

focuses on Cook's third voyage. Culled largely from Beaglehole's authoritative *Life of Captain James Cook* and Cook's *Journals*, it does not pretend to originality, yet provides good clear anthropological analyses of the contact between Cook's crews and the various peoples of the Pacific in a straightforward account for the general reader.

The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley is based on the reminiscences of Frances Hornby Trevor Barkley, wife of Captain Charles William Barkley, discoverer of Barkley Sound. Essentially it concerns two trading voyages which she made as a young bride with her husband to northwest America in 1786-88 and to Kamchatka, Alaska and Hawaii in 1791-93. At first sight the intrinsic interest of the material gives promise of a fascinating account. Mrs. Barkley had a gift for accurate and vivid description; strong prejudices; and a vigorous, if uneducated, style. She provides detailed pictures of some aspects of life among the natives of Kamchatka and the Tlingit of Alaska. But unfortunately the sources are fragmentary and uneven and the author/editor, Ms. Hill, in endeavouring to fill out the narrative, does not master them adequately. Nor is her grasp of the historical setting at all certain. The result is an interesting but undigested and disjointed account, containing far too little about northwest America and far too much of the less-than-fascinating minutiae concerning the Barkley family.

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The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia, by Mary Ashworth. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979. Pp. iv, 238, *illus.* \$14.95 cloth, \$6.50 paper.

This is a timely book. It comes in the midst of a growing interest in the multicultural reality of Canadian society and an awareness that that reality is not always reflected in the public schools of the country. It comes in the face of a pressing concern among British Columbia educators about the high percentage of school children in this province for whom English is not their first language (some 40 per cent in the elementary schools of Vancouver, for example). It comes at a time when Canadian social historians are turning their attention to ethnic history with

more intensity than ever before.¹ For all these reasons this book attracts one's attention.

The Forces Which Shaped Them is not the work of a professional historian, but rather of a teacher educator concerned with the problems of minority group education because of her professional interest in teaching English as a second language (or, as we say in British Columbia, an "additional language"). Nonetheless, despite some shortcomings as a piece of historical writing, this book deserves a wide reading audience. As the publisher's blurb trumpets, it is "essential reading . . . for anyone concerned with the quality of education in B.C. today."

What makes *The Forces Which Shaped Them* so worthwhile is that the story it tells needs to be told and that it is told clearly in very readable English. Academics will scoff at the virtual absence of primary documentation (although Ashworth acknowledges the archivists who helped her), and at the numerous and lengthy quotations that sometimes go on for over a page. These very citations, however, often add an immediacy to the story and underline the sentiment of the time towards minority groups and their education. My own second-year students commented that these citations gave them an awareness of the extent of racial prejudice in this province.

The book deals with case studies of five minority groups in B.C. — native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Doukhobors and East Indians. Ashworth traces the history of popular attitudes and public policy in respect to the education of these groups. Generally speaking, public attitudes were hostile to all these groups. Public policy, on the other hand, differed from group to group. As elsewhere in Canada, native Indians were made the objects of Christianizing and civilizing missions spearheaded by various churches, both Protestant and Catholic. Education, or at least basic literacy, was deemed a "good thing" for them as long as it was conducted in segregated schools either on reserves or in nearby residential schools away from the "interference" of parents.

Chinese and Japanese, on the other hand, were often the object of outright racial discrimination. Although parents welcomed integration into B.C. society through the agency of the public school, white parents often objected to having their own children "mixing" with Oriental

¹ Donald Avery, "*Dangerous Foreigners*": *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1979); W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); various articles in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, forthcoming, 1981).

children. Obstacles to the latter's admission to public schools were continually thrown up and proposals for segregated schools or classes were made in the first two decades of this century, as in Victoria at Rock Bay and King's Road schools. Little wonder that Chinese and Japanese parents felt the need to establish their own language schools for which they were later condemned for being unpatriotic and, in the case of the Japanese, probably subversive.

The Doukhobors represent another type of state/minority group confrontation. Their education aims led them to refuse to send their children to the "godless," militaristic public schools. This open defiance of state authority resulted in a series of punitive acts against the Doukhobors and their children extending from 1914, just six years after their arrival in the West Kootenays, till 1959. These actions, among other things, involved forcibly removing their children from their parents and placing them with Children's Aid societies and in industrial schools, and even interning 170 of them in a sanatorium at New Denver in 1953. The justification offered for such violations of basic human rights is indicative of the state's determination to break the will of the Sons of Freedom. In 1929 the provincial Attorney-General confided: "If the Doukhobors behave themselves for a period they will get their children back. If they persist in disorderly habits they will lose more children until we have them all under training in institutions" (p. 148). Twenty-five years later Attorney-General Robert Bonner justified the confinement of the children at New Denver by asserting: "No exceptions can be made. I myself would be in trouble if I didn't send my children to school." The school superintendent, however, revealed another reason for the state's actions: "When the children leave [New Denver] after eight years, they'll no longer be Sons of Freedom. They'll be Canadians." Such conceptions of a Canadian seem far removed from a pluralistic notion of Canada. Moreover, one wonders why the British Columbia government felt obliged to treat the Sons of Freedom so harshly when the Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario governments found they could accommodate the educational desires of equally "difficult" religio-ethnic groups such as Hutterites, Mennonites and Amish. It is precisely this sort of interpretive question which Ashworth does not engage in. Nonetheless, the historical development of educational policies affecting the five groups is outlined in sufficient detail to make it clear that race and ethnic relations on Canada's west coast were less than harmonious and that British Columbia's commitment to multiculturalism has been of very recent origin and remains tenuous at best.

In many ways, *The Forces Which Shaped Them* lends strength to Peter Ward's thesis in *White Canada Forever* (Montreal, 1978) that racial prejudice, not economic strains, lay at the root of public attitudes towards orientals and non-whites in British Columbia. The story Ashworth tells reinforces Ward's conclusion that "before the mid-twentieth century, racial and cultural homogeneity was the touchstone for west coast whites; the character of the community which they envisioned was to be fixed by the dominant charter group — that of Anglo-Canadian British Columbians."

In her conclusion Ashworth is critical of the various agencies which did little or nothing to support the education of minority groups in the past. She singles out the government, especially the Ministry of Education, school boards, Parent-Teacher Associations, the B.C. Teachers' Federation (until recently), churches (especially in relation to Indian education in the past), and politicians in general, most of whom supported discriminatory legislation or remained silent. The overall record of these agencies is not a happy one. Even as late as 1977, when the BCTF came out with a slide-tape presentation on "Racism in B.C." for use in schools and teachers' meetings, the B.C. School Trustees' Association asked the Secretary of State's office to get rid of the show "because they felt it would probably exacerbate the problems of racism" (p. 205). In fact the show was banned by school boards in Surrey, Sannich and Langley.

Ashworth's book goes some way towards giving the reader a sense of how each ethnic group viewed itself and the education of its children. This is an important step beyond simply viewing ethnic minorities as passive recipients of the form of schooling stipulated by the educational bureaucrats and political legislators. Governmental and school board paternalism was evident everywhere, but how did the various ethnic groups accommodate to the imposition of value systems sanctioned by the dominant host society? The Chinese, Japanese and East Indians, Ashworth tells us, saw public education as an important means of social mobility and therefore struggled to obtain for their children equal access to the school system. Native Indians and Doukhobors, on the other hand, were either skeptical of or unalterably opposed to the public school and the value system that formed part of it. While some ethnic minorities were anxious to co-operate with government authorities for the sake of helping their children get ahead, others resisted the public school, which was seen as a mechanism for obliterating religio-ethnic (including linguistic) identity. Ashworth reveals the validity of examining each

ethnic group separately and avoiding the tendency of lumping together all non-Anglo-Celtic groups as a homogeneous bloc.

Secondly, her approach challenges, although probably not as much as it might, the traditional perspective of oppressor/victim which permits the victim no autonomy for independent action. Despite the determined effort of government, school board and church to make minority groups submissive, Ashworth shows how each ethnic group sought to accommodate itself to government pressures, to use schooling in its own interests, or, as in the case of Doukhobors and native Indians, to react against government measures through the schools. Some old world styles and ideas were undoubtedly discarded, but others were defiantly maintained, occasionally at great cost. The gains and losses had always to be calculated. The point is that the ethnic group's sense of autonomy was in operation even though constraints were set by the dominant society. Within the framework of the dominant culture alternative cultures were alive, sometimes accommodating themselves to, sometimes contending with, the dominant culture. Even when accommodating themselves to a situation they might not have been entirely pleased with, minority parents and children could turn that circumstance to their own use and often did. Our primary concern as historians of minority ethnic groups, then, should be to discover, as Sartre has commented, "not what 'one' has done to man, but what man does with what 'one' has done to him."

As Ashworth points out, ultimately a great deal of acculturation has taken place between the dominant society and the various ethnic groups she treats. The very groups whose assimilation was thought to be undesirable, even impossible — the Chinese, Japanese and East Indians — have in varying degrees absorbed the socio-cultural norms of B.C. society. They have entered the professions, they have moved into upper-middle class neighbourhoods, they have even intermarried. Although racism undoubtedly still exists in British Columbia — as recent radio hotline support in Vancouver for the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan would seem to verify — its remnants are a far cry from the situation four decades ago.

One final point: there is a commendable focus on children throughout this book. Its frontispiece is a quotation from the 1978 report of the Canadian Council on Children and Youth which begins: "It is the basic attitudes of our society towards its children which shape children's lives to a very significant degree and we fail all children when we let them go unexamined." We would do well to consider carefully this piece of common wisdom. For example, while most Canadians are now aware

of the evacuation of Japanese-Canadians from the west coast, how many have considered what became of the 5,500 who wound up in relocation centres? Or how neither the B.C. Department of Education nor the B.C. Security Commission would assume responsibility for the education of 1,000 high school age children in those centres? Or how in the "repatriation" of 4,000 Japanese-Canadians after World War II, one-third of them were Canadian-born children whose citizenship was thereby revoked? One of the important secondary themes of *Forces* is precisely to observe how a society's attitudes to its children reflect much deeper considerations.

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Raw Materials and Pacific Economic Integration, edited by Sir John Crawford and Saburo Okita. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978. Pp. 343, index, tables and charts.

To a Canadian reader, the most important aspect of this report on co-operative research is not in its contents, but that it was undertaken at all. In the decade 1964-74, Australian and Japanese trade links tightened at a rate that was worrisome to the governments of both countries. For example, while the value of all Australia's exported commodities to all countries increased four times, her exports to Japan increased seven times. This was the fruition of a quick turnaround; in the years just after the war Australia's trade had been chiefly with western Europe and North America. While Australia does not loom so large in the Japanese statistics, Japan has become very dependent, almost vulnerably so, on Australia for a few key commodities: coal, iron, bauxite and nickel, as well as for a few more traditional materials.

These figures disturb Australians to an extent surprising to Canadians, already inured to inextricable interdependence between our economy and that of the U.S. Australia has been accustomed to a degree of diversity in her trade that, combined with her oceanic isolation, left her sometimes lonely but largely master in her own house. Now she appears to be headed for increasingly intimate relationships with Japan, still remote by air but ready to move right in as developer, resource-owner or manager.

Japan's concern about her materials-supply vulnerability has been shown several times in her economic history, and was again experienced sharply during the 1970s, when she became a victim of the OPEC

petroleum cartel. To guard against such shortages, Japan has adopted an almost official policy of diversifying her material sources, as we in the eastern Pacific countries, from Alaska to Chile, also know. Her problem is not so much desperate as delicate — how to establish herself as a good and reliable customer without becoming too pushy politically and economically.

Some readers of *BC Studies* will be less interested in this book's detailed analysis of these two problems than in the project itself. In 1973, the "Australia, Japan and Western Pacific Economic Relations Project" got underway. Before it was finished it had produced or sponsored about seventy-five separate research studies and policy papers by over 150 persons from ten Australian and five Japanese universities, the two central banks, and a multitude of Japanese and Australian businesses, agencies and research institutions. No trade or production stone has been left unturned: dozens of aspects of the direct trade relationships, Japanese ownership or control and its alternatives, and competition/co-operation in Third World countries of S.E. Asia were examined. What is good is that Japanese as well as Australian experts participated in the writing from the beginning.

The first two parts are the best from the viewpoint of the general reader. Here the two eminent but active editors, with several associates, marshal the evidence to define the "problems" and classify them into coherent chunks (regional, long term, short term, and so forth). Unfortunately this portion of the work is also dull: numerous unedited tables (numbers for every year for every commodity, to two decimal places), diplomatic phraseology and officialese apparently natural to the distinguished contributors all make heavy going. On the other hand, the writing does avoid economic jargon and is well within the reach of patient laymen.

One chapter comes to life on "Myopia in the Making of Policy." Here the authors take both governments to task for frequent on-off, short-term, protective policies in response to minor setbacks or twists in trade and investment. They believe the governments are too apt to forget the long-term changes that are going on and must continue as Australia "adjusts" her industry, its locations, skills and management from European to a Japan-oriented structure. Frequent short-term protectionism, which has its counterpart in Japan, merely dams up the mobility, re-training and relocation that must take place, and necessitates larger, discontinuous and distressing "adjustments" later on.

More interesting still is a discussion, picked up in later chapters, of

two-country bargaining in resource export trade, where the bargain consists of all elements of value, taxes, control over direct investment and other dimensions of "price" familiar in B.C. The authors advise the official bargainers to restrain their tough and potentially destructive short-term bargaining strategies, in order to keep open the benefits from long-run expanding trade. To paraphrase, bargainers should be concerned not only to strike a reasonable price that will allow both countries to gain by trade but to imbed this price in long-term (ten or twenty years) contractual arrangements that will allow trading relationships to survive, flexibly, in the face of world and local recessions and booms. This is ideal, but hard to arrange; and the woolly writing becomes a good deal more explicit and urgent as the authors struggle to explain how such "myopia" can be avoided.

The last part of the book is more scrappy, containing individually written chapters on the trade in raw (not manufactured) materials. One chapter uses econometrics, backed up by good plain English, to argue that in the early 1970s Australian employment was pretty well insulated from Japanese recessions (one wonders how the study would look in the late 1970s). Then there are good chapters on the actual pricing, taxing and foreign-ownership strategies available, winding up Richard Caves' over-all abstract survey of Japanese-Australian trade issues.

BC Studies readers will be intrigued by the jointly written references to alternatives to foreign ownership of resource industries, especially by means of long-term contracts which may supply the finance for resource development but leave control in Australian public or private hands. Also relevant are references to federal-state tensions: many of the "short-run" interventions in trade which the authors feel merely inhibit the growth of a more understanding long-run relationship are due to clashes within the Australian federal system over use of export controls and taxes. Surprisingly, the Australian writers say little about the social and environmental impact of the new Japanese trade; even less than the Japanese writers say about their own "non-economic" problems. The rise and fall of particular supplying regions; the Australian money market and its connections with Europe and Japan; the availability of home-grown expertise and entrepreneurship in Australia; the position of the aborigines with respect to resource ownership in uranium and other materials; the attitudes of organized labour — all are familiar to any reader of the Australian press, but rarely mentioned.

Nevertheless, the whole ambitious venture was well carried out and perhaps becomes a model for similar studies based on western Canada,

especially in showing what can be gained by obtaining research participation from one's trading partners. There have been recent Canadian/American "raw materials" studies, some of them organized by the C. D. Howe Institute and its U.S. affiliates. But these have rarely achieved such complete, unified, joint authorship as is found in the Crawford-Okita volume.

ANTHONY SCOTT

Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930, by Rolf Knight. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978. Pp. 317; *illus.*

When considering works on the history of the Indians of B.C., one is confronted with a number of distortions and misinterpretations. Among others, the operation of the institutional system of racism that has confronted Indians is not adequately described or analyzed. Also, the historical significance of the B.C. land question is usually misread and the vital Indian economic adaptations to the developing B.C. economy, especially between 1860 and 1910, are largely ignored. It is the latter of these distortions that Rolf Knight tackles in *Indians at Work*.

Knight's main thesis is that "Indian people have a long history of work in a wide range of industries" (p. 181). He sets out to "outline the history of native Indians as workers and independent producers in the primary resource and other industries of B.C. between 1858 and 1930" (p. 7), including farming, orchardry, ranching, commercial fishing, cannery work, logging, longshoring, prospecting, mining, railway construction, packing and transport services, pelagic sealing, and other forms of domestic production and wage labour. Drawing largely on Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Reports*, personal work histories and biographies, and descriptions of the B.C. resource industries, Knight attempts to provide a framework for understanding Indian social change and gives a fairly complete survey of Indian participation in the developing B.C. resource economy.

Indians at Work provides a much needed antidote to the pervasive myth that Indian peoples and communities withered and crumbled in the wake of European settlement. This view sees Indian history as the sad chronicle of "Stone Age" cultures disintegrating under the impact of white contact, overwhelmed by mysterious processes — sometimes labelled "acculturative forces," and unable to cope with a complex, industrial

society. Most representations of northwest coast Indians start with Indians of the ethnographic past in long-houses and woven cedar clothing; we are then projected into the present mass society where Indians are portrayed as contemporary problems in social adjustment. This perception is reflected in popular literature, mass media, educational curricula, local histories, scholarly studies and coffee-table books on Indians. Indians are treated solely as "victims" or "problems." The basic elements of the past hundred years of Indian historical development are ignored. Their struggle to create the social, economic and political bases of a viable community in the years following white settlement are largely neglected.

Knight succeeds in accumulating enough evidence to challenge the myth. One would hope that *Indians at Work* will be taken as a constructive step toward a more realistic view of the Indian past. Knight engages in some distortions of his own, however — distortions that partly stem from his reliance on imperfect secondary source material, partly from what appears to be a misreading of his own evidence, and partly from a downplaying of racism and the politics involved in the B.C. Indian land question.

In his attempt to describe the main features of Indian economic activity prior to 1930, Knight presents us with a dual structure: domestic subsistence activities and commercial/industrial production (pp. 34, 150). Such a description is too simplified and does not permit sufficient analysis of Indian economic adaptation prior to 1900 or the subsequent crisis in Indian economies. A more adequate analysis of this economic adaptation would recognize the following four levels of activity: (1) wage labour, (2) commodity production for cash, (3) subsistence production on Indian reserves and (4) traditional (albeit with novel techniques) food acquisition. Such an analysis is implicit in Knight's survey (p. 194), but it is not employed as a tool for examining the causes of the reduction of Indian participation in some resource industries or the post-1900 decline in Indian economic well-being. Still, *Indians at Work* is the best description to date of post-1858 Indian economic life.

Knight bemoans the "unprogressive and inefficient" nature of the various "cottage industries" that developed on Indian reserves and reduces the critically important hunting and fishing to the status of "domestic budgets." He implies that such subsistence activities were carried on by the very young, the aged, and those who were infirm in some way" (p. 34). This view is erroneous and is inconsistent with the statement that such activities were a "central feature" of Indian econo-

mic life (p. 34). Had he emphasized the four facets of the Indian economic response to European settlement and resource industrialization, he could have brought out the fundamental principle of the adaptation: diversification. The result of diversification was a mixed economy based partly on the Indian reserves, partly on participation in the resource economy, and partly on food acquisition. This very diversification was the basis of Indian economic success, and although it suffered from tremendous strains between 1910 and 1930, it provided the important element in Indian survival.

Another problem with Knight's picture of the Indian economies between 1858 and 1930 is the chronological framework. Although he introduces much data for a different interpretation, he concludes that "the semi-permanent unemployment and reserve dependence . . . is a relatively recent phenomenon" and that "it was initiated during the collapse of the great depression and came to fruition only within the last generation" (pp. 194-95). For Knight, the Great Depression is the watershed of Indian economic activity, especially wage labour and independent enterprise. This emphasis on the Depression and the economic forces it set in motion fails to give the proper significance to the real crisis years of the mixed Indian economies, from 1900 to the late 1920s.

Due to the dramatic increase of non-Indian population and the rapid growth of resource extraction and the transportation infrastructure, each of the four levels of Indian economic activity was under attack. In addition, restrictions on food fishing implemented by the Dominion Department of Fisheries (not the Department of Indian Affairs, as Knight has it) began to cut into this important ingredient in subsistence production between 1895 and 1905 (not ca. 1912, as Knight says, pp. 263-64). Hunting and trapping also came under regulation just prior to World War I (as Knight notes, pp. 262-63). The land base of local Indian economies — the Indian reserves — was the object of attack by a hostile provincial government, which sought a significant reduction in Indian reserve lands. Finally, during this period a complacent Department of Indian Affairs and an ineffectual Royal Commission (McKenna-McBride Commission) failed to stem the rising tide of provincial regulation of water, timber, minerals and other resources that severely damaged the diversified Indian economies.

Knight does take note of some of these policies, but fails to make them a central part either of his analysis or his chronology of the widening crisis. Instead of fastening on the Great Depression as the time when Indian economic activity collapses, it would be more accurate to say that

by 1930 many Indian communities had been in a depression for ten, twenty or more years. Furthermore, the central cause of this decline was neither the changes in industrial and commercial organization nor the impersonal economic forces of capitalism in crisis, but a policy of exclusion and discriminatory regulation based on race.

Of course, Indians were not completely excluded from participation in wage labour, their hunting and fishing activities were not totally abolished, nor did on-reserve agriculture, ranching and other enterprises entirely collapse, but the damage done to the diversified Indian economies between 1900 and 1930 was serious enough to create the conditions of Indian underemployment and unemployment, reserve dependence and economic deprivation. These are not "relatively recent phenomena" but stem from a time when the foundations of the modern B.C. economy were established. This time was *prior* to the Great Depression. Ironically, because Indians had in many respects already been walled off from some resource industries, and had therefore developed strategies of subsistence survival, they were better able to cope with the Depression.

Failure to realize the implication of these crisis years leads Knight to underplay the significance of the most important form of Indian political activity, the struggle to gain recognition of the British Columbia Indian land question and aboriginal rights. The upsurge of political action begins in the early years of the twentieth century as a direct response to the deepening economic crisis. But for Knight the Indian political resurgence dates from the formation of the Native Brotherhood in the 1930s (p. 198). He ignores the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and relegates the multi-faceted political activities of earlier decades to the footnotes. Such a view does not permit an understanding of the real forces at work before the Depression.

The most significant shortcoming of *Indians at Work* is its failure to give a sufficiently prominent place to racism and racial discrimination. Knight does recognize that discrimination against Indians was widespread, but maintains that "racism was not the central cause of exploitation and expropriation of Indian people but merely a rationale for such" (p. 180). But racism, as institutionalized in the policies and activities of various levels of government, business and other organizations, is fundamental to an understanding of Indian social and economic change. Racism is more than a rationale for various policies or forms of exploitation; it is the central mode of Euro-Canadian interaction with Indians. It is more than attitudes and remarks made by politicians, government agents and missionaries; it is a system of power relationships. Knight

states that “racist attitudes themselves had bases in perceived (often wrongly perceived) material interests” (p. 21). This is partly so, but there is also a psychological dimension to racism that can take on a causal force of its own. Additionally, there is a distinction to be made between racial prejudice and racism. Racial and ethnic prejudice are not restricted to Euro-Canadians; Indians too are prejudiced and have stereotypes about whites, as do other groups. But this should not blind us to the structural nature of racism which is a system of power relationships between ethnic groups. Racism is the institutional power of one dominant ethnic group to act out prejudice and ethnic antipathy. In B.C., clearly the Euro-Canadians (both the ruling elites and at various times their working class allies) have had such power over Indian people. The result for Indians has been social and economic deprivation as a group.

Knight criticizes others who have focused on racial hostility and the ethnocentrism of the Euro-Canadians and who have treated the “settler society” as a monolith. Certainly Euro-Canadian society has contained its own internal contradictions and group conflicts, but Indians, as an indigenous people under a colonial system that is racist, do have a unique structural relationship with all segments of Euro-Canadian society. We cannot dismiss the fundamental structural role of racism in Indian-white relations just because the ruling colonial elite used gunboats against Indians and the Nanaimo coal miners alike (p. 243).

Knight dismisses emphasis on racism as “sheer ideological nonsense” (p. 243) and seems to equate “settlers” with agricultural pioneers (p. 26). But settler societies take on different characteristics depending on the nature of land and resource use. The non-Indian coal miners of Nanaimo were no less settlers because they were industrial resource workers. Their status as settlers gave them a commonality of interests with B.C.’s business and commercial groups and similar attitudes and behaviour towards Indians and Indian land and resource rights. One wonders just who is guilty of ideological nonsense.

Some of Knight’s erroneous generalizations, including his characterizations of the post-1930 era, stem from an over-reliance on secondary sources and a failure to consult critical archival material. For example, though he makes excellent use of the Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Reports*, he ignores the published reports of the Department of Marine and Fisheries — an oversight that is difficult to understand considering the importance of Indian commercial and food fishing. The University of British Columbia Library holds an extensive microfilm collection of Public Archives of Canada Record Group 23 (Department

of Marine and Fisheries) that contains valuable data on the evolution of Indian participation in the commercial fishing industry and on the development of Dominion restrictions on Indian subsistence fishing. Perhaps the most important documentary source of information on Indian people since the 1870s is the Public Archives of Canada collection of Record Group 10 (Department of Indian Affairs). An important section of this collection (the "Black series") has been available on microfilm at the Provincial Archives of B.C. since 1976. It contains important material on the diversified Indian economies of the late nineteenth century and reveals the extent of the economic and social crisis of subsequent years. One could go on and on with methodological comments of this sort, for the archival materials on Indians are truly voluminous (a fact that Knight is aware of, p. 9) but these two collections seem especially important as they tend towards a conclusion different from Knight's.

Despite these criticisms, this book, on a subject so long obfuscated by myth, distortion and prejudice, is welcome. And while Knight at times assumes too flippant a style and engages in some unnecessary ax-grinding, he deserves much credit for attempting to redress a critical historical oversight. So, while *Indians at Work* could be more accurate in its characterizations and conclusions, it is a thoughtful and thought-provoking work.

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