strongly influenced the particular course of events in each community. Settlements situated in harsh climates or terrain neutralized the power of European technology. At such locations (Nepabunna was an example) and those remote from urban development, Aborigines resisted white domination much longer. Although Brock delineates general patterns in this way, she is also sensitive to the varied responses of individual Aborigines to their changing circumstances. She personalizes her story by including family and individual life histories at the end of each community case study.

At the close of her study, Brock returns to the question of Aboriginal agency. She concludes that at the local level Aborigines chose from a variety of options that were available to them in their struggle to survive as a people in the new world their colonial masters had created. They had little control at the macro level, however. Ultimately the dominant white society set the parameters within which the Aborigines were forced to operate. In the end, Brock decides that the lasting legacy of the mission settlements was that they "created the circumstances for Aborigines to establish large, close-knit communities based on shared experiences, intermarriage and association with land with which they identified". In this respect, these institutions played a role similar to that of ghettos in any society in which minority groups have to endure unceasing discrimination.

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Pat Sandiford Grygier — *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. Pp. xix, 233.

One of the images which remains with me from my childhood in Hamilton is the red neon cross that shone nightly from atop "The Mountain". The cross was the symbol of the Tuberculosis Society of Canada and marked the location of the Mountain Sanatorium. Sanitoria were common sights on the periphery of many of