Book Reviews

Conflict over the Columbia: The Canadian Background to an Historic Treaty, by Neil A. Swainson. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

For close to twenty years engineers, diplomats and politicians from Canada and the United States wrestled with various schemes to dam the upper Columbia River. Pressure for development of the Canadian portion of the river came primarily from electric utilities and river management authorities in the United States. The American downstream section of the river had been dammed, machined and regulated to its limit by the early 1950s. Henceforth all hydro-electric storage and flood control works would have to be built in Canada or on tributaries of the Columbia flowing into Canada — thus the need for some form of international agreement. By the end of the fifties the International Joint Commission arrived at the conclusion that power production and stream flow regulation should be maximized over the entire Columbia River system irrespective of the international boundary on the grounds that comprehensive development of the river would be of greater benefit to both parties than separate pursuit of the best domestic alternatives. Moreover, the IJC also decided that the benefits of flood control and greater hydro-electric generation as a result of upstream storage should be equally shared by the two countries.

In 1961 the Canadian and American governments, with the qualified support of the government of British Columbia, signed a specific treaty governing hydraulic development of the upper Columbia on the basis of the general principles previously arrived at by the IJC. By the terms of this treaty Canada bound itself to build three storage reservoirs on its portion of the river and to operate them for sixty years in such a way as to optimize power production at existing hydro-electric facilities downstream in the United States. In return Canada would receive a cash payment representing the American half of the flood control benefit and would be entitled to take delivery of 50 per cent of the additional power produced in the

United States as a result of the smoothing out of stream flow by the Canadian storage reservoirs. Besides the security of a more thoroughly regulated river and greatly enhanced power generation capability, the treaty also gave the United States permission to build a storage dam on its portion of the Kootenay River which would flood part of a Canadian valley. Both countries contracted to pay for the treaty projects in their respective jurisdictions. At the insistence of the British Columbia government the Columbia River Treaty was modified slightly by a protocol signed three years later which allowed American utilities to purchase the Canadian downstream power entitlement on a long-term basis for a lump sum. In a nutshell, that was the Columbia River Treaty.

But agreement was not easily arrived at or fully achieved on the Canadian side of the border, as the title of the book under review would suggest. Indeed, there has been little but bitterness and recrimination since its signing. People who were flooded out could never reconcile themselves to the treaty, its manner of implementation, or the insensitivity of both levels of government to their pleas. Mr. Bennett blamed the bad bargain on the impatience of his Conservative rivals at Ottawa and the hauteur of the "university men" in the federal civil service. Conservatives and Liberals at Ottawa have insisted that Mr. Bennett got the treaty he wanted and accuse him of reneging on an agreement in order to barge ahead with his reckless two rivers development scheme. Critics of the treaty called it one of Canada's greatest natural resource giveaways. Not only did Canada waive forever its right to build efficient hydro-electric generating projects on one of its own rivers (choosing instead to build storage dams for American plants downstream), but also Canadian negotiators literally sold out the cheap energy provided by the downstream hydro-electric entitlement. It has been frequently suggested that the Columbia River Treaty represented yet another case of sharp Yankee negotiators pulling the wool over the eyes of their naive, eager-to-please country cousins. Nationalists have identified the villains of the piece as wily, resource-grabbing American corporations always one step ahead of Canadian rubes and compliant, development-at-any-price provincial politicians. That, more or less, has been the level on which debate over the treaty has been conducted.

Neil Swainson, in this magisterial study of Canadian decision-making during the treaty negotiation process, attempts and admirably succeeds in rising above this sort of partisanship. He is not concerned with laying blame for or assessing the merits of the treaty. Indeed, in a long book he indulges in only two tantalizing sentences of judgment. His focus is the

question of how Canadian decision-makers determined what kind of treaty they wanted and to what extent they were successful in achieving their goals. After setting out initially the geographical and technical background to Columbia River development he follows the complex four-party (British Columbia, Canada, the IJC and United States) diplomacy step by step, report by report, meeting by meeting, almost memo by memo. This dispassionate and entirely commendable section of the book should stand as the definitive treatment of the subject for some time to come. In a concluding pair of chapters Swainson then reviews the narrative, applying Charles Lindblom's hierarchical-synoptic/bargaining-incremental paradigm to reveal the underlying pattern of behaviour.

Historians may say that it is too soon to attempt this sort of study. The public record cannot be trusted entirely. The private papers are not available and key public documents are locked up under the thirty-year rule, but it is remarkable how much material can be turned up by a resourceful scholar. Professor Swainson appears to have begun his study of decision-making when the ink was still wet on the treaty, judging by the interviews he refers to in the notes (not, however, listed in the bibliography). He seems to have talked to most of the principals at length, read the voluminous testimony and background papers presented at various parliamentary and congressional hearings, understood well enough to criticize the highly technical engineering reports commissioned by the governments and private utilities, and been given access on a confidential basis to a good deal of private correspondence. Swainson has met and overcome the two challenges of this sort of analysis: digesting the massive quantity of documentation readily available on the one hand, and on the other piecing together from interviews and the private papers at his disposal what went on behind the public veil in the cabinet rooms, offices and closed-door committees.

First off Professor Swainson dispels the notion that Canadians were hoodwinked. Canadian negotiators and governments (but not interested members of the public), he convincingly argues, were extraordinarily well informed, frequently better so than their U.S. counterparts. Canadian decision-makers went forward backed up by the most comprehensive research effort possible under the circumstances. Moreover, Canadians proved to be exceptionally shrewd bargainers when it came to negotiating the final treaty, a conclusion supported by John V. Krutilla's analysis of the agreement from an American point of view. But that does not mean that Canada got the treaty it wanted or that the one obtained maximized Canadian interests. After 367 pages of close analysis it comes as some-

thing of a surprise to learn that "in the short run Canada is not so well off, and in the long run she may be little if any better off, than she would have been had she simply accepted the 1954 offer of the Puget Sound Utilities Council to build and hand over to Canada the Mica Creek Dam, and had she negotiated, concerning the Libby project, a separate agreement with the United States, which, it is reasonable to assume, would have involved no direct costs for her." The upshot of all this seems to be that with the very best of intentions, the sharpest pencils, the keenest strategy and the most skilful negotiators we swindled ourselves. No treaty at all would have been preferable, it turns out, than the one obtained. How could that be?

The answer in a word is federalism, and in two words federalism and W. A. C. Bennett. In Canada power over the Columbia was genuinely shared. The province owned the hydraulic resources in question and the federal government possessed treaty-making authority. Each held something akin to veto power. As a result, the bargaining between governments in Canada was more protracted and certainly more heated than any that went on across the international border. The difficulty was twofold: the two governments wanted different things in the treaty, each having divergent perspectives on optimum development of the Columbia, and they also gave Columbia River development a different priority — it ranked higher in Ottawa than Victoria, curiously. Swainson concludes that in these intergovernmental exchanges the province gained more from the federal government than it conceded — an asymmetrical outcome, in his terminology. The treaty that emerged was largely the one the Social Credit government of British Columbia demanded and bruised federal politicians grudgingly set out to negotiate.

Between 1957 and 1959 (i.e., during the key phases of the treaty-making process) W. A. C. Bennett became convinced that Columbia development should not interfere with what he considered to be more important hydro-electric projects planned for the Peace River. Unfortunately, or perhaps shrewdly, he did not wholly reveal his intentions at that time. He confided in only two of his cabinet colleagues. Not even the officials in his own Water Resources Service believed he would really try to press simultaneous development of the Columbia and the Peace Rivers. No one believed him, but he *was* serious. In the absence of any federal offer to pay for its precious Columbia River projects, Bennett argued successfully that they should be self-financing — that is, one way or another the Americans ought to pay for them. Thus British Columbia's

insistence in the early stages of discussion upon a "grossing" rather than a "netting" approach to sharing costs and benefits, and later upon cash for the downstream entitlement instead of hydro-electric power. Mr. Bennett's cunning "incremental" bargaining style got him what he wanted; the problem arose from the fact that what he apparently hoped to achieve was incompatible from a technical point of view. But from a political standpoint big construction projects in two parts of the province were, to say the least, highly desirable. Two rivers development seemed so remote a possibility that neither Victoria nor Ottawa studied the two projects together until two years after the treaty had been signed! As things evolved, Peace River storage rendered the most expensive and controversial storage dam on the Columbia, High Arrow, technically redundant. When Mr. Bennett's bluff turned out to be a serious undertaking, Canada ended up with a treaty which was internally consistent but inappropriate in its new context, but by then it was too late to re-open negotiations without risking everything gained to that point, so everyone could agree it was a bad bargain and blame it on someone else.

It is one of the great merits of Professor Swainson's book that he not only raises the level of debate over the Columbia River Treaty but also begins by taking federalism seriously. For Swainson divided jurisdiction and differences of opinion are entirely legitimate and understandable, not problems to be lamented or reformed away. Given the fact that we live in a federal system, Swainson wants to make us more fully conscious of the ways in which governments interact and the impact these means have upon the policy outcome.

His book also rejects the conventional wisdom that there ought to have been one optimum plan for the Columbia, better than all of the others, that both governments should have recognized and fought co-operatively to implement. That kind of synoptic analysis and close co-ordination requires shared goals and hierarchical power structures, Swainson points out, neither of which is likely to be the case in a federal system of shared jurisdictions. Two governments will plan on justifiably different perceptions of public welfare. Who is to say which plan is superior? Nor does Swainson consider the characteristic bargaining between levels of government necessarily a second-best alternative to centralized decision-making. Intergovernmental negotiations and incremental decision-making raise and resolve differences between legitimately varied goals. Conflict, in a federal system, is natural and in Swainson's view entirely desirable. Swainson's openness towards the messy process of bargaining, his acceptance of

federalism as given and proper, and his equanimity in the face of conflict distinguish *Conflict over the Columbia* as a landmark in the literature of Canadian intergovernmental relations.

Nevertheless, Swainson has not written a particularly easy book to read. In fairness this is not entirely his fault. Some things are very complicated. To simplify them is to distort them. Swainson has chosen a technically complex problem, involving three governments and a host of agencies in prolix, sometimes aimless, multi-levelled discussions over two decades. To this formidable burden he has added the strain of explaining all of this in political science categories. The result is a scholar's reference book, not a reader's book. No one will pick up *Conflict over the Columbia* and become absorbed by it. You have to be *really* interested in the Columbia River Treaty to slog through it all. In his helpful way Swainson assists the reader with a chronology, a glossary of technical terms, a list of the key personalities involved, a dozen clear maps, a detailed table of contents, and an excellent index, but notwithstanding these trail markers there can be no denying that much of this is uphill work.

Professor Swainson has performed an unenviable but essential task. He has carefully sorted out the details of negotiations between the governments of Canada and British Columbia and between Canada and the United States over the Columbia River Treaty and he has classified the bargaining process in a useful way. The fine mesh of Mr. Lindblom's grid catches the more bureaucratic federal performers nicely, but "incrementalism" hardly does justice to W. A. C. Bennett's up-country horse trading style. Swainson tells us how Bennett went about getting what he wanted. The next step must surely be to find out how the government of British Columbia, more particularly W. A. C. Bennett, for it was clearly a one-man show, decided upon its goals. Perhaps Hugh Keenleyside and some of the others directly involved in the formulation of British Columbia policy can be induced to respond to what by implication appears to be a damning indictment. With that settled it might be possible to get on with a comprehensive re-assessment of the impact of the Columbia River Treaty now that it has been in operation for almost twenty years. Although Professor Swainson explicitly avoids making judgments and drawing lessons from the treaty-making experience, there is certainly a very good book waiting to be written on how we fared under the actual working of the Columbia River Treaty.

York University H. V. NELLES

Above the Sand Heads; Firsthand Accounts of Pioneering in the Area Which, in 1879, Became the Municipality of British Columbia, narrated by T. Ellis Ladner and prepared for publication by Edna G. Ladner. Burnaby: the author, 1979. Pp. 181, illus., $6.95.

Above the Sand Heads, the reminiscences of T. Ellis Ladner (1871-1958), is refreshingly different from other publications dealing with pioneer memories. Pride in the family's role in the development of British Columbia and attention to the fine details of everyday social and economic life in an early Fraser River community make this book a valuable work for those studying the late nineteenth-century history of the province.

The book describes the life and labour of pioneer Fraser River settlers in the Delta area from the 1860s to 1900. Edna Ladner, who collected and edited these reminiscences, describes the emigration patterns of her father and other members of the family. They, like many other English, often came to British Columbia from other parts of North America and, after trying their luck in the 1858 gold rush, stayed to take up their traditional trades — farming, in the Ladners' case.

It is difficult to judge the academic merit of this book as it has no footnotes and very few of the specific dates cited can be verified. The inclusion of a good map of the Delta area would have been a great help for the reader as well. On the positive side it provides a rare first-hand account of the extent of pioneer fishing and farming technology in the lower Fraser region. Details about the economic advantage of unfouling a ship's bottom in the lower, intertidal part of the Fraser, using a potato to judge the salinity for salting salmon, sources of fishing supplies, and overall descriptions of early canning and farming procedures and the social life of the workforce indicate that Ladner was very closely related to and knowledgeable about these topics.

For students of social history this work provides much information on British Columbia's early native and oriental labour force. Bunkhouse life, the role of the barroom, the methods of hiring, and social conditions such as housing, food and entertainment are described and accompanied by Ladner's personal observations about the various non-European members of the community he lived in. The description of the social and economic conditions of the early Delta white settler is also well developed. In addition to the early farming and fishing techniques Ladner's account of the transportation system of the era shows that before and in part after the arrival of the CPR the Fraser River community depended on the traditional maritime transport on which its economy and trade patterns were

originally established. T. E. Ladner himself was part of this early community and looked upon "those who arived on the cushioned seats of railroad trains" with some disdain.

Above the Sand Heads is much better than most of British Columbia's local histories. Edna G. Ladner has done an excellent job in presenting her father's memoirs and deserves far more credit than she allows herself. The result is a local history which is essential reading for serious students of British Columbia's late nineteenth-century history and a thoroughly enjoyable work for the general reader.

Vancouver DUNCAN A. STACEY

Exile in the Wilderness: The Life of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, 1790-1853, by Jean Murray Cole. Don Mills: Burns and MacEachern Ltd., 1979. Pp. xviii, 268, $15.95.

Jean Murray Cole's biography of her noteworthy ancestor, Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, is widely and exhaustively researched. It follows his career from his birth as the thirteenth and youngest child of a Highland Scot tacksman in Glencoe who, although an episcopalian, had fought as a youth with the Jacobites at Culloden in 1745, through McDonald's enlistment as "clerk and agent" in the Earl of Selkirk's service in 1811 at the age of twenty-one years, through his acceptance of a clerkship in the Hudson's Bay Company's service in the spring of 1820, to his retirement as Chief Factor at Fort Colvile on the Columbia River in 1844. McDonald settled at St. Andrews on the Ottawa River, sufficiently close to Montreal to enjoy the company of colleagues who had settled in the environs of the former metropolis of the fur trade. He lived the life of a gentleman farmer until his death in 1853. The author provides a short postscript, giving brief sketches of the lives of his children.

The experience of reading the biography can be likened to a new perception of an old and familiar painting. As the events of the Selkirk period and the later fur trade pass in review the author's focus on McDonald does not give rise to new and different interpretations. Rather, in allowing as much as possible the words of McDonald and his contemporaries to cast events and detail circumstances, Cole conveys a sense of previously unnoticed subtleties of texture and hue, eliciting insights that enlarge the understanding and appreciation of what had been considered as defined and complete. The movement of a party of settlers under McDonald's direction in the winter of 1813 from Churchill to York emerges as a noteworthy human accomplishment. The enervating effect of the Nor'Wester threat on the colonists in Red River is expressed nowhere else as graphic-

ally. Equally useful is the author's portrayal of McDonald's quandary when Selkirk's death closes one career avenue and leaves little choice, should he aspire to a social position of consequence, but the fur trader's life of exile.

To Cole, McDonald's subsequent career reflects the success of an exile in a community of exiles. Without much comment the author presents the view of some observers, including George Simpson, who had reservations with respect to McDonald's demeanour. In time, however, he proved to be an excellent agent of the Hudson's Bay Company's interests, pressing their advantage in an innovative, resourceful and responsible manner. McDonald moved very comfortably in the social world of the officers of the fur trade. In social interchanges the author sees him as kind and as loyal as he was affable and fun-loving. An additional facet of his make-up is revealed in his fascination with natural science. In 1825 he befriended the young botanist David Douglas on his visit to the Columbia. Through him he met, while on furlough in London, Sir William Hooker, member of the Royal Horticultural Society and Keeper of the famous Kew Gardens. McDonald was an enthusiastic and knowledgeable supplier of samples of the flora and fauna of the Columbia region.

The author views McDonald's family life as equally exemplary. His first "country wife" was Raven, daughter of the noted coastal trading chief, Comcomly. Shortly after the birth of McDonald's eldest son, Ranald, she died. McDonald's second wife was Jane Klyne, the mixed-blood daughter of Michel Klyne, the post master at Jasper House. She would bear him eleven children. Rather than abandon her for a more suitable wife when his career warranted it, a practice not unknown among his colleagues, McDonald saw to her education, apparently sufficient for their purposes and those of the children until they were old enough to be sent away to school. Jane Klyne McDonald appears to have made the transition from a daughter in a post master's family to the wife of a Chief Factor with no difficulty. One cannot help, however, but wonder.

In relation to the native peoples of the west McDonald and his kind were neither conquerors nor immigrants; they were the exiles who occupied the commercial garrisons. Their interests were the means of exploiting resources that were available to them. It was in this light that they viewed the native peoples and their relations with them. While McDonald was sufficiently knowledgeable concerning the ways of the native peoples for the purposes of the trade, his awareness and interest in them does not appear to have extended to their lives as aspects of the human condition.

Garrisons, whether military or commercial, have been notorious for disregarding the sensitivities of those among whom they reside. McDonald's life of exile in the fur trade exemplifies the garrison experience. Neither McDonald nor the author seems to have much concern for or interest in the lives of native peoples beyond the walls of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading posts.

Jean Murray Cole's biography of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald is a valuable addition to the traditional literature on social life in the fur trade. Both in what it discusses and in what it ignores it casts a most useful light on the fur trade experience.

University of Alberta J. E. FOSTER

Coast of Many Faces, by Ulli Steltzer and Catherine Kerr. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre. $29.95.

There is no better summing up of the message of this fine book than the remarks it quotes by the sculptor Bill Reid. Reid was speaking at the raising of his great new pole at Skidegate in June 1978. "I think that something new and wonderful is happening here," he said. "A new breed of offshore people is coming to be, from the people of all the races from all over the world who have assembled on these islands, together with the original inhabitants, the Haidas. I hope in time something will form that will be distinctive, unique and valuable in the world, and I hope that this pole in a way symbolizes that destiny."

The only qualification I would make to Reid's statement is that already a unique and distinctive way of life exists on the coast, and has existed for a long time, and that the text and illustrations of *Coast of Many Faces* testify marvellously to its variety and its vitality.

Ulli Steltzer is one of the finest photographers on the west coast and, indeed, in North America. Perhaps not the least notable characteristic of her work is the philosophic attitude that seems to inspire it. Though she is a remarkable craftsman and her photographs are usually excellent in both composition and tonal quality, they are never mere formal exercises or mere capturings of evanescent appearance, of the changing surface of nature. At their best they are always populated, and humanity is Ulli Steltzer's real subject: men and women living in their environment, men and women living with each other, men and women facing the searching lens. They are seen with understanding, and — where it may be necessary — with compassion, but the mood never slips on the one side into sentimentality or on the other into mockery.

Ulli Steltzer's aim is to reveal, to create understanding, not to pass judgment. The prevalent mood of her photography is a kind of luminous gravity, and it is a mood that often seems to be transmitted to her subjects at the moment of facing the camera. Portraiture has always contained as much of psychology as of artifice, and the psychology of it includes inducing the subject to be in a sense his own lens and to reveal his real self openly to the eye of the artist, whether a painter or a photographer. Ulli Steltzer has mastered superbly this aspect of her art, and it is remarkable how rarely the mask of tension closes over the faces that she records.

In her earlier book, *Indian Artists at Work*, Ulli Steltzer gave us a fine record of the carvers and other craftsmen who have contributed to the great revival in recent years of the native arts of British Columbia, and throughout that book she sustained our interest in actual craft processes as well as in the people who were carrying them out. Her own craftsman's understanding of what it meant to be "at work" never let her escape from the awareness that what the artists did was the reason why they were being photographed.

In rather the same way, work forms a necessary part of the visual content of *Coast of Many Faces*. It is true that some of the photographs are portraits that are and need to be no more than people caught in moments of eloquent stillness: fine likenesses like that of the Ahousat elder James Adams, with its look of fierce wisdom, that of Alison Yarwood and her baby Robert, as tenderly precise as a Bellini portrait, and the moving cover portrait of the Kingcome chief Sam Webber and his daughter Laura. But the strength and tone of the book are given largely by the photographs of people in action, and especially at work, cutting up sea lions, preparing oolichan grease (a fine long sequence of operations), gathering medicinal herbs, fishing, falling, cooking, repairing boats, and carrying on the many other occupations followed by the Indians and whites who have now been mingling on the coast so long that they have already, in Reid's words, merged into "a new breed."

Yet there are differences between the various strains of the breed, and these differences, of tradition, of outlook, of situation, are illustrated not only in the photographs but even more in the text, which was prepared by Ulli Steltzer's collaborator, Catherine Kerr. The only part of the book actually composed on the typewriter was in fact the brief introduction, and that ends with the remark: "Convinced that coast people speak best for themselves, we drew the text for this book from their words."

Thus one could say that *Coast of Many Faces* shows with one pair of eyes but speaks with many voices, and for this reason the text does not

have the same consistent level of insight and eloquence as the illustrations. Some people are laconic and others eloquent; some merely state facts and utter banalities, and others are sharply aphoristic or speak with the sustained lyrical utterance that one often finds in small communities with a tradition of isolation. "You can see I eat no idle bread," says the septuagenarian widower of an island settler. A myth comes to life in a few lines spoken by an Indian fisherman from the north end of Vancouver Island.

> You see that one tree there, on the little island? Long ago when there were wars between the tribes for salmon streams, a son of the chief was killed. They didn't bury him; they put him in his canoe onto the island. Someone went to the grave a year or so later, and there was a tree growing out of his forehead, right from the centre of his forehead.

Authority is always distant and distrusted by these people, whether they are Indians or whites. Some complain about bureaucratic idiocies, about living in communities abandoned to decay from lack of care, but others value their self-reliance and their distance from the centres of power, and I found especially sympathetic one group of people in the tiny coast community of Oona River, just south of the Skeena estuary. A sawmill operator, a fisherman, a housewife and another fisherman describe what, as an old anarchist, I recognize with delight as a little fragment of the world as it should be:

> *Bergman:* The town runs itself; there isn't anybody who represents it. There are lots of individuals in here; everybody has his own ideas.
> *Schmidt:* Everything was run that way before government existed. It's all right as long as you don't have too many people. There are about fifty here.
> *Jan Lemon:* Nobody has ever wanted the police here. My father-in-law's philosophy is that wherever there is a church there is a police station, so maybe we're lucky that there has never been a church here either.
> *Michael Lemon:* The community actually runs the school, around the kids. We don't really need town government. No rules or regulations.

Not every community on the coast, it is evident, lives with such Kropotkinesque harmony as the natural anarchists of Oona River, but though the communes are not so evident as they might have been a decade before, there are still plenty of situations where one senses the easier pace of a past lost in other regions of British Columbia. From most of the accessible part of the province the small sawmills have long vanished. But here and there on the coast such mills still exist, like the Telegraph Bay Sawmill. Bill Mackay went there from a "600-man mill that was putting out a half million board feet in three shifts." For him, at that first glance, "Telegraph Cove looked like a museum. A lot of the mill equipment goes

back to 1927 and has been rebuilt, but it's still putting out excellent timber." He found, by experience, that it was "a community, not a camp," and that after a good day's work "we go home happy."

Yet beside these examples of good work relationships, which make some people realize that the coast is the dreamed-of haven that they never wish to leave, there are the wholly modernized and impersonal industrial operations where people go to make money and to leave, as a mill worker in the mines at Tasu remarks:

> After you have been here for a while you don't like to make close friends. People come, then they leave again. We may all have different reasons for being here, but for all of us it is to make money. Once people have made enough money they get fed up with the isolation and take off. So you can't become too close and keep on doing it and doing it.

And always there is the Indian presence, of a group of peoples who in many ways — in folk medicines, in habits of feeding, in varieties of feasting — cling openly to past usages, who at the same time practice Christianity a great deal more zealously than many city churchgoers, and whose adherence to their more ancient beliefs is never really clearly stated in *Coast of Many Faces*, perhaps because they do not wish to admit it, as some of their spokesmen suggest, or perhaps, as one often feels from the nature of their replies, because Indians who have not experienced feedback from non-Indian anthropologists are really so unsure about their ancestral culture that their situation is that of the Quatsino fisherman who laments: "My uncle was the one who knew all the songs for all the dances. He knew the history, too, for the whole island, all the tribes. He never wrote it down, he just knew. And he died."

But the life of the coast changes constantly, and if what is past in native traditions can never be recovered as it was, perhaps it will re-emerge, as Bill Reid suggested, in the form of a new synthesis. The borderlands, the distant marches, the far islands, have often, in history, been the places from which civilizations are renewed. Perhaps it will happen again. But whether it does or not, *Coast of Many Faces* is an evocative and visually beautiful record of the life of the coast as it is in the here-and-now.

Vancouver GEORGE WOODCOCK

The Cariboo Road, by Mark S. Wade. Victoria: The Haunted Bookshop, 1979. Pp. 264, $16.95.

This book might well be re-titled "So sad, so strange, the days that are no more" — the last words of the author's text. *The Cariboo Road* is a setting for romantic characters who overcome great obstacles that only

the fittest could surmount. To illustrate this the author uses a series of anecdotes based upon his own memories and the recollections of others; consequently the reader sees the early history of the road through somewhat rose-coloured glasses.

The author, Dr. Mark Sweeten Wade, member of the Royal Historical Society and the British Columbia Historical Society, author of two earlier books, prepared this manuscript during the 1920s. After his death in 1929, it lay forgotten in a trunk until 1976. In its preparation, Wade had an enormous advantage: he had worked in and near the Cariboo for some forty years and spent many hours collecting the reminiscences of pioneers of the district. Furthermore, as a one-time owner of *The Inland Sentinel*, founded in 1880 in Emory and moved to Kamloops in 1884, he had access to the back-issues of a newspaper whose writers liked to dabble in the history of the interior.

Wade uses the Cariboo Road as a geographical setting to describe activities ranging from fur trading to road building, gold panning, administrative justice and transporting goods. While there are attempts to present the account chronologically, the story jumps from theme to theme, sometimes leaving the reader a little bewildered.

The author relies heavily upon the reminiscences of pioneers he met in his medical practice, especially those living in the Provincial Home in Kamloops. He learned about the discovery of the rich Hill's Bar near Yale from James Moore, and from Hans Helgeson how James Kennedy reportedly killed a caribou near Quesnel Forks in 1859, thereby giving the district its name. Wade reveals new information about a shady character, Frank Way, proprietor of 164 Mile Post "Deep Creek House," whose fortunes failed in 1868, forcing him to flee the country. Way ensured his escape by cutting telegraph wires as he went.

Despite the claim of the editor, Eleanor E. Eastick, that Dr. Wade had "thoroughly" authenticated his facts, the validity of these and other accounts should be questioned, for it is clear that neither the author nor the editor did so. Two examples will suffice to indicate the need for more care. In describing Gustavus Blinn Wright's role in constructing part of the Cariboo Road, the author states that Wright's first contract was only to build to Clinton and a new contract was signed to build to Alexandria "at a fixed cost of $1,700 per mile." More correctly, a contract signed in March 1862 designated the terminus to be Alexandria and provided that Wright's mileage advances would be $300 per mile for the first fifty miles and $600 per mile thereafter. Wade claims that Wright terminated the road in 1863 at Soda Creek, south of Alexandria. This, too, is incor-

rect. Wright completed the road to Alexandria according to contract. It is likely he would have been quite happy to have terminated the road at Soda Creek, since he owned the steamer *Enterprise*, which ran from there to Quesnel.

The author makes the common and probably correct charge that Wright bypassed Williams Lake because a local hotel owner would not lend him money. While there were other considerations for this road diversion, Wade completely misses the fact that Wright took the road past Frank Way's Deep Creek House instead because he had negotiated a half-share in the stopping house and farm.

Furthermore, Wade's reliance upon the *Inland Sentinel*'s view of Cariboo Road construction leads to re-publication of inaccuracies. A couple of examples will suffice here also. The newspaper stated Malcolm Munro completed the road from Cottonwood to Barkerville in 1865, whereas in fact Munro absconded with the payroll, forcing the road inspector, Thomas Spence, to complete construction. Wade also states that Robert Smith built the road from Soda Creek to Quesnel but here too it was Thomas Spence that finished the road.

The editor also failed to ensure consistency in lay-out (see pages 91-92 and 110-11, for example), and missed a number of typographical errors. Charles Beak becomes "Charles Peak," "Kurtz and Lane" "Kulz and Lake," and a "gaoler," "goaler". Furthermore, there are some contradictions in the text: on page 29 the author suggests the first gold discoveries could be anywhere in the province but on page 114 says the first occurred on the Nicomen River.

Textual problems aside, the main difficulty with the book is that, with the exception of some archival sources held in PABC the author has relied almost entirely upon reminiscences and excerpts from *The Inland Sentinel*. By using *The Inland Sentinel* Wade had to rely upon descriptions of the colonial period written at least ten years after the events occurred.

It is unfortunate that there are so many shortcomings in the book, for they tend to obscure the fact that the author gathered some fascinating material from his informants. For example, the book includes a very good description of stopping houses and their inhabitants and a fine story of horse race fixing sometime in the last century. While giving a romantic flavour to the past, these contributions must be taken with a grain of salt.

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