BOOK REVIEWS

Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen

Jean Barman

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. 336 pp. Illus., maps. $50.00 cloth.

By Suzanne Morton
McGill University

Jean Barman's *Soujourning Sisters* is an important book that merits a wide audience, consisting of both those interested specifically in British Columbia and those interested in Canadian history writ large. It recasts the notion of nation-building and draws the spotlight away from politicians and business elite to focus it on ordinary people. Using rich and textured sources, Barman follows the lives and letters of two sisters who leave Nova Scotia in 1887-88 for the improved economic prospects offered by teaching posts in British Columbia. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 linked the interior of British Columbia and rural Pictou County in Nova Scotia, and created the opportunity for two young female sojourners to leave their family homestead yet still maintain a connection to it. While their actions were prompted by particular economic difficulties, their departure, and the exodus of other young women in similar strained circumstances, played a role in Canadian nation-building as local schools brought British Columbia into the Canadian nation in an immediate and direct way.

Barman argues that the disproportionate number of schoolteachers (and ministers) from Nova Scotia shaped British Columbia and, as a result, Canada. In placing teachers (and clergy) at the heart of nation building, Barman emphasizes the important role of church and school in incorporating British Columbia into the Canadian nation. She argues that "British Columbia's absorption into Canada in the years following the completion of the transcontinental railway derived far more from inconspicuous women like Jessie and Annie McQueen than it did from the public pronouncements of fellow Nova Scotians like George Munro Grant" (129). Women such as Annie and Jessie McQueen gave a new nation its meaning.

As Scottish Presbyterians from Pictou County, the McQueen sisters came from a culture that emphasized literacy, religion, responsibility, and domesticity. Compared to the world they would enter in British Columbia, their world in Pictou County was "homogeneous and self-referential" (16), and some of the most striking aspects of *Soujourning Sisters* are Barman's discussions of their encounter with "the other" – whether Aboriginal peoples or the frontier. As Barman regularly reminds us, Annie and Jessie took their cultural baggage with them. Jessie eventually returned to Pictou County to care for an aging parent and a sister; Annie, however, stayed in British Columbia, married, had three children, was widowed, gradually entered public life as a reformer, and, in 1919, became the provincial director of the Homes Branch of the Soldiers' Settlement Board.

The McQueen sisters give us a sense of the ties that reached across the new nation. People and goods travelled back

and forth; lilac blooms for a wedding came from Saint John, cloth that was cheaper in the East than in the West was available locally, and used newspapers and magazines kept sojourners connected to Eastern events and people. People also moved back and forth with surprising frequency, and the McQueens' British Columbia included cousins, old neighbours, clergy, and a niece. In the McQueen family, money flowed east as the BC teachers' salaries helped support those in Pictou County. Barman constantly emphasizes the enduring strength of a daughter's obligations, which did not easily weaken, great distance and time notwithstanding. These filial bonds were cemented with guilt, duty, and respectability, and they were balanced by effusive expressions of affection.

It is not surprising that, as a Nova Scotian historian (who is also using many of the same letters for her own research), I would urge Barman to broaden the perspective of her conclusions. If schoolteachers such as Annie and Jessie McQueen helped absorb (or incorporate) British Columbia into Canada, then it is also important to note that the experience of going west also contributed to making these Nova Scotian women Canadian. In the end, I am intrigued, but perhaps not completely convinced, by the central argument. I remain sceptical about the ultimate influence of these Nova Scotian female teachers, as British Columbia's dominantly male, secular, and heterogenous culture appears to be the antithesis of the society from which these women came. It is not clear that British Columbia ever came close to conforming to the vision of Canada that these women carried, and both of them appear to be transformed by British Columbia at least as much as they may have transformed it. This reservation notwithstanding, *Sojourning Sisters* is a magnificent piece of historical interpretation and storytelling. Barman has original insights into British Columbia and the process of nation-building, and she skilfully translates the lives of Annie and Jessie McQueen into stories of nation builders.

Constance Lindsay Skinner: Writing on the Frontier

Jean Barman

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. 359 pp. Illus. $50 cloth.

By Margaret Prang
University of British Columbia, Emerita

The subtitle of this biography has several meanings. Constance Lindsay Skinner (1877-1939) lived on a variety of frontiers – geographical, social, literary, and imaginative. Skinner occupies a minor place in the canon of American literature but, until now, has been almost unknown in her native Canada. I confess to wondering, initially, whether the talents of an accomplished scholar were well spent on raising Skinner's profile. My question was soon answered. Jean Barman's credentials as a historian of British Columbia, her knowledge of women's history, and her literary skills are happily joined in this valuable and fascinating volume.

Constance Lindsay Skinner was born to pioneering parents in the Cariboo and, at age ten, moved with her family to Victoria and subsequently to Vancouver, a young city still closely bound to the frontier. There the Skinner family was joined by Maggie Alexander, the "half-breed" daughter of a Hudson's Bay Company trader in northern British Columbia. Constance and Maggie grew up like sisters, an experience reflected in Skinner's lifelong interest in race and hybridity.

From her earliest years Skinner read avidly in her father's library and always knew she wanted to be a writer. Before she was twenty, Skinner was writing for Vancouver newspapers and then moved to Los Angeles, to Chicago, and eventually to New York in 1912. Through these years Skinner struggled to advance beyond journalism into what she saw as her true vocation as a writer of poetry, plays, short stories, and novels.

A major barrier for a single woman trying to make a life in writing was the hostility of the male literary establishment towards women aggressive enough to invade the literary marketplace. Nevertheless, the rise of popular magazines brought Skinner some success as a short-story writer; her poetry won recognition in both London and New York; and some of her plays reached the stage. The Vancouver audiences who, in the spring of 2003, saw the first Canadian performance of her play "The Birthright" (1906) witnessed a provocative drama about Aboriginal-White relations in northern British Columbia, courageous for its time. Over the years, her eight novels for juveniles became a stable financial support.

Later she achieved prominence as a historian through the *Chronicles of America* series published by Yale University Press, for which she wrote *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (1919) and *Adventures of Oregon: A Chronicle of the Fur Trade* (1920). Skinner prided herself on writing "experiential history" in contrast to what she considered to be the "dryasdust" work of the academic historians (nearly all male) who increasingly dominated historical writing. More than a decade later, she claimed that her *Beaver, Kings, and Cabins* (Macmillan, 1933) was the first full account of the North American fur trade. More than any other of her works, it drew on her memories of growing up on the BC frontier. By this time, those memories were suffused with a good deal of imagination.

So, too, were her novels, notably *Red Willows* (1929), a tale about the transformative possibilities of the frontier, where races were blended to create a new culture. As with all her work, this one was distinguished by its full depiction of women in frontier life. Sales of the book were small. Equally disappointing was the popular response to *Songs of the Coastal Dwellers* (1930), a selection of her "Aboriginal" poems, which Skinner considered "brilliant." To her distress neither volume was awarded the Pulitzer Prize she so much coveted.

Possibly Skinner's most enduring claim to fame was the *Rivers of America* series, which she conceived and edited. The series was an immediate and lasting success. Sixty years later, the Library of Congress paid tribute to Skinner as "one of the first women to hold a top job in the U.S. trade-book publishing industry."<Author: Source of quote?>

Barman describes Skinner as standing "at the edge of fame" and shows the heavy price she paid to get that far. Her private life was limited. Along with an intense pace of writing and editing, her financial survival also demanded the constant promotion of herself and her work, and the defence of her reputation and status, mainly against male scepticism. Much of her social life was related to this objective. The great love of her life was the famed explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who embodied her ideal of "frontier masculinity." But she had to settle for a spasmodically supportive friendship.

Barman suggests that, had financial considerations not compelled her to publish in so many genres, Skinner might have been more successful. Be that as it may, she did succeed, against the odds, in living "a writing life." Now, she is fortunate in her biographer.

Ethel Wilson: A Critical Biography
David Stouck

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. 353 pp. Illus. $50.00 cloth.

BY MISAO DEAN
University of Victoria

THE TWO THINGS about Ethel Wilson's writing that David Stouck emphasizes in his critical biography are her ability to evoke a sense of place and her great reverence for "the English sentence." Anyone would think that Stouck had taken Wilson's fiction as his model, for the great strengths of this book are its ability to evoke Wilson's British Columbia in its historical and material detail and the graceful, clear, and sympathetic prose that suggests that his reverence for the English sentence is as great as is hers. This book is a wonderful achievement – a work of painstaking scholarship that is enjoyable to read – and it will be of special interest to British Columbians for the ways it situates Wilson within the history of early Vancouver and her writing at the centre of BC literature.

Ethel Wilson published six books of fiction set in British Columbia in the years between 1947 and 1961. Her best known work is *Swamp Angel* (1954), a novel that engages the hearts of readers with its perceptive descriptions of the BC landscape and its almost philosophical approach to the possibilities of human community. *Ethel Wilson: A Critical Biography* is the first and only scholarly biography of this important BC writer. A collection of her unpublished stories, essays, and letters edited by David Stouck appeared in 1987, and its positive reception provided the impetus for this work.

Ethel Wilson was raised in Vancouver by her mother's family, the Malkins, after the early deaths of both her parents. The family home on Barclay and Jervis Streets was built when the West End was composed mainly of woods and building lots. The future novelist trudged to school through the rain and rode her bike on wooden sidewalks, learning to swim at English Bay from Joe Fortes, the "heroic" black man who later became a subject of her fiction. Stouck carefully builds a portrait of Vancouver in the early decades of the twentieth century, drawing details from local histories and Wilson's own fiction to create an engaging and detailed picture of an earnest young girl caught in the already complex web of social relationships in the growing city. Haunted by the loss of her parents and her personal history of abrupt dislocation, Wilson was painfully shy. Yet she occupied a privileged position in the newly founded city, and she counted among her relatives prominent businessmen, a mayor of Vancouver, and founding members of Vancouver's Methodist Church. Stouck deals with this material sympathetically, emphasizing how Wilson's education in formal courtesy and her Methodist sense of duty determined elements of her character.

While her family expected her to marry, and to marry well, Ethel remained single until the death of her beloved maternal grandmother in 1919, when the Barclay Street household was broken up, and, at the age of thirty-one, she married Wallace Wilson. Wallace was a returned soldier and a doctor who eventually became president of the BC Medical Association, a founder of the BC Cancer Society, and chief of Medicine at Shaughnessy Hospital; their friends and professional acquaintances would include H.R. MacMillan, Leon and Thea Koerner, and professors and presidents at the University of British Columbia. While Wallace's public position required Ethel's support as hostess,

he also introduced her to fly fishing and European travel, and provided her with the emotional and financial support that facilitated her writing career. Their happy marriage extended over many years, Wallace's outgoing personality and casual manners in some ways balancing Ethel's relative shyness and formality.

While Wilson often depicted herself publicly as simply a doctor's wife who scribbled away in her spare time, Stouck has established that she began her writing career much earlier than she admitted and that her work was more important to her than she acknowledged. Drawing on the extensive collection of Wilson papers in the UBC archives, Stouck offers chapters on each of her major publications, carefully detailing correspondence, negotiations with editors, and manuscript versions and revisions as well as surveying reviews and critical responses. Stouck emphasizes her achievements as a stylist, pointing out that "the life or death of a character was often of less importance to Wilson than the placement of a comma or the choosing of a word" (190). He quotes from a letter to her close friend and editor at Macmillan, John Gray – "her subject was 'Nature' and 'things' with relation to People" (204) – and shows how novels like *Swamp Angel* and *Love and Salt Water* illustrate what Wilson called "the formidable power of geography that determines the character and performance of a people" (xiv). Stouck also includes accounts of Wilson's friendships with poets Earle Birney and Roy Daniells, and discusses the inspiration and support she offered younger women writers like Margaret Laurence and Alice Munro.

Many of the biographical details in this book are derived from Wilson's own fiction, itself inspired by her life and her family history. However, Stouck avoids the questionable practice of blindly attributing all the thoughts and feelings of Wilson's fictional characters to the author in her proper person: he carefully picks his way among the published and unpublished versions of Wilson's life, conscientiously identifying his sources as well as his speculations. The book strives to correct the more egregious errors of Mary McAlpine's memoir of her friend (*The Other Side of Silence: A Life of Ethel Wilson*, Harbour, 1988), without denying its debt to that work. Stouck displays respect both for his subject and his sources in his elegant and engaging prose, and he demonstrates mature insight and useful evaluation in his survey of previous scholarship. The result is a treat for literary readers and scholars.

Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954

Robert A. Campbell

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001. 185 pp. $50.00 cloth, $19.95 paper.

At Odds: Gambling and Canadians 1919-1969

Suzanne Morton

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. 272 pp. Illus. $60.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.

By John McLaren
University of Victoria

To a young law teacher recently arrived from England in Saskatoon in the mid-sixties, the Canadian law relating to both the consumption of alcohol and gambling was odd. Why were bars shielded from the public gaze? Why did beer parlours serve only beer? Why could one not stand and

drink? Who on earth were "Ladies and Escorts" and why did it matter? Why in a liquor board store was it necessary to fill out a form to secure one's purchases? How was it that these stores employed people who distinguished sherries as either "sweet or sour"? Why was off-course betting illegal, while on-course betting was perfectly within the law? Why were buying a ticket for the Irish hospital sweepstakes and bingo beyond the legal pale? These and other questions have continued to puzzle me.

Robert Campbell and Suzanne Morton provide answers to the questions posed as well as skilfully drawing the general contours and some of the detail of the history of these two problematic areas of social activity. The scope of the two books differs. Campbell's is a micro-history of the regulation of public consumption of alcohol, as it played out in beer parlours in British Columbia between 1925 and 1954. Morton for her part seeks to treat gambling as a national issue, exposing the regional and cultural nuances of its incidence and the law's treatment of it in several parts of the country using the period from 1919 to 1969 as her time frame. Both perspectives are important and valid, although by virtue of its comparative approach, the book on gambling allows for a richer analysis and critique of how geography and culture affected both political and popular attitudes towards it. If there is a dimension lacking in Campbell's work, it is that we have few references to how the system in British Columbia compared and contrasted with other parts of Canada. In my opinion, good local history can benefit from that broader pattern of contextualization.

The common starting date for the analysis of the two social practices is well chosen. Nineteen twenty-five represents the end of the hiatus after the repeal of Prohibition in British Columbia in 1919, and the substitution of state regulation of liquor, its sale, and locations of consumption for other than individual and familial private purposes. With gambling, the starting date is less a watershed than what Morton describes as a date which represents the beginning of a transformation in social attitudes on gambling from "a stigmatized minor form of vice" (often laid at the feet of Chinese immigrants) to "an acceptable activity regarded as appropriate and perhaps necessary to help fund the Canadian welfare state." This was a gradual process covering a period of forty years.

Suzanne Morton describes Canadian policy and law towards gambling as reflecting a profound ambivalence about gambling within Canadian society. Campbell's study indicates that the same ambivalence afflicted British Columbians in how to deal with the consumption of alcohol. In each case the authors quite correctly emphasize *moral* regulation or proscription as the central impulses of the legal regimes developed to control or suppress these activities – stimuli which were progressively challenged by representatives of other community interests, and in the case of public consumption of alcohol, from within the regulatory system itself.

Both books articulate carefully the conflicting attitudes and discourses that fed into social and legal policy on public drinking and gambling. In both instances class difference explains much about how social policy and law were constructed. Campbell's book is testimony to the extent to which politicians supported by many of their middle-class constituents sought to reconstruct public drinking for the working class by substituting the craved "decency" of the new, sterile beer parlour where peace and moderation would reign supreme for the disorder and misrule of the pre-Prohibition unlicensed saloon. My only complaint with Campbell's analysis is that it fails to comment on the extent to which licensed

clubs, especially those servicing veterans, also catered to a working class clientele. In other words, are we seeing the full story about working-class drinking by focusing exclusively on its public face in beer parlours? Was there in fact overlap between the license provided for private drinking for middle-class and working-class imbibers? As the clubs allowed people to bring their own liquor and store it, and liquor sold at enhanced rates in liquor board stores that compared unfavourably in cost with beer in the glass, it may well be that class discrimination was preserved in terms of space by differential pricing. The actual situation is not made clear in Campbell's analysis. What I am suggesting here is comparative reference, not a different book.

The class dimension was also central to the way in which social and legal policy shook down with gambling. Among the many inconsistencies in the application of Canadian policy and law on gambling after 1919 is the fact that while a whole range of its forms were illegal, including off-track betting, lotteries, gaming clubs, and even bingo, on-track betting through what became pari-mutuels, from which the state took its cut, was quite legal. This situation reflected a concession to a traditional form of gambling related to the "sport of kings" that served the rich and others who had the time and resources to attend race courses during daytime hours. Although by no means immune from criticism from the moral and social reformers, race track betting survived because of its historic, elitist and institutional connections. Other forms of gambling were prohibited by law, primarily because they were open to the working class, and therefore subversive of the values of moral integrity, thrift, and commitment to family, community, and country that lay at the root of what reformers and their political soul mates saw as the mark of the virtuous Canadian citizen.

The authors also make clear that the ways in which social policy and law impacted on both forms of activity reflect beliefs and stereotypes about gender and race. The convoluted attempts by the British Columbia Liquor Control Board to ensure that access by unattached women (invariably suspected of being "loose" or, worse still, prostitutes) was limited, and that those who did get in did not consort with unattached men by requiring ever higher partitions, provides a mildly comic, although real, example of patriarchal discrimination based on gender sexuality at work. Racial anxieties were evident in policies and legal constraints designed to exclude from beer parlours Asian and First Nations drinkers respectively, and the expulsion of mixed race couples, where, but typically only where, the female partner was white. With gambling, many genres of which were typically associated with masculinity and male players, gender became a significant moral and social issue over bingo, which was largely played by women, persons whom it was felt should have been at home ministering to their families and not wasting the family's money on idle and unproductive pursuits. Race and ethnicity concerns were voiced both at a general level in the rhetoric of gambling, reflecting its supposedly non-Anglo-Saxon roots, and more particularly at certain communities, such as the Chinese and Jews, who were believed to be addicted to or at the centre of the business. A further dimension of difference is religious and cultural. This difference is ostensibly more obvious in the case of gambling where the Roman Catholic rank and file, although not necessarily the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were much more likely to condone and participate in forms of gambling such as lotteries and bingo, especially those which had charitable objectives, than their Protestant counterparts. Parochial support

for gambling was, not surprisingly, strongest in Quebec. The same cultural differences almost certainly existed with public consumption of alcohol. In Quebec, unlike British Columbia, licensed bars and restaurants operated after the province's short dalliance with Prohibition. In Francophone Roman Catholic communities in particular, alcohol consumption did not generate the profound anxieties that it did in Anglophone Protestant Canada.

A further common theme investigated by Campbell and Morton is the less than impressive operation of the law, the regulatory regime governing the operation of beer parlours and the criminal law proscription of gambling. In the case of British Columbian beer parlours, the regime had limited financial support, which meant that the Liquor Control Board had to rely in many instances on self-regulation by operators and their employees. As the priorities of these two groups did not necessarily jibe with those of the regulator, enforcement was variable, contested, and sometimes nonexistent. When customers are added to the equation, various forms of resistance, subtle and otherwise, occurred, which it was sometimes beyond the capacity of the system to control or which in-house regulators felt they had to accommodate. The attempts by unattached male and female customers to circumvent the partitions and threats designed to keep them apart is a case in point. The LCB itself could itself become frustrated by other institutional players intent on interfering with its work or ordering it about. This was particularly the case during the Second World War when the medical officer of health for Vancouver sought to throw his weight around in the cause of more vigorous enforcement during a venereal disease panic.

It was only in the 1950s, when criticisms of the regulatory system's inefficiencies came more readily to light and challenges developed from segments of the middle class chafing at the bit about the lack of access to alcohol in other public places that the reconstruction of the system and the discourse underlying it began. As Campbell suggests, it was middle-class "wet" discourse that was to introduce new knowledge into the debate about drinking in public and steer it way from the moral pathologies of the past. Reform was, however, to take time as the Social Credit government's reforms of 1954 were grudging. While loosening up the law relating to drinking in cocktail bars and restaurants to salve middle-class concerns, they sought somewhat ineffectively to turn beer parlours into working-class bars, places still hedged round with rules of "decency" that betrayed class prejudice.

With gambling, significant segments of the population ignored the moral strictures of the Protestant churches and in some cases those of Roman Catholic bishops and broke the law – the law that embraced everything from the operation of illicit gambling enterprises to the ordinary citizen playing bingo and purchasing a lottery or sweepstake ticket or parishes and charities seeking to raise funds in these ways. Enforcement varied significantly depending on the form of gambling in question and on the city or region in which the action occurred. Compared with Toronto, for instance, which liked to give the impression that the police had things under control and were ready to enforce the law vigorously, Montreal and Vancouver appeared open for business and, except when political sensitivities required it, relatively free from police attention. Morton adroitly describes the story as one of overlapping moral and economic concern that led to the maintenance of unenforceable laws and the absence of a political consensus to bring the troublesome law in line with behaviour. It was only with the growth of consumerism, a revised view of specula-

tion and risk-taking, and the recognition that economic security was not assured that reformist politicians were able to break loose in the late 1960s from the moral discourse of the past and amend the criminal law to remove many of the former proscriptions and shift gambling to provincial regulation.

And what lessons do we learn from all of this? Campbell's interpretation I find less satisfactory than that of Morton. I take his point that it is the theory of moral regulation that is most helpful in explaining the story of beer parlour regulation. He is also astute in demonstrating the importance of the construction of space in the application of moral regulation. Moreover, I like his use of the metaphor of the net to describe the system of regulation – at one and the same time encompassing and allowing much to get through the holes. However, I find one element of his attempt to implicate the state as "the manager of the marginal" forced. He is correct to suggest that the state was in many ways the prime mover in conceptualizing and carrying through this regulatory experiment. What puzzles me is his assertion that the state's role in all of this was conducive to capitalism. That seems to be counterintuitive given the constraints placed on the sale of hard liquor in public places, and the limited number of outlets licensed for the supply of beer by the glass. Having asserted that "[s]tate regulation seeks to attenuate class conflict, facilitate accumulation, and enhance legitimacy - of the state and capitalism," the author concedes that "capitalism in Canada did not rest on the success, failure or even existence of Vancouver's beer parlours." But he contents himself with the oblique conclusion that if the regulatory state did not exist, capital would have to invent it. The hidden argument may be that as the regulatory constraints enhanced the price of what could be sold, it helped a small number of breweries monopolize beer manufacture and distribution. If that is what was meant, then a clearer articulation of it would have been helpful.

Morton suggests that moral ambivalence surrounding gambling provided a means for Canadian society to accommodate the tensions and contradictions associated with this form of conduct. Gambling in the twentieth century was, she suggests, "a cognitive contradiction": the act of buying a lottery ticket was testimony to the persistence of a belief in luck in what was supposed to be a rational, technocratic society. This contradiction she explains by pointing to the gulf between moral supposition and people's actual behaviour and the difficulty in constructing watertight polarities between work and play, labour and speculation. Until the power of moral argument was squeezed or drowned out, it was possible for the system to accommodate strongly opposed interests. As the record shows, once cultural and economic arguments for accepting or tolerating gambling grew in strength and permeated the consciousness of the political system, the moral discourse was finally ditched. Morton concludes by raising the interesting and provocative suggestion that while we cannot nor should we turn the clock back to the moral precepts and discourse of the past, there are still moral arguments to be made in relation to gambling which she thinks warrant airing in public debate. I agree.

Both these works go far in filling a number of the gaps that exist in the social and legal histories of "vice" and how it was dealt with in this country, in particular after 1919. They expose the social tensions to which both regulation and proscriptive law gave rise, the relative roles of control and resistance in mediating social and legal relations, and the inconsistencies built into the regulatory and legal structures and their enforcement.

They are essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the translation of Canada from a society in which moral interdict was a force to be reckoned with, to the largely secular, liberal, and consumptive (some would add hedonistic) society that we are today.

Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia

Cole Harris

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002. 448 pp. Maps. $29.95 paper.

By Val Napoleon
University of Victoria

OVERVIEW

In *Making Native Space*, Cole Harris describes how settlers displaced Aboriginal people from their land in British Columbia,[1] painstakingly documenting the creation of Indian reserves in the province from the 1830s to 1938. Informed by Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Michel Foucault, and E.P. Thompson, Harris develops from this dense historical foundation a spatial perspective on colonialism, skillfully and meticulously transforming the historical documents from the standard unidimensional colonial narrative into a multidimensional story that vividly fills both time and space.[2]

Making Native Space is organized into four parts that outline the major successive waves of colonial activity across British Columbia. Part 1 details British policies regarding Aboriginal peoples and Governor Douglas's land and treaty policies from the 1830s to the 1860s. Part 2 documents the federal and provincial conflict over Aboriginal title and land policy from 1871 to 1880. Part 3 covers the period from 1880 to 1938, during which Aboriginal people increasingly resisted the imposition of reserves. And in Part 4, Harris considers the current circumstances of Aboriginal peoples and proposes options for addressing the continuing land and self-government issues.

Harris combines empirical research with an analysis of the discourses and political strategies that enabled colonization. In order to explain the complex historical geographies of Aboriginal-settler relations, he interprets the deliberate reshaping of the Aboriginal landscape into a settler reality. This colonial achievement required reimagining and reconstructing the landscape from one completely inhabited by Aboriginal peoples into one that contained Aboriginal peoples on reserves. If one imagines British Columbia as a bounded geographic space, one can picture how the Aboriginal presence was forced to shrink as settlers expanded into it.

WHAT OTHER REVIEWERS HAVE SAID

Recently, five geographers participated in a review symposium on *Making Native Space*.[3] Overall, they offered a very positive assessment, praising Harris's gifted storytelling, painstaking research, ambitious scope, and beautiful writing. The reviewers critiqued Harris's work from their own perspectives. They suggested that Harris has (1) appropriated the voices of patriarchy and of the colonizer, (2) excluded the

[1] Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

[2] Ibid., 274, 47, 50, 268, 270, and 267 respectively.

[3] Evelyn Peters, ed., "Focus: Making Native Space: A Review Symposium," *The Canadian Geographer* 47, 1 (2003), <http://80-www.blackwell-synergy.com>.

circumstances of urban Aboriginal peoples, (3) failed to realize that self-government and returning land are not adequate solutions to the problems of Aboriginal people, (4) emphasized the politics of difference to the point where Aboriginal peoples would require state protection of culture, thereby creating a sharper division between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people than is warranted, and (5) insufficiently considered Aboriginal resistance to the reserve allocation system and the concept of reserves as sites for resistance. They also suggested that Harris should have included sections on pre-colonial British Columbia history and on *Treaty No. 8,* in the province's northeast corner.

A book, Harris responded, can only do so much.[4] Harris remains unconvinced that the basic settler attitudes were gendered, since both male and female settlers adopted colonial thought. He argues that since he had worked primarily from the archival records, to include more Aboriginal voices would have required an entirely different study. He maintains, moreover, that he included the Aboriginal voices of protest as much as possible. In response to the criticism about excluding urban Aboriginal people, Harris argues that he has provided suggestions only for easing, not for solving, Aboriginal problems. Furthermore, since in British Columbia Aboriginal people moved to cities later than they did elsewhere in Canada, they may have retained ties with their reserves and so are not necessarily excluded from his proposals.[5] On the inadequacies of returning land and promoting self-government as a solution to Aboriginal problems, Harris argues that the land base in British Columbia is rich and that there are many opportunities to open up land for Aboriginal economic development. On this point one might suggest, however, that Harris does not address the structural economic problems that small communities are encountering across the province (such as depleted resources, global market forces, and issues of scale). Finally, regarding future state protection of Aboriginal culture, Harris argues that the real need is to create self-government opportunities and space that will enable Aboriginal peoples to protect their own cultures rather than to pursue the state's protection. He concluded by stating that, if Aboriginal peoples had more access to land and resources, and more control over their own governments, then "two large steps in the direction of more confident and secure Native societies would be taken."[6]

REVIEW

Reading *Making Native Space* raised several critical issues for me. First, Harris recreates, from a settler perspective, BC history as it unfolded for roughly a century. I had previously read about the establishment of reserves in British Columbia, as well as about the various commissions of enquiry and the jurisdictional disputes between the federal and provincial governments. Harris filled in the "how" of this history for me: the reserves did not appear all at once or overnight but, rather, grew over several decades around the edges of a dominating colonial agenda of making British Columbia a settler colony.[7]

[4] Ibid., 12.

[5] I think this point in particular requires additional thought because of the divisive and exclusive colonial membership codes that many Aboriginal communities have implemented in lieu of broader citizenship policies. See also John Borrows, "Measuring a Work in Progress: Canada, Constitutionalism, Citizenship and Aboriginal Peoples," in *Box of Treasures or Empty Box? Twenty Years of Section 35,* ed. Ardith Walkem and Halie Bruce (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2003), 223-62.

[6] Peters, "Focus," 14.

Harris's treatment enabled me to develop a much more textured, dynamic, and human sense of BC history, which includes a better appreciation of some of its convolutions, tensions, and multiple relationships.

Second, Harris describes how the colonial government purposely avoided setting out large reserves in order to prevent the emergence of large congregations of Aboriginal people. He cites the observation of 1876 Joint Indian Reserve Commissioner Gilbert Malcolm Sproat that large reserves would have enabled Indians "to combine against whites." Thus, Sproat concluded, "the safety of the Settlers in BC lies in disunion among the tribes." The other commissioners concurred: Natives should not be concentrated on a few large reserves.[8] Another rationale for the fragmentary reserve allocation was to ensure that Aboriginal labour was widely distributed and available to colonial undertakings.[9]

What is fascinating about this colonial tactic is how it still informs and shapes the Aboriginal political landscape in British Columbia today. Arguably, the current conflicted treaty process continues to reverberate from the early colonial policy of intentional fragmentation of Aboriginal groups and lands. For example, the treaties are being negotiated with bands that vary in membership from 136 to 7,517, with an average size of 1,782 and a median of 800.[10] Given issues of scale and the complex demands of self-government, it is extremely difficult for such small groups to effectively negotiate treaty agreements or to implement substantive self-government. Unfortunately, in his discussion of possible ways to resolve the land question in contemporary British Columbia, Harris does not explore this thread.

Third, Harris's detailed cartography demonstrates the Aboriginal dispossession from land at a visual and physical level. The reserves are actually tiny fragments of land scattered over a vast province, "displayed rather like insects on pins."[11] Harris says that this fragmentation resulted in reserves that acquired "a fixed place in the Cartesian space of the survey system and in the minds of officials and settlers."[12] The size of the reserves is in stark contrast to the original ownership patterns of Aboriginal peoples. For example, the reserve land base for the Gitksan people amounts to about 114 square kilometres, while their land claim area is 30,417 square kilometres.[13] In pre-contact times, the Gitksan people were owners of their territories: *that is who they were*. But, from a colonial perspective, the Gitksan people's identity was distorted when they became mere residents of the minimal reserve lands under colonial administration. The reserves became the "Native space" of British Columbia. The gift of Harris's book is that he is able to interrogate and articulate how this happened not only to the Gitksan but also to other Aboriginal groups across the province.

7 Harris, *Making Native Space*, 68.

8 Ibid., 102, 121.

9 Ibid., 101, 265.

10 Paul Chartrand, "Toward Justice and Reconciliation: Treaty Recommendations of Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996," in *Negotiating Settlements: Indigenous Peoples, Settler States, and the Significance of Treaties and Agreements* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, forthcoming).

11 Harris, *Making Native Space*, 271.

12 Ibid. According to Harris, "Implementation of the reserve system in British Columbia ... left Native peoples with more than 1,500 reserves comprising slightly more than one-third of 1 percent of provincial land". See Cole Harris, "Forum: Revisiting the Native Land Question," *BC Studies* 138 and 139 (2003), 137.

13 Kathy Holland (former librarian of the Gitksan resource library, Hazelton, BC), in discussion with the author, 14 October 2003.

Fourth, I found Part 4, "Land and Livelihood," to be somewhat incongruous with the rest of the book because here Harris moves from the archival record to argue that many of the problems that Aboriginal peoples currently experience result directly from the early colonial history set out in the first three parts of *Making Native Space*. That is to say, since Aboriginal peoples were dispossessed of land and self-government, this dispossession is what must be redressed in building a new relationship between Aboriginal people and settler society today. The land problem, Harris argues, emerges at every turn. The conclusion, I think, is inescapable: a seriously pursued politics of difference entails a considerably more generous allocation of resources to Native people, and a fair measure of collective Native control over them.[14]

He also argues that the other essential ingredient of a politics of difference is "local Native self-government."[15] While Harris grounds his proposed politics of difference in the recognition of the unique legal and constitutional relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown, use of the concept of difference in this way is nonetheless problematic. Gordon Gibson illustrates this in a recent *BC Studies* "Forum" on Harris's final chapter when he asks what constitutes a legitimate "difference" between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. Over time, Gibson argues, cultural differences between the groups have lessened: "Native peoples are just ordinary human beings like the rest of *us*."[16] This comment suggests that locating Aboriginal rights in "difference" is both politically and legally problematic because it can limit the possibilities for development of the Aboriginal political project within the judicially or politically constructed difference.[17] The relationship of Aboriginal peoples with the Crown is constitutional and is born of history. Speaking as a First Nations person, I do not believe that it matters whether Aboriginal people are the same as everyone else; we still have a special place in Canada.

In my view, where historical enquiry gives way to thought about the future, Harris should have incorporated contemporary Aboriginal voices into his discussion. Such inclusion is desirable because the consequences of colonial history are extremely complex, and often the reality within Aboriginal communities is fraught with conflict, contradictions, and infernal messiness. It is from within the experience of this conflicted and contradictory milieu that strategies for future change must be developed and tested, not from without.

What I appreciate most about *Making Native Space* is Harris's argument that the colonial approach to land was less about legal or moral principles than about the varying self-interests of the colonizers.[18]

[14] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 316.

[15] Ibid., 318.

[16] Gordon Gibson, "Commentary," *BC Studies* 138 and 139 (2003), 156-60 (emphasis added).

[17] This is a complex issue that is far beyond the scope of this review. Basically, I think that both the rights framework and the politics of difference raise serious questions that require further analysis. For one thoughtful treatment of this issue, see Patrick Macklem, *Indigenous Difference and the Constitution of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2001). Macklem argues that the concept of difference should be expanded to denote an "indigenous difference" that is reflective of the social facts that are exclusive to Aboriginal peoples – namely, cultural difference, prior occupation, prior sovereignty, and participation in a treaty process. Furthermore, the concept of indigenous difference is useful in promoting constitutional protection of four sets of rights: (1) rights to engage in practices, customs, and traditions, (2) rights relating to territorial interests, including Aboriginal title, (3) rights related to interests of Aboriginal sovereignty and self-government; and, (4) treaty rights (ibid., 4-6).

[18] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 14.

Citing the differing on-the-ground policies of New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, he describes Aboriginal land policies around the world as a "jumble." In other words, colonization was not a linear, orchestrated, grand plan but, rather, something that emerged from a multiplicity of shifting and opportunistic acts of self-interest.

Overall, Harris skillfully and knowledgeably describes the colonial theatre of power that gave rise to the current ongoing disputes over Aboriginal title, fisheries, forestry, and land use. *Making Native Space* is a valuable resource for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples as communities try to work out how to live together. I have already recommended the book to people from several different Aboriginal communities.

Voices of a Thousand People: The Makah Cultural and Research Center

Particia Pierce Erikson, with Helma Ward and Kirk

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 264 pp. Maps, illus. US$45.00 cloth.

By Michael Marker
University of British Columbia

The Makah tribe at Neah Bay, Washington State, has become one of the most visible and controversial Indigenous communities in North America due to the media gaze on their efforts to revive traditional whaling in a modern/postmodern context. This book presents information about Makah culture and history while examining the challenges and ironies that occur when an Indigenous group utilizes a contested colonial institution (the museum) for goals related to identity and self-determination. Patricia Pierce Erikson, an anthropologist, wrote this text in collaboration with tribal members Helma Ward and Kirk Wachendorf. She leads the reader through a critical discussion of anthropology and museums, including Boas's and colonialism's effects on Aboriginal communities. She tells the story of the phenomenal Ozette village excavation, which brought world attention to the Makah in 1971. Tribal youths and elders worked with archeologists to retrieve thousands of objects preserved when a village was covered up 500 years ago. This project, in essence, marks the beginning of the Makah Cultural and Research Center. She ends the book with a brief description of the explosive political climate in the midst of the 1997 whale hunt as an epilogue to a broader discourse on "Indigenizing the museum."

The book's five chapters are divided into two halves: Part 1 is a survey of anthropology's collusion with museums and the confinement of Indigenous identity; Part 2 begins with the Ozette discovery and reviews the decisions and events leading to the creation of the Makah Cultural and Research Center. While the book has some important things to say about the uneasy tensions between Indigenous people and academics regarding the ways that artefacts are displayed, analyzed, and sometimes repatriated, there are gaps in the conversation. In particular, there are methodological questions that are distinctly *not* answered by simply having two tribal members "collaborate" on the writing. With a subheading in Chapter 1 reading "Why Should I Tell You Anything?" Patricia Pierce Erikson explores, but does not answer, the question of why Aboriginal people might be inclined to talk to an ethnographer. She does NOT entertain questions that Indigenous people are often too polite to voice to outsiders: "Why are you here? What

do you want? Why don't you ask questions about your own village, language, and culture instead of coming here?" Another subheading asks "Who Are Anthropologists Writing For?" Again, the response from the author, while acknowledging that "there are unequal power relationships at the heart of the plagiarism critique" (64), is unclear with regard to how "we go beyond textual solutions" and "address the institutional contexts in which anthropology is produced and reproduced" (65). Interestingly enough, the answers to her questions can be found in the voices of the elders whom she quotes: "People have asked me why I want to pass on my culture to my children. And I say to them, 'you have a culture, don't you want to pass yours on to them?'" (113). The point is that, while anthropologists are usually only interested in the details of Indigenous traditions and artefacts, Aboriginal people are willing to have a broader conversation that frequently asks anthropologists to account for *their own* cultural values and choices.

Anthropologists and Indigenous scholars tend to see a book like this in completely different ways. The complaints from Indigenous people often center on the motives and conduct of ethnographers. Compare, for example, Brian Thom's review of Crisca Bierwert's *Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River* (*American Anthropologist* 101, 2 [2000], 376-7) to Jo-ann Archibald's review of the same book in a previous volume (124 [1999/2000], 110-1) of this same journal. While anthropologists like Thom have praised *Brushed by Cedar*, assessing it as groundbreaking and respectful, Archibald, a Sto:lo scholar, sees it as careless and disrespectful. She notes the book's emphasis on aboriginal family disfunction and poverty along with irresponsible displays of personal knowledge and private community matters. She is disappointed to see such a book touted as representing the future of anthropology.

Patricia Pierce Erikson's *Voices of a Thousand People* leaves us wondering about the future of museums. The topic of personal and private knowledge gets scant attention in her book. Peter Whitely, in *American Anthropologist* (105, 4, 2003: 712-22), has discussed how human rights and multiculturalist discourses corrode the protection of Indigenous knowledge. His point is that Native ways of engaging with the world are often so different from what is represented in colonial cognitive maps and discourses that almost all contact with outside forces and pressures are inherently dislocating and destructive to Aboriginal community knowledge. The fact that the Makah nation controls the Makah Cultural and Research Center can certainly lead to an interesting and new way of dealing with artefacts and space, but this book fails to show us how this museum will be substantively different from mainstream museums during this era of political correctness regarding things Aboriginal. What will a Vancouver or Seattle suburban family come away with after driving five or six hours to reach the Makah Cultural and Research Center? Will they discover that their own families' historical trajectory of privilege and power is implicated in the marginalization of Native peoples? I admit that I am uncomfortable in museums. And this has little to do with the actual displays. I am usually uneasy because of the people absent-mindedly wandering around me. I see them enter into an uncritical imaginary about the Indigenous Other as a mode of entertainment. I see too much of what Renato Rosaldo has called "imperialist nostalgia," a naive affection for a way of life that the colonizer's way of life destroyed. The problem with museums is profoundly parallel to anthropology's failure to move beyond a fixation on

the cultural Other without provoking a critical examination of the cultural self. If museums, tribally controlled or not, cannot induce this moment of cultural critique in an audience, then they simply continue the legacy of colonialism's commodification of Indigenous knowledge. Museums must cease to be telescopes into a remote past and become wide-angle mirrors into the present. And, like the wide-angle mirrors with which we are familiar, they ought to include the words, "objects may be closer than they appear."

At Home with the Bella Coola Indians: T.F. McIlwraith's Field Letters, 1922-4

Edited by John Barker and Douglas Cole

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003. 195 pp. Illus. $29.95 paper.

By Nusqumata
(Jacinda Mack)
Nuxalk Nation

In the early 1920s on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia, twenty-three-year-old anthropologist Thomas Forsyth McIlwraith arrived in the Bella Coola Valley to study the small community of the Nuxalk people. He would later make the Nuxalk known to the world as "The Bella Coola Indians" in his comprehensive two-volume ethnography of their traditional culture and beliefs. Following the academic genre of the time, McIlwraith proceeded to engage in "salvage ethnography" to record as much of the pre-contact culture as possible. Ironically, the very text that sought to record the culture of a "dying" people has become an important instrument of reclamation for the Nuxalk people and their culture. McIlwraith's contributions to the preservation of knowledge of Nuxalk culture is acknowledged by Hereditary Chief Nuximlayc (Lawrence Pootlass) in the foreword of the book. *At Home with the Bella Coola Indians* could rightly be considered the third volume, or perhaps, introduction, to the Bella Coola Indians.

Opening with an excellent introduction, the reader is presented with the historical and social conditions of the era. A brief biography of McIlwraith's life and academic training and the physical setting in which he became immersed are discussed, as well as the local contemporary conditions of the Nuxalk and largely Norwegian population in the Bella Coola Valley. Complementing the collection of field letters are extensive editorial annotations that are often a fascinating read in themselves. A good cross-section of correspondence is presented in chronological order from the first season in the spring and summer of 1922, followed by the second season during the fall and winter of 1923-4. Finally, previously unprinted manuscripts regarding the Nuxalk are included as the final texts in the book.

At face value, this book is interesting, humorous, and full of rich descriptions of life in the Bella Coola Valley during the early 1920s. McIlwraith's ethnographic skill at recounting detail and wonder shine through in his personal letters to family. One cannot help but laugh out loud at some of the predicaments that the young man found himself in, partly due to his status as a bit of an oddity with both the Nuxalk and his non-Native neighbours. Thus we are able to see McIlwraith, the man, caught up in the drama of life in the Bella Coola Valley of the early 1920s. Although McIlwraith often refers to the Nuxalk in less than flattering terms, the reader gets a sense of respect through his familiarity.

McIlwraith's growing understanding of the Nuxalk is chronicled throughout

the book, especially in the latter part of his fieldwork, as we can see when he wrote about the outlawing of the potlatch: "I came away with a profound disgust for our so-called civilization which is so intolerant that it tries to stop such rights... what right have we to abolish, with them, the rich life of a people whose only crime was that they lived in a country which we want? By the performance of these rites the people braced up and cheered up wonderfully, and I do not believe we have any justification to stop things which bring comfort to those who have lost friends and relatives. Christianity should not be forced down any person's throat via the law" (56).

At an academic level, *At Home with the Bella Coola Indians* also provides practical lessons about and insight into conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Indirectly, the book speaks to the complex interplay of research preparation, flexibility, focus and commitment to writing up the notes for publication. In addition, the inevitable ripple effect of the researcher that is inherent in fieldwork is identifiable with McIlwraith's acquired status in both communities. Historically, the reader is introduced to some of the key events and people who played a pivotal role in the early development of Canadian anthropology.

However, the lack of dates and names associated with events limit both the reconstruction of his fieldwork and the contextualizing of Nuxalk stories. By omitting names in both *The Bella Coola Indians* and in his field letters, McIlwraith has effectively "sterilized" the content in a way that may take away from its historical and cultural values. In retrospect, McIlwraith himself would have probably found great irony in this omission, given his preoccupation with germs while conducting his fieldwork. Still, as a member of the Nuxalk Nation, I was very interested to learn about my ancestral past through McIlwraith's letters; that my great-grandfather Willie Mack was killed by "black magic" and that I also have ties to the Christenson family. Similarly, it is interesting to see what families and individuals were involved in McIlwraith's fieldwork and if this indicates whose family "Smayustas" (origin stories and cultural property) were represented as common Nuxalk culture in *The Bella Coola Indians.*

At Home with the Bella Coola Indians is much more than a collection of anecdotal correspondence or relic of history; it breathes life into, and contextualizes anthropological and social history with real people and places. To use McIlwraith's words, this book ironically serves as a "jumping off point" for contemporary studies about or by the Nuxalk, as well as for self-reflexive studies of ethnography and history in British Columbia.

Lelooska: The Life of a Northwest Coast Artist

Chris Friday

University of Washington Press, 2003, 304 pp. Illus. US$24.95 paper.

By Melinda Marie Jetté
University of British Columbia

In September 1996 Don "Lelooska" Smith, a highly regarded Northwest Coast artist, was laid to rest near his home in Ariel, Washington. The present volume is the result of a collaboration between Lelooska and historian Chris Friday during the final years of the artist's life. As Friday admits, the task of capturing any one individual life is at best a partial success. However, he tackles this challenge with aplomb and gives readers a glimpse into the life of a remarkable man.

Mindful of the ethical and methodological issues related to oral history and Native American biography, Friday outlines the collaborative nature of the volume. In his hours of recorded conversations with Lelooska, Friday questioned the artist about specific issues and episodes in his life, yet, since he was a natural orator, raconteur, and performer, Lelooska would often take a leading role in shaping the discussions. Friday retains this dynamic in the edited version by making Lelooska's narratives the central focus, framing them with short essays and informative notes that place the artist's words within a historical context. Friday has structured the volume according to a series of chronological themes: childhood and family traditions, education and early artistic experiences, Lelooska's growth and maturity as an artist, his connections to the James Sewid family and the Kwakiutl (Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw), and the cultural and spiritual implications of his work.*

As a self-identified non-reservation Indian of Cherokee and European ancestry who became a well-known Northwest Coast artist, Don "Lelooska" Smith's life took many dramatic twists and turns. From this perspective, Friday argues that it was both unique *and* emblematic of larger trends in the twentieth-century Native American experience. Indeed, throughout *Lelooska* the author addresses questions of identity that remain contested within Indigenous communities across North America: What does it mean to be Indian? How did Lelooska come to identify with the Northwest Coast peoples? Was it appropriate for him to do so?

Through Lelooska's stories about his life and his family history, his artwork and performances, and his activities advocating for Native people, he articulates an unclouded view of himself as an American Indian. Lelooska's pan-Indian identity flowed from a variety of sources: the cultural and spiritual education he received from his Cherokee grandfather, the family's ties with many Native communities throughout the Pacific Northwest, participation in regional cultural events such as the Pendleton Round-Up, the role of his mother as the family breadwinner through the Indian curio trade, and his personal knowledge of the shared history of oppression and discrimination experienced by Native peoples across North America. Don Smith's identification as an Indian was always closely tied to his development as an artist. From an early age he exhibited a natural aptitude for the plastic arts, working alongside his mother at her shop near Salem, Oregon. Indeed, Smith received the name "Lelooskin" (later Lelooska), meaning "whittling," as a teenager at the Pendleton Round-Up in the late 1940s.**

After working in the Indian curio market – which relied on received notions about Plateau and Plains cultures – in the 1960s Don Smith progressively turned his attention to the Northwest Coast artistic tradition. Lelooska responds to Friday's queries about this transition by explaining that the Indigenous art of the region answered his need to develop as an artist: "I went to the Northwest Coast because this was the richest, deepest art tradition in North America ... it was the one place in North America where you had artists working as commissioned artists with patrons, great chiefs" (145). At this time, as Northwest Coast art was beginning to gain worldwide recognition, Lelooska developed a close relationship with the

* I have followed Chris Friday and used the ethnic and tribal designations employed by Don "Lelooska" Smith during his lifetime.

** "Lelooskin," a Nez Perce (Nimipu) word of Flathead (Salish) origin, was the name of a Nez Perce warrior who had died in the Nez Perce War of 1877.

Sewids, a prominent Kwakiutl family on Vancouver Island. James Sewid consequently formally adopted Lelooska into his lineage. This formal linkage gave the Sewids access to a gifted carver and afforded Lelooska access to a Northwest Coast tribal tradition that allowed him to flourish as an artist.

Although *Lelooska* makes a strong contribution to Pacific Northwest history and to Native American biography, it does contain a few minor weaknesses. These flow from the nature of the project. While Friday does an admirable job of presenting the larger historical context, Lelooska's stream of consciousness narratives are occasionally hard to follow, especially when he rattles off names and places unfamiliar to readers. As a result, the volume would have benefited from additional reference information, such as a chronology of Lelooska's life, a map of the Pacific Northwest identifying the sites mentioned in the text, and perhaps a chart outlining family members and significant individuals. These weaknesses aside, *Lelooska* offers readers an engaging look into the life of a Native American artist, a life at once unique *and* representative of the tribulations and triumphs of Indigenous peoples in the twentieth century.

Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys

Edited by Alan L. Hoover

Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000. vii, 389 pp. Illus., $39.95 cloth.

By Dan Marshall
Cobble Hill, Vancouver Island

Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, *Histories, Objects & Journeys* is an anthology produced to complement *Out of the Mist: HuupuKʷanum–Tupaat, Treasure of the Nuu-chah-nulth Chiefs*, an exhibition mounted in April 2000 by the Royal British Columbia Museum in conjunction with the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. Alan Hoover has gathered essays written at various times over a number of decades and grouped them into the four parts of the title.

"Voices" ("Balancing History") begins with a preface to the two agenda papers that make up the remainder of this section, and "balance" is a word that appears frequently throughout the essay, in which the authors discuss First Nations' determination to assert "their authority to counter presentations of history by 'outsiders'"(8). The agenda papers - Yuquot Agenda Paper by the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation and the Kiix?in Agenda Paper by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation - are written entirely from the perspective of the respective Nations and were both written in collaboration with Traditions Consulting Service. The papers were submissions to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada requesting National Historic Site status for Yuquot, the ancestral home of the Mowachaht, and Kiix?in village, respectively; both present compelling reasons for their requests and balance the received histories created by "outsiders."

Part 2 ("Histories") again seeks to balance histories, but this time by offering an eclectic mix ranging from an examination of unpublished material relating to James Colnett's expeditions among the Nuu-chah-nulth in 1787-88, which concludes that the contact process was "a complex series of interactions shaped by differences in class, status, gender, ethnicity and language" (82) "to a contextualization of the face paintings taken from Edward Sapir's *Notes on Secret Rituals*. Also in this section are: a reassessment of the early historic period using the logs of Cook's 1778 expedition,

along with the archaeological record to posit that "traditional subsistence and settlement patterns changed early and dramatically" in Nootka Sound (93); an essay in which the continual renewal of houses - new roofs, new posts, and so forth - is read as a metaphor for "understanding change and continuity in Nuu-chah-nulth society" (107); and Native voices heard in a short piece explaining a memorial potlatch and in a working translation of the legendary history of Tsishaʔath.

The third part of this collection has greater cohesion than the last. The thread "art" binds all seven essays; the editor, in entitling the section "Objects," has neatly sidestepped the problem of the use of the term "art" to describe the works discussed. The opening interview between anthropologist Charlotte Townsend-Gault and cultural historian Ki-ke-in (Ron Hamilton) lays out the issues surrounding "art" and closes with Ki-ke-in's suggestion that a new vocabulary is needed to "understand what my ancestors created from their point of view" (229). This essay provides the reader with the foundations for understanding succeeding essays on art in the archaeological record and at the British Museum, visual symbolism, the Mowachaht Whalers' Shrine, the Nuu-chah-nulth canoe, and Ellen Curley's Hat.

The closing section ("Journeys") contains three very personal statements by Nuu-chah-nulth artists: Tsa-qwa-supp (Art Thompson), Joe David, and Tim Paul. Each talks candidly about his personal and artistic journey; Art Thompson's account of the damage done by the residential school system is particularly gruelling. The intimacy and humanity of these essays take the reader inside Nuu-chah-nulth experience and culture to an extent not so fully accomplished by the earlier pieces; if this book is intended for a general, as opposed to an academic, audience, these statements might have been better placed at the beginning of the work.

Hoover's objective, to "focus on a number of facets of Nuu-chah-nulth history and culture in greater depth and scope" than the exhibition catalogue, has been met in this collection. The task of organizing such a work is unenviable, but, in general, Hoover has succeeded in creating focus, particularly in the last two sections. The essays under the rubric "Histories" work less well as a group; one is drawn to the conclusion that, armed with a selection of works which met the overall criteria for the book, a catch-all category had to be found for them - a minor cavil, particularly as an alternative arrangement is not immediately apparent. Nevertheless, this book represents an important contribution to Northwest coast indigenous studies.

Colonization and Community: The Vancouver Island Coalfield and the Making of the British Columbian Working Class

John Douglas Belshaw

Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002. 384 pp. Illus. $24.97 paper.

By Lynne Bowen
Nanaimo

John Douglas Belshaw has provided the historical community with a well-researched, artfully written, and well-indexed account of an important aspect of Vancouver Island coalmining history: the experience of nineteenth-century British immigrant miners. He gives the reader new insights and ways of thinking about a fundamental aspect of British Columbian, Canadian, and indeed British labour history, and he does not pull his punches.

In his introduction he takes various historians to task: those who have caricatured British miners as unionists (6-7); those who espouse BC exceptionalism (6-9); those who claim that the origin cultures of British, Chinese, Italian, and American immigrants were simplified rather than transformed by their new surroundings (18); and those British historians who have ignored that country's emigrant working class and assumed it to be unchanged by the countries in which the workers settled (11).

As a coalmining historian who writes for a general audience, I have been looking forward to Belshaw's scholarly treatment of the subject. His analysis of census data in general and marriage and fertility in particular shine new light on the behaviour of British miners on Vancouver Island (66-73).

Belshaw did his early work in Great Britain and his knowledge of British sources serves the reader well. But every mining region has its own words to describe itself and the work it does and while Belshaw understands the appeal that words unique to a sub-culture have for a reader, his use of the British phrase "winning the coal," for example, and the word "hewer" instead of "digger," seems strange given the richness of the Vancouver Island coalmining vernacular.

There is a difference too between using the words unique to a subculture and using jargon, a sin of which Belshaw is mostly guilt-free. It is a pity then that his editors failed to suggest that he refrain from using such words as "racialization"(18) and such phrases as "problematized contemporaneously" (192). This from a man who, when describing the supplanting of cricket with baseball in the hearts of Nanaimo coal miners, is capable of writing "and the cricket oval rang less frequently to the sound of leather on willow, more often to horsehide on ash" (187). Such fine writing also allows the reader to forgive Belshaw for giving the first name of "Thomas" to English novelist John Galsworthy (25) and for using the hardrock mining term "slag" instead of the coalmining term "slack" (175).

Quibbles aside, Belshaw's analysis of the two methods of coal removal – pillar and stall on the one hand and longwall on the other – and their relationship to the employment of Chinese workers and to management's consequent ability to combat labour militancy, is an important issue in the book and one that is discussed at various times (81-3, 122, 126, 130). The pillar and stall method, according to Belshaw, lessens management's ability to use unskilled labour (the majority of whom were Chinese), while the longwall method allows for the supervised employment of more unskilled workers. This is a valid supposition, but it has two flaws when applied to the Vancouver Island coalfield.

First, it ignores the fact that many Chinese worked in pillar and stall mines as backhands for skilled white diggers. Chinese backhands learned by observation how to blast the coal and eventually worked as diggers themselves. They were then able to comprise the entire workforce of a mine (Number Two Mine in Cumberland) and, incidentally, to have the best safety record on Vancouver Island in the 1890s.

Second, Belshaw's analysis requires that the mines owned by the Dunsmuirs, a family notoriously opposed to organized labour, be worked predominantly by the longwall method, and the mines owned by the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company, a company with a more benevolent, if pragmatic, labour policy, be worked by pillar and stall. But since the choice of one method over the other was determined largely by the thickness of the seam and not by the labour policies of management, the methods were not used as exclusively

by either of these major employers, as Belshaw would have the reader believe.

This argument only points out the liveliness of a debate which will become even more interesting as more scholarly books are written about this complex and important aspect of British Columbia history. Belshaw's wish to "restore the British miners of Vancouver Island to British history" and to "restore the making of the British Columbian working class to British Columbian history" will be well served by this debate and by this handsome and well-written book.

Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies

Edited by John M. Findlay and Ken S. Coates

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002. 328 pp. US$22.95 paper.

By Gordon Hak
Malaspina University-College

This collection of essays came out of a 1996 conference in Seattle that celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Oregon Treaty, the agreement that largely fixed the boundary west of the Rocky Mountains between the United States and what would become Canada. A number of prominent scholars from Canada and the United States were asked "to consider the historical significance and impact of the Canadian-American border on the lands and peoples west of the Rocky Mountains"(vii). The editors added one previously published essay to the conference presentations to create this volume.

BC and the American Pacific Northwest are similar geographically and climatically, but divided politically into separate nations, prompting intriguing questions about the societies that developed. While there have been a few studies that consider the American Northwest and BC together, the borderland theme has not been as prominent in this region as in, for example, the area surrounding the Mexico-Texas border. The notion of a borderland, at one level, suggests a place where a distinct cultural and economic identity transcends the border, shaped by an ongoing interchange of people and ideas. But borderland studies can also expose and probe difference, drawing out cultural and political distinctions in contiguous areas which are ecologically and geographically similar.

In an introductory article, Ken Coates effectively sketches out the broad patterns. He characterizes the region's history in terms of four periods. During the time of aboriginal occupation, there was no border and much interaction between First Nations up and down the coast. The second period, the time of colonial encroachment when Russian, British, Spanish, and American traders and politicians jockeyed for supremacy, did not suddenly disrupt First Nation patterns, but did lead to the establishment of the border and set the stage for subsequent developments. Coates' third stage, the imposition of the modern state, spans the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, and during this time the Canadian and American governments exerted authority in their respective regions. While there were some exceptions, economic, social, and political developments made "the American Northwest increasingly American and British Columbia increasingly Canadian" (17). In the contemporary age, what Coates calls the Postboundary or Modern Era, global and technological factors are challenging national boundaries and spurring the increased movement of

people, ideas and trade, but, suggests Coates, this will not necessarily lead to the establishment of an integrated region. Overall, the border has been fundamental in defining the two regions: "it would not be an exaggeration to argue that the region's history and character have been determined by the boundary's existence and functioning" (3).

Having established the context, six case studies follow. In these essays we learn much more about the history of British Columbia than that of Washington and Oregon. The authors are not primarily borderland historians and for the most part have tweaked their research interests to meet the requirements of the conference and the editors. Indeed, the national border is often an opportunity to explore themes such as colonizers and aboriginals, immigrant ethnic groups, First Nation and industrial capitalist economies, military policy, and environmental concerns. The articles are of high quality and each deserves a quick note, as they are relevant to many not necessarily interested in the borderland theme.

Daniel Marshall provocatively discusses the American presence during the Fraser River gold rush of the late 1850s. The war against First Nations on the Fraser reflected the American frontier, and this influence was more important than that of either Britain or Canada in 1858. The policies of Governor James Douglas, argues Marshall, were a response to the might of the American miners. John Lutz discusses the yearly southward migration of aboriginal people from northerly coastal reaches to Victoria, Vancouver Island, and Puget Sound in the years from 1854 to 1869, stressing the co-existence of a traditional First Nations economy and an industrial capitalist economy in the Native world. Making a case for a critical materialist analysis of BC history, Jeremy Mouat examines American and Canadian railway capitalists in southeastern British Columbia at the turn of the twentieth century, while Patricia Wood draws out the ethnic dimension in understanding the border, noting that for working-class Italian immigrants the border was less significant than for Anglo-Canadians. "In general," she argues, "in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the forty-ninth parallel was not a meaningful line for immigrants" (113).

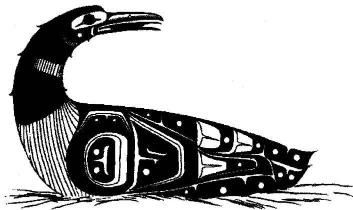
Joseph E. Taylor III traces the disastrous salmon policy perpetrated by American and Canadian governments over the past hundred years by looking at the Fraser River fishery. Fish, it seems, do not respect the border imposed by nation-states. Galen Roger Perras discusses Canada's push to retain control of defending its West Coast from 1934 to 1942, despite pressure from the United States, and Carl Abbott looks at regional economic prospects, especially the idea of a unified Cascadia, defined by economics and ecology, that would include BC and the American Pacific Northwest. He concludes that despite the trends of the contemporary world, they are "not likely to turn northwestern North America into a region where borders do not matter" (213).

No work of this kind would be complete without getting into the swamp of national identities, exploring the differences and similarities between Canadian and American cultures. Chad Reimer takes a historiographical perspective on the Oregon Treaty, talking about the construction of history in the 1840s. Both American and British writers offered versions of the past to justify claims in the region; these first histories set the tone for the different future narratives offered by British Columbia historians, on the one hand, and American historians on the other.

Two final essays on national distinc-

tions provide much fun with broad discussions that spill over regional boundaries. Donald Worster, concerned about the preservation of wilderness throughout the world, looks to the Canadian and American experiences to try and understand why some nations value wilderness. He concludes that the dream of freedom, the cornerstone of American culture, underpins the active, longstanding commitment in the United States to protect wilderness areas, a tradition that is not echoed in Canada, where the freedom ideology is less deeply rooted. Worster, an American, comments: "Canadians still do not seem inclined to follow our wilderness preservation lead quickly, enthusiastically, or faithfully" (252). Michael Fellman bemoans the lack of recognition accorded to American immigrants in Canada and attacks Canadian anti-Americanism. An American who migrated to Canada in 1969, Fellman surveys Canadian history from the early nineteenth century to the present, arguing that an overblown anti-Americanism blinds English Canadians to the American influences at the core of their identity.

Parallel Destinies brings together a number of strong articles that are of special interest to British Columbia historians. Readers should not be put off by the political/diplomatic-sounding title, for the volume has a wide-ranging appeal.



Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest
Linda Carlson

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003. 288 pp. Illus., US$22.50 paper.

By William G. Robbins
Oregon State University

Company towns – once ubiquitous across the greater North American West – usually originated in the corporate need for labour in isolated areas of resource extraction. Even those who remember favourably their experiences in company towns acknowledge varying degrees of paternalism in their respective communities. "A job in a company town was more than employment, it was a way of life," Linda Carlson argues, "the boss's way" (198). This sometimes redundant sixteen-chapter compilation of disparate company towns focuses on settlements that survived into the twentieth century. Covering human communities from temporary, mobile, and transitory camps to sizable federal towns such as Richland, Washington, Carlson weaves the social histories of company town dining, educational, recreational, informational, economic, and religious practices.

Carlson confronts directly the ugly stereotypes of company towns depicted in Tennessee Ernie Ford's classic song, *I Owe My Soul to the Company Store*. Although "the stereotypes *sometimes* (my emphasis) did apply," her study attempts to capture the "spirit of community" that prevailed in many company settlements. Carlson emphasizes the close ties between entrepreneurs and small company executives who lived in these communities and who had legitimate reason to care for the welfare of their workers. The issue of *control* was always important to owners and managers: the sale and dis-

tribution of liquor, the bogey-man of union organizing, and controlling the workers' purchasing power. In McLeary, Washington, Henry McCleary was fond of saying, "A good kingdom is better than a poor democracy" (12).

Readers of *BC Studies* should be forewarned that the company towns featured in this book suffer from the conventional scholarly intellectual blinders that stop at the forty-ninth parallel. With the exception of Canadian-based companies with investments in towns south of the border, the trans-boundary, British Columbia Northwest is not part of this story. The map of Northwest company towns offered in the first chapter shows the location of company settlements in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, with more than half of them in the state of Washington. Carlson argues that the enduring feature of the towns in her study were those that persisted for several decades. *Company Towns in the Pacific Northwest* attempts to capture the community spirit of those settlements, the "sense of how the townspeople lived their daily lives, both in ordinary times and in periods of war and Depression" (13).

Such findings seem reasonable and defensible given the sources listed in Carlson's bibliography, but they also reflect a suspect and limited segment of company town experience. There is a methodological problem with this approach that is true of most company town histories; scholars customarily cite the testimony of longtime community residents, individuals favourably disposed to the settlements where they chose to spend a good part of their lives. This book leans decidedly towards a positive story line, sometimes without supporting evidence. In that sense, the remembrances of married residents skews the profile of the people who lived, sometimes temporarily, in company towns. In logging and mining camps, numerous studies indicate that the majority of residents were single and often transitory male workers, a sturdy cadre of labourers who protested against poor food and living conditions and low wages by "going down the road."

As might be expected, company towns were bastions of anti-unionism, especially in those communities where workers were required to live in company-owned housing. In some corporate-owned towns, notably in Washington's coalmining settlements, companies played the race card by bringing in African-American workers to break the efforts of white miners to organize unions. Carlson rightly cites the example of local executives who were rewarded for their efforts in keeping union organizers out of the community. North Idaho's paranoid Potlatch Corporation – part of the Weyerhaeuser syndicate – dismissed suspect union sympathizers on the spot. In the face of what it deemed a more severe threat from the militant Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the onset of the First World War, Potlatch deployed a local militia to deter union organizing. Potlatch also informed its employment agency intermediaries of its preference for Nordic workers.

More careful attention to copy-editing would have helped eliminate some of the repetitiveness and the author's propensity for awkward sentence constructions ("Like at logging and mining camps, servings were unlimited" [51]). This book will likely have the greatest appeal to people whose families lived in one of the communities featured in it.

American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941
Dorothy B. Fujita-Rony

University of California Press: Berkeley, 2003. 320 pp. Illus. US$21.95 paper.

By Geraldine Pratt
University of British Columbia

This is an ambitious book that aims to "recontextualize, if not challenge" (9) several standard historical narratives: of the American West, of Asian American settlement, and of Filipino experiences in the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century. These theoretical ambitions are achieved by drawing upon archival documents and a rich store of interviews: 27 conducted in the early 1990s by the author, and good number more through the 1970s and 1980s as part of the Washington State Oral/Aural History Program and the Demonstration Project for Asian Americans.

Fujita-Rony recasts the boundaries of the American West such that the development of Seattle is conceived within American colonialism, with the Philippines the most western part of the American empire. Contrary to an assimilationist model of immigration, she details a fluid transpacific culture and economy. As American nationals, a passport to enter the United States was unnecessary until 1934, and Filipinos had free access to US public high schools. Education was an important aspect of the American colonial venture in the Philippines and Fujita-Rony argues that education in the United States was seen by Filipinos as an extension of education in the Philippines; the University of Washington was a key site in this process.

Filipinos' status as US nationals distinguished them from other Asian immigrants, and this distinctiveness is something that Fujita-Rony considers throughout the book. Certainly the Filipino experience was shaped by and within the institutionalized racism experienced by other Asian immigrants, and there was a loss of legal distinction through the 1920s and 1930s as legislation was passed to restrict Filipino entry into the US and their possibilities for permanent settlement. But Filipinos' experiences are not usefully collapsed into a generalized Asian-American model. Although Filipino settlement in Seattle was mostly in and around Chinatown, Filipinos owned few businesses there. Fujita-Rony interprets this relative absence of entrepreneurialism to not only a lack of capital but the fact that Filipinos, due to their skills in English, were not enclaved within the labour market in quite the same way as Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Beyond this, Chinatown was only one site of Filipino experience because Filipinos were exceptionally migratory, moving up and down the west coast, from Alaska to California and into the interior of Washington state as seasonal labourers. Seattle was the hub of this network of migration, but the Filipino community demands a regional rather than an urban frame of analysis.

A further narrative from which Fujita-Rony wishes to distance herself is one that characterizes early immigrant settlement as a "bachelor society." The Filipinos who moved to the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century were mostly young men. In Washington State in 1930, for instance, there was only one woman for every 15 Filipino men. But to render the Filipino community as a bachelor society is to simplify. Fujita-Rony also questions a tendency within Filipino-American history to privilege union politics and

singular male heroes, such as Carlos Bulosan. She attempts to write women into this history, and to do so in ways that also disrupt standard tropes within women's history. Countering the tendency to portray women as more stable than men, she tells stories about the many Filipinas who moved between the United States and the Philippines through the course of their lives.

Fujita-Rony writes as an historian, but she also brings a rich and persistent geographical imagination to her project. She urges us to reframe conventional scales of analysis: from urban to regional, and from national to transnational. She is alert to the geographical specificity of labour organizing and contrasts, for instance, the distinctive political possibilities for Filipinos in Seattle and Hawaii. She explores some of the social possibilities made available through geographical mobility as, for example, when mixed race couples crossed state lines to avoid miscegenation laws (which were state-specific). She explores a complex negotiation of nationalist and class sentiment: it was in part class-based organizing that enabled workers to overcome regional and ethnic loyalties (based in the Philippines) and forge a nationalist "Filipino" identity within the United States. This was a "careful nationalism" and demands for an independent nation were often framed against the backdrop of an earlier Spanish rather than U.S. imperialism. Hence the popularity and neutrality of Rizal Day, which commemorates a Filipino hero who fought against Spanish rather than American imperialism.

This is a case study that speaks to large questions and broad theoretical debates, and thus warrants a wide readership. For the most part, the empirical study can do the work that is asked of it, although the significance of women for community building is as much asserted as demonstrated. In the last chapter, the author touches on her frustrations about certain silences that she was unable to penetrate, in particular, ones surrounding leftist politics and non-heterosexual practices. I would have been interested to learn much more about her difficulties extracting the types of historical narratives that she yearned to tell, especially because she actually interviewed a good number of historical actors. That said, the book successfully unsettles a number of standard interpretations and tells a compelling story of the ways that Filipino subjects of colonialism themselves shaped the American West.

Murdering Holiness: The Trials of Franz Creffield and George Mitchell

Jim Philips
and Rosemary Gartner

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.
360 pp. Illus. $45.00 cloth.

By Angus McLaren
University of Victoria

Few book jackets are as striking as the one that graces Jim Philips and Rosemary Gartner's text. Balefully staring back at the viewer is a prison photograph of Franz Creffield, who bears an uncanny resemblance to Hannibal Lecter (as played by Anthony Hopkins). Creffield was a strange man. Finding the Salvation Army too tame for his prophetic tastes, in 1903 he arrived (along with the first automobile) in Corvallis, Oregon, where he established a "Holy Roller" sect. It attracted about twenty-five adherents, mainly women. His followers defied husbands and fathers, lived communally, and were reportedly in constant prayer and trances. Creffield's call for believers to forsake property and family raised the

hackles of the respectable. The fact that his women followers dressed in simple shifts led neighbours to suspect orgies. Civic leaders were embarrassed by rumours of "free love" and religious excesses. The local newspaper warned off Creffield and then vigilantes drove the pine-tarred and feathered messiah out of town.

Creffield had a revenge of sorts by committing adultery with a married sister of one of his persecutors, George Mitchell. The act was still a crime in Oregon and Creffield was imprisoned. Incarceration exacerbated his belief in his mystic powers but he was only to live a few months after his release. On 7 May, Mitchell shot Creffield to death and then gave himself up to the Seattle police, saying he had acted to protect his family. His appeal to the male code of honour succeeded and in July he was found not guilty. But he in turn was gunned down by his unmarried sister Esther armed with a pistol provided by Creffield's widow. Women were not accorded the right to act under the unwritten law. Officials declared both culprits insane and ordered them to the state asylum. Maud Creffield committed suicide while still in jail; shortly after leaving the asylum two years later, Esther Mitchell did the same.

Philips and Gartner do a fine job of unpacking this lurid tale. Inspired by Natalie Davis' assertion that the investigation of a powerful story can "uncover motivations and values that are lost in the welter of the everyday" (241, 230 n13), they devote the first half of the book to producing an engaging microhistory modelled on the works of Davis, Linda Gordon, and Carlo Ginzberg. The authors enlighteningly place Creffield's religious activities in the context of the "holiness movement" of the early twentieth century, likening him to the Pentecostals with their stress on speaking in tongues, prophecy, and healing. The authors explain why such groups' egalitarianism and their critiques of materialism especially appealed to women and why worried family members probably projected their own sexual preoccupations onto Creffield's cult. The wearing of simple clothing could be regarded by the anxious as "nudity" and unkempt or unbraided hair as a sign of licentiousness. In discussing women's religious zeal, the citizens of small towns like Corvallis were also commenting on gender relations.

Turning to the issue of how the community responded to the purported prophet, the authors provide a useful reminder of the extent of vigilantism practised in the Pacific Northwest in the early twentieth century. The well-off men who ran Creffield out of town acted in the firm belief that they were only re-establishing order. Though such forms of popular justice had a long history, Philips and Gartner point out that families could now also invoke insanity laws to discipline the wayward. Adult sect members were sent to the state asylum and youths to the Boys and Girls Aid Society Home. Many accounts of the asylum have presented it as imposing order from the top down. Historians now recognized how ordinary people often sought to turn such institutions to their own purposes. The book effectively demonstrates how laypersons could commit a family member to short-term confinement on the basis of their being too religious, too defiant of male authority or too antimaterialistic.

The first six chapters of this book work very well. In the last half of the book, focused on the trials of George and Esther Mitchell, the authors' obvious love of the minutiae of the law takes over. Having lamented not being able to provide "a detailed and day-by-day account" (145) of the jury selection process, they nevertheless devote fourteen pages to the issue. They

meticulously chronicle the educations, the careers, and the best-known cases of every judge and attorney involved. The accounts of the trials themselves hold few surprises. As the book has already provided insightful analyses of how men employed vigilantism and how women were subjected to the insanity laws, the outcomes of the two legal contests could never be in serious doubt.

Curiously enough, the authors conclude with a laudatory account of Creffield's father-in-law, the book's least interesting character, whom they nevertheless declare to be "the most admirably human." Philips and Gartner almost appear to have forgotten that the real strength of their book resides not in its applauding of virtue but in demonstrating how even the most vicious emotions and actions, when carefully set in their social and cultural context, can be made intelligible.

Sutebusuton: A Japanese Village on the British Columbia Coast

Mitsuo Yesaki

Vancouver: Peninsula, 2003.
148 pp. Illus. $25.00 paper.

By Ann Dore
Simon Fraser University

Mitsuo Yesaki was born in Steveston, known to its early Japanese-Canadian residents as Sutebusuton. He spent his early childhood there until the expulsion of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast in 1942. He is a descendant of three generations of Fraser River fishers and has fished the river himself. His chronological study not only features the history of Japanese Canadians in Steveston and their involvement in the Fraser River salmon industry, but also traces their contributions to the development of the fisheries across British Columbia. While this study is not constructed around a strong, central argument, it stands as a critique of the social and political climate in which Japanese immigrants struggled to build new lives. The book is well researched and documented and it is responsive to the three objectives stated by the author at the outset.

Yesaki's first objective centres on compiling statistical records of Japanese-Canadian involvement in the fishing industry. He reports the quantitative estimates of the catch, earnings and expenses of fishers from the 1880s to the Second World War. Further, he provides community demographics, employment figures, and fishing licensing statistics. His background in science and fisheries is demonstrated in his attention to recording his findings within the text and numerous tables throughout the book. Factors like annual profit margins, ratios of Japanese, white, and Native fishers that changed with the whims of lawmakers, and dramatic fluctuations in fish stocks from one year to the next are incorporated into the text and an effort is made to explain their impact on the lives of fishers and their families. It is hard to imagine that Yesaki left any page unturned in the fisheries-related ledgers of government, business, and labour.

Second, Yesaki explores Japanese-Canadian involvement in the commercial fishing and processing industries beyond the salmon fisheries of the Fraser River and within the support industries that dotted the British Columbia coast. Boat-building was an occupation undertaken by numerous Japanese Canadians in the off season. Many utilized specialized tools and techniques from Japan. Yesaki also offers a detailed look at charcoal-making, an industry that provided essential fuel to the canneries. Japanese Canadians excelled at constructing the kilns, supplying the cordwood, and perfecting the process. Yesaki's descriptions

of secondary fisheries such as salt chum salmon, salt herring, and troll fishing include villages beyond Sutebusuton. For example, the growth of Tofino and Ucluelet on the west coast of Vancouver Island and the Skeena River fisheries in the north partially reflected the expansion and diversification of Japanese-Canadian involvement in the fishing industry over several decades.

That this movement within the industry was often the result of political and economic pressure is an important aspect of Yesaki's third objective: to incorporate the changing political climate and its impact on those in the fisheries. Yesaki demonstrates that although Japanese-Canadian involvement in the fisheries was sometimes allowed to flourish, it was more often subjected to legally sanctioned restrictions that promoted prejudice and discrimination. He examines both changes and challenges to immigration, the franchise, and licensing laws as well as shifts in the social climate and public attitude that spawned many injustices and culminated in the 1942 expulsion.

Yesaki links the political and social atmosphere to the physical and geographic setting through a fine collection of photographs dating as far back as 1882. Photos of Japanese Canadians at work, at public gatherings, and among family and friends offer rare glimpses into their lives and communities. However, unlike Yesaki's previous book, co-authored with Harold and Kathy Steves, *Steveston Cannery Row: An Illustrated History* (Richmond: Lulu Island Printing, 1998), *Sutebusuton* has no maps to help the reader pinpoint buildings, villages, and waterways. Rather, Yesaki supplements his descriptive narrative and photos with census figures, municipal records, and commercial data. Although Yesaki maintains a substantially quantitative approach to Steveston's history, there is, nonetheless, a significant amount of individual voice and agency present in these pages.

From the early immigration of men and their wives, most of whom arrived later as picture brides, to the establishment of families and community, Yesaki highlights both individual and group experience and accomplishments. Organizations such as the Fishermen's Association play a prominent role in this study along with educational, religious, and financial institutions engaged in activities that built and strengthened community in Sutebusuton and many smaller fishing villages. Japanese culture, as it was expressed within the fishing community, enriches every chapter of this book. Yesaki portrays the complexity and diversity of the fishing industry while keeping a finger on the pulse of the Japanese-Canadian fishing community as it struggled within a constantly shifting social, economic, and political climate.

Steel Rails and Iron Men: A Pictorial History of the Kettle Valley Railway

Barrie Sanford

Vancouver: Whitecap, 2003. 165 pp. Illus. $29.95 paper.

By Duane Thomson
Oyama

The decision of Whitecap Books to publish the first paperback edition of *Steel Rails & Iron Men* is appropriate and timely. Since this book appeared in cloth in 1990, the Kettle Valley Railway (the KV) has grown in both the public imagination and the numbers of people using the roadbed. Thousands of hikers and mountain bikers annually enjoy the scenic roadbed; the Okanagan Mountain fire of 2003 publicized even as it

destroyed the Myra Canyon trestles. This book will appeal to KV tourists and aficionados who demand a brief history of the construction, operation, and eventual closure of the storied railway.

The first chapter considers the initial political/strategic considerations behind the decision to build the Kootenay to Coast railway, mercifully in less detail than Sanford provides in his earlier *McCulloch's Wonder: The Story of the Kettle Valley Railway* (1981). The second chapter focuses on the competition between the Kettle River Valley Railway, a predecessor of the KV, and affiliates of Jim Hill's Great Northern Railway to control ore traffic between Republic, WA, and the smelter at Grand Forks, BC. This chapter is largely extraneous because it deals with a railway never incorporated into the KV; rather, it reflects Sanford's fascination with the competitive environment that informed railway construction in southern BC at the turn of the century. The next three chapters detail the construction, early operation, and economic impact of three different portions of the line: the Nicola branch, the Midway to Merritt line, and the incredibly difficult Coquihalla line. These chapters deal with spectacular engineering feats such as building trestles across the many tributaries of Myra Canyon and the construction of the famous Quintette Tunnels down the Coquihalla Canyon. The numerous photographs of survey parties operating in nearly impossible terrain, massive trestle and tunnel construction projects, and inaugural celebrations make this section the most interesting part of the book. The following three chapters consider the operation of the railway, first as an independent line, then as a CPR affiliate, and finally as a fully fledged second mainline of the CPR. These chapters explore the passenger and freight operations and include topics such as operating schedules, maintenance and upgrading, snow-clearing and avalanche control, and connections to the mining, logging, and fruit-growing industries in the areas served. The final three chapters document the railway's decline: the disruption of service beginning with abandonment of the Coquihalla section, the continued operation of remnants of the KV, and the eventual closure of the railway.

Each chapter includes a two- to five-page summary of the main theme of the chapter dealing with the political and economic environment and the business decisions that affected the operation of the railway. Good maps, elevation profiles, datelines, and sample timetables present detailed operational information clearly and concisely. Each chapter also includes copies of railway memorabilia that tend to trivialize the book: copies of posters, railway passes, telegrams, invitations to public functions, newspaper clippings, and cover pages of agreements. Finally, each chapter contains many photographs with accompanying informational captions that comprise the real value of this book.

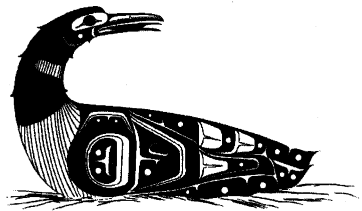
The photographs are well chosen and are generally of good quality. Many were taken during construction by local professional photographers, good examples of which are the beautifully composed, high-resolution photographs of Lumb Stocks of Penticton (Figures 4-33 and 6-12) and the remarkable panoramic view of the Myra Canyon trestles by G.H. Hudson of Vernon (Figure 4-16). Many other high-quality photographs, generally of trains operating on scenic stretches of track or of abandoned trestles and buildings are by recent photographers such as Bill Presley, Lance Camp, André Morin, and the author, Barrie Sanford. Sanford also includes many snapshots of train wrecks, winter snow-removal operations, surveyor camps, and railway construction sites

that, while of medium quality, are of value for their immediacy and drama (Figures 7-14 to 7-16 and 5-2 to 5-4). The inclusion of one photograph is questionable, that being the famous view of a Kaslo & Slocan Railway engine and crew perched on a narrow track on a bluff above Kaslo. While the photograph is dramatic and demonstrates better than most the wild terrain through which railways were constructed in BC, it is not taken anywhere near KV territory. Sanford has included numerous photographs that present the working railway, for example, loading logs in the Nicola Valley (3-11) and loading coal in Coalmont (6-24 and 6-25). Medium quality, but excellent, images of pack trains hauling supplies to the railhead (4-6), tramways using horse-drawn carts to excavate materials (4-10), and men constructing tunnels by the "English" method (4-26) represent railway construction.

The most instructive feature of this book lies in the captions that indicate the date, location, and orientation of the photograph, the collection from which they derive, and often the photographer. Most importantly, they indicate why Sanford thinks that the photograph is significant. A caption accompanying a photograph of track-laying (4-19) describes the method of construction, which adds substantial value to the photograph. Another caption (6-26 and 6-27) describes the whole industry of cutting and transporting ice from Osprey Lake, noting that 3,000 carloads of ice were loaded and shipped in fifteen days in 1919.

One deficiency of the book is the lack of adequate documentation for both the text and some of the photographs. The photographs of Coquihalla surveyor paths gracing the pages before and after the title-page are from unknown sources. Documentation is, in fact, available to Sanford in certain instances, for example, for the photograph of the CPR steamers *Rossland* and *Minto* (1-2), which was taken by R.H. Trueman & Co. of Vancouver. The problem is frequently the result of archives not documenting their collections either at all or correctly. For example, the Penticton Museum has not had the resources to catalogue its photograph collection and the BC Archives on-line documentation is inaccurate in its description of the location of some photographs (4-28 and 4-29). I commend Sanford for correcting those errors.

Steel Rails and Iron Men is a well-presented, accessible pictorial history of the KV. Other books on the railway have more narrow niches. *Kettle Valley Railway Mileboards: A[n] Historical Field Guide to the KVR* (2003) by Joe Smuin provides detailed physical, operational, and geographic information about each site along the track. *Kettle Valley Railway* (2003), Volume 1 of the Railways of Western Canada series by Gerry Doeksen, provides photographs, drawings, and specifications of engines for railway buffs. Sanford's own *McCulloch's Wonder: The Story of the Kettle Valley Railway* explores in considerable detail the political, strategic, and economic factors in the railway's birth, operation, and decline, using secondary sources, newspaper accounts, and some government publications.



The First Russian Voyage Around the World: The Journal of Hermann Ludwig von Löwenstern (1803-1806). Translated by Victoria Joan Moessner

Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2003. 532 pp. Illus. US$35.95 cloth.

By James R. Gibson
York University

The Russian voyage around the world (1803-06) recounted in this journal by the fourth officer and cartographer of the expedition's flagship, the *Nadezhda* (*Hope*), is noteworthy on several counts. It was the country's maiden circumnavigation (which raises the interesting question of why it occurred so late, almost three centuries after Magellan's). It was thoroughly multipurpose: economic, diplomatic, strategic, logistical, and scientific. It anatagonized both Japan and China by trying (unsuccessfully) to establish commercial relations with the shogunate and to open Canton to Russian merchants. It succeeded in saving new Archangel (Sitka), Russian America's capital, from starvation by launching trade with Spanish California. It probed and charted new lands and waters, and collected and preserved exotic artifacts and specimens. It trained Russian sailors in pelagic seafaring, and it strengthened Russia's position in the European circle of maritime powers in general and in the North Pacific sphere of international rivalry in particular. All of this has been well documented in half a dozen accounts of the expedition by a variety of participants with divergent views – the commander of the two ships, a Russian ambassador, a Russian-American Company agent, a hieromonk (i.e., a monk who is also a priest), a naturalist, and others.

Von Löwenstern's account has been labouriously translated from the colloquial German (interspersed with French, German, Russian, and English) used in a typescript of an uncensored diary (collated with the original manuscript) intended only for family members. As such it is refreshingly candid, particularly with respect to individual personalities, mainly the seemingly conceited, arrogant, and coarse ambassador, Imperial Chamberlain Nikolay Resanov. Von Löwenstern constantly villifies Resanov, frequently referring to him as the "Grote Herr" and calling him a "snake" (306) and a "Judas" (322). In contrast, he speaks well of the steady, lenient Captain Krusenstern, a fellow officer and a Baltic German compatriot (both Resanov and Krusenstern claimed leadership of the expedition). Indeed, Von Löwenstern spends far too much ink on personal clashes and, with the exception of a stopover at Canton, far too little on the places and the peoples he visited. Unfortunately, not a little of his querulous narrative degenerates into tiresome name-calling and gossip. And once Rezanov leaves the *Nadezhda* in Kamchatka after the abortive embassy to Japan (and proceeds to romantic fame in Alta California with Doña Concepciòn), on the homeward voyage the author soon finds a new bette noir in Lisiansky, the captain of the *Neva*, the *Nadezhda*'s sister ship.

The translation of this work has obviously been a huge task, and the translator, a professor of German, merits our thanks. I am unable to judge the rendering from German into English, but I can point out that the latter is severely marred. There are far too many lapses in grammar, punctuation (overused comma), and vocabulary ("reminisces" instead of "reminiscences" [xxiii],

"enthused" instead of "enthusiastic" [xxii], "healthy" instead of "healthful" [183], "attest" instead of "attestation," "onboard" instead of "aboard," etc.). There are scrambled sentences, unnecessary "sics," and non-standard transliterations. Mistranslations from the Russian abound: "agents for transport" should be "company workers" (4); "forthwith" is incorrectly translated as "at that time" (7); the word translated as "niggard" actually means "bribe-taker" or "mercenary," which in any case would be better rendered as "pennypincher" (7, 8); the phrase "for the embassy" should be "for taking away" (124). There are unexplained phrases (to be "put on the drift" [14], to "toll out" [110]) and places that are not discussed (Skaggerak [14], Doggers Bank [14]). More careful editing would have spotted such things. Also, foreign (mostly Russian) terms are sometimes scrambled, and there are a number of bad transliterations ("Schellichoff" instead of "Shelikhov" [6], "prikaschtschiks" instead of "prikazchiks" ["supercargoes"]) as well as the repeated use of archaic English words ("pickthank" ["toady"] [138], "subchirurius" ["paramedic"?]). I understand that much of this has to do with the translator's desire to retain the flavour of the original manuscript, but I find such renderings more intrusive than anything else (especially when the Cyrillic script is printed in small capitals). Her "Introduction" has far too much detail on the author's family background, and the list of "Selected Contemporary Events during the *Nadezhda*'s Voyage around the World" is largely irrelevant. I noticed one howler: the invasion of "eastern Alaska" by Tsar Alexander I in 1803 (xxix). The numerous illustrations in colour and black and white are helpful, although some of the latter are too sketchy to be of much use.