

SQUIRES, Jessica – *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada, 1965-1973*. Vancouver: UBC press, 2014. Pp. 348.

Jessica Squires' *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada* contributes to the growing body of literature that interrogates the substance of national mythologies in Canada. The impulse behind her work is a critique of the notion of Canada as a “natural haven” or “sanctuary”, which Squires contends animates Canadian understandings of the Underground Railroad and the reception of an estimated forty to fifty thousand draft resisters and draft dodgers who came to Canada from the United States between 1965 to 1973. Squires' animating concern arises from the fact that this latter myth ignores the significant social movement that was required to make sanctuary a reality.

Using a range of archival sources and first-person interviews, Squires explores the network of activists and advocates who came together to work on behalf of Americans who migrated to Canada as part of the anti-Vietnam War movement. In highlighting the varied composition and shifting agendas of groups such as the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters (MCAWR), the Vancouver Committee to Aid American War Objectors (VCAAWO), the Ottawa Assistance with Immigration and the Draft (AID) and the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme (TADP), Squires deftly demonstrates that sanctuary was far from the norm in 1960s Canada, with Canadian public opinion rather divided on the desirability of accepting potential troublemakers from south of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel.

*Building Sanctuary* concentrates on the loose coalition of groups that assisted American migrants by providing information about Canadian immigration regulations, employment opportunities and settlement issues, and which also lobbied for immigration reforms (ultimately introduced in 1969) to ensure that eligible applicants would not be punished for their draft status or their anti-war politics. As such, Squires' analysis focuses on the role of civil society as a source of change and influence on government policies. Squires uses a Gramscian framework to explore this relationship, referring frequently to the hegemonic workings of government and the interplay between activists and authorities in shaping the policies around accepting draft dodgers and resisters in Canada. The real strength of Squires analysis, however, lies in the source material or *Building Sanctuary* and the rich analysis she provides in teasing out the shifting priorities, and debates, amongst the various activist groups—whose membership included many Americans—who worked on behalf of the arriving migrants and encouraged the broader Canadian public to support sanctuary efforts.

In addition to a helpful theoretical introduction and conclusion, the book is divided into seven chapters, in which Squires traces the origins of the anti-draft movement in Canada, the relationship of various Canadian groups with their counterparts in the United States, the debates over assisting deserters rather than dodgers, the campaign to reform the immigration policies that governed admissions to Canada after 1967—culminating with the announcement by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration Alan MacEachen in 1969 that “if a

serviceman from another country meets our immigration criteria, he will not be turned down because he is still in the active service of his country..." (pp. 36). The final chapters explore the overall impact of this concerted campaign and broader efforts to assist resisters and the trepidation with which activists greeted news of the 1973 Status Adjustment Program, which enabled people in the country illegally, including some draft dodgers and resisters, to apply to have their status normalized and avoid deportation.

Throughout her analysis of the critical eight years in which the anti-draft movement operated actively in Canada, Squires employs the notion of a "left nationalism" which she defines as a "perspective that ascribes several specific characteristics and values to Canada: the notion of a Canadian tradition of pacifism; an ingrained tolerance for cultural and linguistic minorities; a respect for individual and collective rights; and an adherence to a view of Canada being in a colonial or subservient relationship to the United States." (pp. 145) This perspective, Squires argues, explains how people became involved in the resistance movement and further illuminates what animated their participation.

Squires' focus on nationalism as part of the politics that animated the engagement of Canadians with the anti-draft movement provides rich texture and context for understanding the ambivalence with which the Canadian public as a whole greeted the arriving migrants from the United States. The focus on nationalism is also helpful for it demonstrates the importance of having historians participate in the evolving literature on social movements in Canada, which to date has been dominated by political scientists such as Miriam Smith. Although historians such as Dominique Clement have provided important insights into the history of human rights organizations in Canada, Squires' work demonstrates the rich potential that analysis of grassroots or "bottom up" activism can bring to understandings of the shifting political landscapes in Canada in the latter half of the twentieth century.

In addition to making an important contribution to the scholarly literature on social movements in Canada, *Building Sanctuary* makes a critical intervention to the growing literature on sanctuary in Canada—most notably the work of legal scholar Sean Rehaag and political scientist Randy Lippert—and the work of historians Lara Campbell and David Churchill who are exploring other dimensions of draft resistance in Canada and the United States. Perhaps most importantly, Squires fulfills her stated objective of dissecting the myth of Canada as a "natural haven" for Vietnam war resisters in the 1960s and 1970s. *Building Sanctuary* reveals how, despite their rather loosely coordinated efforts, activists across Canada acted to make the possibility of sanctuary a reality for thousands of Americans. In this way, Squires sheds light not only a particular myth but on an important period of change in Canadian immigration policy. By focusing on the advocacy that surrounded the movement of the war resisters and draft dodgers from the United States, and the pursuit of changing ideals about what Canadian nationhood should consist of, Squires hints at how the profound changes that characterized Canada's immigration policy from the late 1960s to the late 1970s—

particularly in the realm of refugee resettlement and humanitarian assistance—came to be.

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STERN, Philip J. and Carl Wennerlind (eds.), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 416.

*Mercantilism Reimagined* is a masterfully written book that features a number of prominent scholars of early modern history. Editors Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, who also contribute specific chapters, have done a fantastic job in challenging our understanding of the concept of mercantilism, or the “mercantile system”. Through this broad framework each chapter serves to explore the most recent scholarship about the composite parts of the early modern political economy and its subsequent construction and reconstruction by economic theorists and historians since the time of Adam Smith.

Stern and Wennerlind have achieved multiple objectives in their study and aspects of their approach appeal to both inductive and deductive reasoning, though favouring the former overall. Building on trends over the past couple decades, within intellectual and new imperial history, and considering the financial precariousness of the world at present, this book provides readers with an appreciation for treatises on commerce and society whose relevance endures beyond their own time. However, considering the level of engagement with the source material, *Mercantilism Reimagined* will likely be best valued by scholars or students who are familiar with commercial and political theorists from the late Renaissance through to the works of Adam Smith and with the emergence of classical economics. A careful and thoughtful reading of each chapter is absolutely essential in order to truly appreciate all the nuances and great level of detail each author offers of his or her specific analysis of mercantilist thought.

The five thematic sections: *circulation*; *knowledge*; *institutions*; *regulation*; and *conflict* address crucial aspects of the many commercial and intellectual debates of the early modern period, providing useful insights even beyond their immediate contexts.

*Circulation* deals with traditional features of mercantilism, namely the debates over population and the centrality of money, whether precious metals or emerging consumer credit. Notably, the chapter on labour by Abigail Swingen helps link scholarship on slavery with broader discussions of managing population growth, migrations, and employment in the Atlantic world.

*Knowledge* addresses the historiographical construction of mercantilism and its descriptive inadequacy, as is illustrated with Stuart attempts to regulate the fledgling tobacco industry or when imprecisely associated with German cameralism.

*Institutions* involves the major official and unofficial components of