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Colonialism is a well-intentioned book that overall contains many good points, and is sometimes fascinating, even illuminating.

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French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815. Edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012. 219 pages. \$25.95 paper; \$20.95 ebook.

In their introduction, Englebert and Teasdale explain why French-Indian relations in the Great Lakes and Mississippi Basin have been neglected by historians. In Canadian historiography, the role of the fur trade and its voyageurs is an essential part of national myth, but Canadian historians have focused on the region that is now part of Canada, not on the area between the Ohio and upper Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes, labeled “The Heart of North America” in the subtitle and in a map in the book. Francophone historians based in Québec, for their part, have built a separate historiography concentrated on the lower St. Lawrence Valley, the region that coincides with modern Québec and with the colony of New France before the English conquest of 1759. In United States historiography the doctrines of Anglo-American exceptionalism and of the expanding western frontier obscured the role of French and francophone peoples. In the writings of Washington Irving, Francis Parkman, and many classroom texts of US history, the French were assimilated to the Indians, both destined to vanish beneath a great wave of Anglo-Saxon domination.

Washington Irving’s *Astoria* (1836), which he wrote on a commission from John Jacob Astor himself, is an epic narrative of Astor’s project to develop a depot at the mouth of the Columbia River (now the modern town of Astoria, Oregon) in order to take control of the western fur trade and exploit markets in China. Irving’s tale unrolls as the story of the men Astor chose to lead the expedition and share in its expected profits: Alexander Mackay, Duncan McDonald, and Robert and David Stuart, who sailed around Cape Horn to Oregon on the *Tonquin*; and Donald Mackenzie and Wilson Price Hunt, who led the overland group which crossed the Rockies at South Pass, Wyoming, and then tried to paddle down the Snake River. While the vast majority of the sixty men (and one woman) in the overland expedition and the thirty men in the maritime group were French-Canadians, Irving rarely even mentions their names. The Frenchmen had the route-finding, trapping and local knowledge that made the endeavor possible, yet remained invisible workers in a

manager's enterprise. An exception was Gabriel Franchère, a clerk who signed with Alexander Mackay in 1810, sailed on the *Tonquin*, and finally returned to his family in Montréal on September 1, 1814. He wrote a journal of his experiences that was used without acknowledgment by Irving, which was finally published in full in 1969.

Nicole St-Onge's essay in this collection examines the terms by which these voyageurs were hired for the overland Astoria expedition, and the account books that record the supplies they purchased, ledgers carefully maintained by John Reed, the Irish accountant working for Mackenzie and Hunt. St-Onge explains that, "as most French Canadian men or their children residing in the interior were illiterate, they left few written traces of themselves" (184). St-Onge, unlike Irving and most other US historians, is interested in the invisible voyageurs who paddled the canoes and lugged the supplies across the continent, many of whom were not so fortunate as Franchère and died in obscurity far from their homes in Québec. The beads, breech flaps, caps, and playing cards they purchased, at inflated prices that were debited against their wages, is a window into their thinking that reveals their desires and aspirations.

As Englebert and Teasdale describe it, research on the "Heart of North America" in the colonial period has increased following the work of Jacqueline Peterson, who has written about the ethnogenesis of the Métis, the offspring of voyageurs and French traders and Native peoples, and of Richard White, who studied the accommodation of French and Native peoples in what is now widely called "the Middle Ground" of the *pays d'en haut*. Contributors to this volume are "moving beyond the paradigms of the middle ground and métissage" (xxi) to topics such as diplomacy and ritual culture. For instance, Christopher M. Parsons contributes an essay on tobacco and the many rituals in which it was involved.

Gilles Havard, a French academic and co-author of *Histoire de l'Amérique française*, a lengthy study published in France, addresses a topic that may be of particular interest to Native studies scholars in the United States, for whom the concept of tribal sovereignty has been strongly developed and promoted in the past decade or more. Havard writes, "The Indians of the Pays d'en haut, under the French imperial conception, were subordinate allies who had performed an act of political allegiance, while still retaining their sovereignty" (118). In the United States, citizenship was defined in the constitution, and native Indians were denied citizenship and belittled as "domestic dependent nations." But in seventeenth-century France the common people were not "citizens"; they were subjects defined by feudal relations to the king or to local rulers, and many regions, such as Dauphiné or Lorraine, enjoyed a particular status of protection or suzerainty under the king. Havard quotes several treaties between the officials of New France and Native tribes, and explicates the

rhetoric in the treaties of subjection or tribute, of feudal vassalage, and of protection or alliance as between independent realms.

Kathryn Magee Labelle, who teaches at the University of Saskatchewan, contributes an essay about the Huron/Wendat feast of the souls, renowned from the account of it written by Jean de Brébeuf in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1636. By drawing upon other sources beyond the Jesuits' published reports, Labelle reconstructs the delicate negotiations between French missionaries and traders and the Wendat leaders, who were desperate for renewal after a series of devastating epidemics and Iroquois attacks. In the feast of the souls the bones of ancestors were exhumed and reburied with grave gifts in a ceremony that confirmed alliances between clans and villages. The Wendats wanted to rebury French remains also, including those of the pioneering interpreter Etienne Brulé. The missionaries objected to having Frenchmen buried alongside non-Catholics. The disagreement had long-term consequences, as Labelle writes: "In 1703, the Wendat chief Michipichy reflected on these circumstances, blaming the Wendat's loss to the Iroquois on the fact that 'there were no Frenchmen among them'" (14).

Robert Michael Morrissey's article on missionaries in the Illinois country in the late seventeenth century also describes the tension that Catholic priests perceived between syncretic assimilation with Native beliefs and the *francisation* of the Indians. Louis de Buade de Frontenac, the governor of New France from 1672, was a firm adherent of frenchification, and opposed the efforts of Jesuits including Jacques Marquette to found missions in remote areas away from the influence of secular colonists. Jesuits among the Illinois people learned the local language and participated in rituals such as the calumet ceremony. Priests of the Recollet order and the *Séminaire des missions étrangères* of Québec followed Frontenac's *francisation* policy and contested with the Jesuits for the same converts. One of the *séminaire* priests was Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, who in 1700 left the Cahokia and Tamaroa villages where he had competed with the Jesuits and moved downstream among the Natchez people. In 1706 he was killed by Chitimacha Indians. Many of his letters are held at the Archives du séminaire du Québec, some of them never published or translated. As Arnaud Balvay writes in his essay, "The French and the Natchez: A Failed Encounter," Saint-Cosme left a curious legacy. When the Natchez rose up and attacked the neighboring French settlement on November 29, 1729, one of their leaders was a chief or "Sun" named Saint-Cosme. According to Louisiana historian Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz, this man was the son of the missionary priest and a Natchez mother. If the rumors of the priest's sexual liaison were true, then the sun Saint-Cosme was a métis of a different region, leading a revolt that struck a devastating blow to the French colony of Louisiana.

Scholars of French-Indian relations in the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley areas must know how to read French sources and search for them in archives in France and Québec. Many are trained in Canada and France but increasing numbers are winning fellowships and teaching positions at leading universities in the United States. This collection gathers some of this intriguing work in history and ethnohistory.

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Healing Histories: Stories from Canada's Indian Hospitals. By Laurie Meijer Drees. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013. 184 pages. \$29.95 paper.

In *Healing Histories: Stories from Canada's Indian Hospitals*, Laurie Meijer Drees examines Canada's Indian Health Services (CIHS) campaign against tuberculosis in Native communities in the 1940s through the 1960s. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men and women who experienced the CIHS as patients and workers serve as the author's primary sources and help bring to life an era in which Canadian public health policy reflected latter-day colonialism. Their words recall a time when ethnocentrism helped shape treatment modalities and racial biases were as much a part of medicine as antiseptics. The result is a profoundly compelling multilayered narrative that, as the title suggests, is meant to heal past wrongs as they are revealed.

When Drees began the project that ultimately culminated in *Healing Histories*, she set out to explore the implementation of Native health care in Alaska. But as is often the case, the results of the research pointed her in a different direction. Her initial work on the Alaska Native Service's early twentieth century efforts to address epidemic disease in indigenous communities prompted her to pursue a similar investigation in Canada. As Drees did so, her focus shifted from administrative history to the human accounts embedded within the carefully compiled records of Native morbidity and mortality associated with the CIHS' war on tuberculosis. The voluminous paper trail that was created by that organization as it struggled to address the appalling impact of the disease led her to individuals who were willing to share their intimate engagement with Canada's Aboriginal health care system.

While many other works on late-twentieth-century American Indian or First Nations communities incorporate Native sources, Drees' narrative relies almost exclusively on the testimony she received from Aboriginal patients and their families as well as from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal health care professionals. Twenty different informants serve as primary sources on