

and valuations of the natural environment. Simply put, human beings are constantly “resensing,” redefining, and revaluing, that is, recreating (their relationship to) *their* material world.

During her excursion into early Victorian Canada, Zeller has uncovered a society whose inventory scientists, often connected to government and private interests, played and claimed a unique and vital part in “inventing” the meanings, values, and boundaries that Canadians assigned to *their* material world. Archivists, who can also be characterized as inventory scientists, may wish to contemplate the nature of their own inventing. For the most part, however, Zeller steers clear of addressing explicitly an epistemological question that has long intrigued many Canadian historians: crudely put, to what extent has the Canadian mind invented the nature of the country, and to what extent has the natural landscape invented the Canadian mind? Even statements such as J.W. Dawson’s baldly empiricist declaration in 1868 (uttered with optimistic intent) that “Nature has already taken hold of the mind of Young Canada, and is moulding it in its own image” (p. 111) do not seem to have prompted Zeller to speculate very extensively about the relationship between the nature of “inventing” and the “inventing” of nature in the scientific discourse of early Victorian Canada. Although this interpretive reticence does not diminish the value of Zeller’s achievement, such a perspectival *digestif* might have gone well after so generous a repast.

Brien Brothman
National Archives of Canada

Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900. EVA-MARIE KROLLER. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987. xv, 197 p. ISBN 0-7748-0272-3.

In 1987 more than 1.2 million trips were made by Canadians to Europe. We pride ourselves on our enthusiasm for travel. “Canadians are among the world’s busiest and most knowledgeable travellers,” boasted the Ottawa *Citizen* in a recent survey of vacation trends. Have we always been this way? If not, how have we changed? What do we think about the countries we visit? How knowledgeable are we? Kroller does not deal in statistics but her “scholarly introduction to the history of travel and travel writing” investigates these questions by inquiring into the response of individual Canadians to mid-nineteenth-century Europe. Travel hones the senses. It makes us more aware of where we are and where we have come from. Europe, the old country for both English Canadians and French Canadians, provides Canadians with evidence of the past and, with its vigorous society, an example of the future. It is the response to this tension that makes the study of travel literature so compelling. Written at a time when Canada sought to define itself as a nation, the accounts of those who travelled to Europe are a useful laboratory in which to investigate a nation’s self-image.

Kroller uses the world expositions between 1851 and 1900 as the events which delimit her investigation and as the focus of her comments on the development of the Canadian self-image. Her emphasis on the official representation of Canada abroad is incongruous with what are essentially personal points of view; this is, after all, a book on travellers in Europe and does not, for instance, include evidence

of how Canada advertised itself. The expositions, however, are presented as microcosms of Canada, and Kroller's comments are based on how Canadian individuals viewed their nation and its exhibits. Most travellers abroad were sensitive to the perception among Europeans that Canada was famous only for its sleighs and agricultural products. While the expositions were manifestations of material and scientific progress, Canada's manufacturing industries and the cities in which they were located were not, for the most part, considered well represented.

Kroller consulted numerous sources for her research. The journals of Fred C. Martin, an Ontario lawyer, and Joseph-Nérée Gingras, a Quebec priest, both of whom travelled to Europe in the early 1880s, provide parallel accounts, contrasting English Canadian and French Canadian views of the continent. An examination of contemporary guide books and travel advice, and a discussion of changing modes of transportation, types of accommodation, and laws affecting travel give background for her detailed use of personal accounts. She devotes an entire chapter to women travellers, dealing with their problems in the nineteenth century and the perspective of journalists — such as Kit Coleman and Alice Jones — on contemporary events. There is too much here, however, of Gertrude Fleming's wedding in Montreal and not nearly enough — although Kroller promises to quote at length — from Fleming's journal while in Europe. For her look at the cities of London, Paris, and Rome, Kroller depends almost entirely on published sources, whether fact or fiction, by Canadian authors.

Her use of archival sources is commendable; she must have searched diligently for much of the material. Nevertheless, her citations are grossly inadequate and will cause nightmares for archivists and researchers alike. A quotation by Sandford Fleming which is attributed to "Sandford Fleming papers" without noting the volume, page, and date would be almost impossible to find in a collection containing 133 volumes. Similarly, a search for more detail on Thomas Langton's encounter with the German photographer Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden required considerable effort, when a date in the citation would have eliminated the problem. The University of British Columbia Press must take part of the blame for such shoddy references.

While photography is mentioned in the text, and William Notman's contribution to the image of Canada abroad is given proper credit, the photographs reproduced are treated as illustration and not as documentation. A notable exception is the T.C. Doane daguerreotype presented to the Empress Eugénie, which is included as evidence of the cultural connection between France and Quebec. While it is true that until the 1890s, few Canadian travellers carried cameras, travellers did return with photographs they had collected and some of these have been preserved in archives. For example, A.F. Bergevin returned to Quebec from a trip around the world in 1892 with photographs of the ruins of classical Rome, St. Peter's, and the Sistine Chapel, famous works of art, and civic improvements in Glasgow. Later, with the rise of amateur photography, travellers took their own photographs. Nevil Norton Evans, after studying at Oxford and Leipzig, brought back photographs of student life, showing him comfortably at home in a foreign environment. On the other hand, Reid Small, in charge of the Canadian fruit exhibit at the 1900 exposition, appears overwhelmed by Paris in his souvenir album. It should be noted that, contrary to Kroller's assertion that only the men in the Fleming family were

photographed, there are many portraits of Gertrude Fleming in the W.J. Topley collection at the National Archives of Canada.

The issue of identity has always plagued Canadians. French Canadians have separated themselves from the “decadent” society of France. English Canadians had to wean themselves from the British and also distinguish themselves from “uncouth” Americans. Kroller elucidates both these situations in a chapter entitled “Metaphors of Travel” and reveals how, under the stress of travel, Canadians dealt with their insecurities. Her material is divided thematically and she uses examples from the entire period from 1851 to 1900, a period of intense change not entirely accounted for by this organization.

Richard White notes in *Inventing Australia* that “a national identity is an invention” composed of more than just cultural baggage; it is also defined by the intelligentsia and by those groups in society that wield economic power. While *Canadian Travellers in Europe* can contribute to the story of our self-identity, travel literature alone is not a sufficient source. Nevertheless, Kroller has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Canadian travellers and travel writing, locating references in obscure journals, articles, and books and including them in an intelligent and often illuminating narrative. Moreover, a work such as this often points to subjects that demand further study, such as an anthology of travel writing which would include longer extracts from some of the sources cited here, a study of Canada’s involvement in world expositions, and a thorough investigation of the emergence of a Canadian identity.

Leslie Mobbs
National Archives of Canada