

Book Reviews

Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of his Expedition in 1774, translated and edited by Herbert K. Beals. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press. Pp. xxvii, 270; maps; bibliography; glossary. US\$24.95.

In 1985 the Oregon Historical Society published Beals's *For Honor and Country*, a translation of the 1775 journal of Bruno Hezeta. This has now been followed by *Juan Pérez*. Both are based on Spanish documents that have not previously been published in English, with annotations and explanatory matter by Beals.

In 1774, Pérez was ordered to explore the northwest coast as far as 60° north, and to land and take possession at places that might be suitable for settlement. He set out from San Blas, on the Pacific coast of Mexico early in the year, and after stopping for a month in San Diego and another month in Monterey, both recently established, he headed north. A month later he was in about latitude 52°. Here he decided to abandon the objective of 60° and stand in towards the coast, because of a shortage of water and his concern about possible adverse winds on the return journey. This is one of several puzzles concerning the voyage. He could have topped up his water supply in Monterey, and he had only encountered winds adverse for the return journey about 25 per cent of the time since leaving Monterey. He closed the land at the northern end of the present Queen Charlotte or Haida Islands, where the native people met Europeans for the first time. The meeting was friendly, and there was some trade of small ship-board items for artifacts (now in the Museo de América in Madrid) such as blankets, basketry, and carvings. The appearance and behaviour of the native people was described by Pérez; he also described the land, or what he could see of it.

He did not or could not anchor, and turned south. He later did anchor near the present Estevan Point on Vancouver Island where Indians came

off in canoes and again traded small items with the Spanish crew. Pérez then returned to San Blas, stopping at Monterey en route.

After a foreword by Donald Cutter, Beals opens his book with an introductory essay giving a brief history of earlier explorations of the coast by Drake, by the Russians, and by Spanish explorers of the California coast. The essay also gives an outline of what is known about Pérez himself. This is followed by Beals's translation of part of Pérez's journal, covering only the voyage from Monterey north and back to Monterey, plus two covering letters written by Pérez to the viceroy. The journal itself occupies only twenty-nine pages of the book. It is so short that the question arises as to why he did not translate the full journal of the voyage, of which there are two copies in Mexico, rather than adding so much supplementary and sometimes peripheral data in following sections and appendices.

Journals were also written by Esteban Martínez, the second-in-command, and by the two chaplains, Crespi and Peña. Beals might have made more use of these as cross-references, since they add to the story of the voyage. He may have refrained because the journals of the chaplains have already been published in English.

There were at the time conflicting opinions on how well Pérez performed his duties, and historians have since been divided on this subject. Beals quotes some of them, but on the whole he comes down in favour of the explorer, who died during another northern voyage in the next year. He was promoted to the grade of lieutenant before word of his death reached Madrid, so officialdom presumably agreed with Beals.

The book will be useful to scholars interested in history, native studies, or geography. It contains a reproduction of the map prepared after the voyage by Cañizaras, which was discovered recently in the National Archives of the United States, after having long been considered lost. The book has one fault, probably beyond the control of the author. The footnotes, some of which add greatly to an understanding of the book, are grouped at the end. This may be a defensible choice, but to make it work there should either be running heads in the text or running heads over the footnotes giving page references. Without them, it is hard to find a footnote, especially since there are eight series of notes, each beginning with the number 1. As to the translation, not having a copy of the manuscript original, this reviewer can only say that he believes Herbert Beals to be a competent translator.

There are other journals of Spanish explorers of the northwest coast which have not been published in English, and it is understood that the

Oregon Historical Society and Beals are continuing with their valuable work, hopefully in a format that is easier to follow.

Vancouver, B.C.

JOHN KENDRICK

White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914, by Patricia E. Roy. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989. Pp. xvii, 327. \$37.95.

As the subtitle suggests, this book pursues two themes: white attitudes towards Asians in early B.C. history and Asians as an issue in the provincial politics of that era. Given the nature of my skills, I will focus this review only on the first of these themes.

Basically, Professor Roy's argument is that until about 1900 white attitudes towards Asians in B.C. had mostly to do with labour-management relations. From about 1900, however, a change occurs: as the economy fluctuates, and as white immigration declines while Asian (especially Japanese) increases, anti-Asian sentiments are more broadly expressed in white society. The terms of expression often invoke the need to defend a "white man's province," but that expression is a broad cover for a variety of white anxieties.

I find this general argument an advance over the previous level of discussion of the subject. Instead of continuing a simple argument of either economic anxieties or racist reaction as the basis of white attitudes, Roy has combined them and dealt with the subject developmentally, showing how emphases and modes of expression changed with changing historical contexts. I particularly like her conclusion that "white man's province" is not an expression of simple racism. It seems to me that she has gone part of the way towards shifting the focus of explanation from where it has been to where it could more fruitfully lie. In what follows I will attempt to develop this point.

I think it can be usefully argued that the ultimate concerns of British settlers in B.C. — first and last — have clustered around questions of political and cultural dominance. On a multicultural frontier the founding of a colonial government and the justifications that accompany it are matters of critical importance to the subject we are discussing here. In such situations, a would-be dominant group must claim to rule all inhabitants of the territory, and thus it must include them within its legal jurisdiction. Thus, if the Asians in B.C. enjoyed some benefits of British justice it was less a

matter of the tolerance or generosity of the British than a necessary part of the legitimation of British government of this territory and all the people therein. A would-be colonial government must also decide who is to be part of the ruling group and how all those not part of it shall be classified. Thus, persons of British background were defined as “settlers,” persons who could be expected to establish homes, promote the rule of British law and adhere to British values. At their pleasure, some others, relatively close in values, could be granted membership on some basis. By contrast, aboriginal peoples would be defined as having no rights because they had not developed their patrimony or brought proper order. All other newcomers — ones distinctly non-British in culture — could be defined as “sojourners,” having no commitment to establishing order, finding homes, or developing the land. By being so defined, all such “sojourners” were not part of the ruling group, which defined and justified itself as “settlers,” but were rather “immigrants” or “sojourners,” the subject of laws to be made by the British group.

If we look at it this way, the disenfranchisement of the Chinese in B.C. in the 1870s is not merely, as Roy sees it, an action that frees white politicians to use Asians as a political football, but a fundamental part of the process of social definition accompanying the creation of this province. From almost the beginning, Chinese were defined as having no right to be here. They could only come and stay at the pleasure of the whites.

In a recent book, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, Ronald Takaki has argued that in the American case “immigrants” from the European shore have been believed to have some kind of right to be in America; those from the Asian shore had no such right, could be sent away or denied entry at the pleasure of the Europeans. They were permanent “strangers.” When the research has been done, I suspect we will find that the Canadian situation was much the same. The British “settlers” in B.C. formed a core group, but others of European derivation, whose values came close to those of the British group, might be acceptable.

Thus, cultural conformity might gain one a certain acceptance — less of that for those most distant culturally, like the Asians. Pat Roy, it seems to me, is heading for an argument that it has not been race, but culture — with its political associations — that matters. If that is so, I wish she would go all the way and put it in those terms. Chinese in early B.C. accepted British order, but they saw no reason to regard British culture as superior to their own. They alternately did — and did not — enjoy benefits from British justice, but saw no benefits from British culture. Why did they accept this situation — neither leaving B.C. nor withdrawing into an

armed, self-ruling group? Was it a matter of sojourner carelessness? Or a Chinese habit (common in China itself) of accepting the powers that have already asserted themselves and staying away from them as much as possible? It is not surprising that alarms about a "white man's province" are heard as Japanese immigration expands. Unlike the Chinese, who seemed to fit the definition ascribed to them, the Japanese behaved like Europeans. What if they should beat the Europeans at their own game? And then — as it was discovered that Japanese really wanted European opportunity while retaining Japanese culture — the stereotype of the perfidious Japanese developed: he pretended to conform but secretly did not. Despite Patricia Roy's assertion at the end of this book that by the 1940s a more confident set of British Columbians had gone beyond the anxieties of "white man's province," I think it is possible to see a continuity between what she describes and some white reactions of the 1980s to Asian immigration in Vancouver. The almost automatic "they're going to take over" seems to me to reflect the same ultimate fear of loss of political and cultural control and dominance.

In another way, Professor Roy's book strikes me as incomplete. Anyone who knows Patricia Roy's work will not be surprised to learn that she has utilized just about every archival and newspaper source available in English. She has not utilized sources in Chinese and Japanese, or even English-language sources that would tell us how Asians in the B.C. of that time felt. I readily recognize the problems of source availability for this period and of linguistic limitations on the author's part. I believe, however, that we are now past the time when one can write about the attitudes of one group towards another by using only the former's documentation. White assumptions and interpretations about Asian behaviour informed white behaviour towards Asians. That, in turn, led to Asian assumptions, interpretations, and behaviour, which, in turn, influenced white perceptions. And so on. We need to know what each side thought it was doing and how it interpreted the other sides in this multilateral set of relationships. Roy seems to accept as fact the white stereotype of the Chinese as "sojourners," though there is now a small body of literature debating the accuracy of that stereotype (Tony Chan, Peter Li, Yuen-fong Woon). Or again, Roy is imprisoned by her white-only sources on the question of Chinese voluntarily making a lifetime of domestic service. Though many white families might cherish warm-hearted memories of loyal Chinese domestics, the Chinese oral histories suggest that an equal number of Chinese saw domestic service as they did any other first job in Canada: a jumping-off point towards something better.

My point in all this is that reading the documents of the dominant group is not enough. We have newspapers and other publications in Chinese and Japanese, at least for the period from 1914 onward, and it is high time that someone with the appropriate linguistic and cultural skills use them to research the multicultural history of this province. Even within the realm of English-language materials, as the work of Takaki and Sandy Lydon has shown, there is much that can be learned about Asian perspectives. The purpose of doing that, as I see it, is not to answer the dominant group's version of B.C. ethnic history with an "ethnics" version; it is to move towards a social history of B.C. in truly multicultural terms. We don't need "equal time" for a minority report. We do need an imaginative synthesis — one that does not assume as inevitable the historical dominance of the British group or write only from that perspective, or, on the contrary, sees only the perspectives of the dominated.

I have indulged myself in a kind of "state of the art" statement, paying less attention than in a conventional review to Pat Roy's book. Within its own terms that book stands as a solid piece of traditional historiography. My hope is that Roy and others can move beyond it to where I think the nub of the problem really is to be found. In this year of Meech, as we once again re-invent and re-justify Canada and the cultural variety within it, an approach that would stress political and cultural dominance seems to me particularly appropriate.

University of British Columbia

EDGAR WICKBERG

The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game, edited by Dianne Newell. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989. Pp. xvii, 303. \$34.95 cloth.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. It gives the impression, at least to this reader, that the work is a general overview of the development of the salmon-canning industry of British Columbia. And the subtitle, "A Grown Man's Game," could suggest that the study will examine gender-related issues.

What Newell has in fact done is to cull from the extensive body of material left behind by one of the pioneers of the industry, Henry Doyle. Most of the book consists of extracts from the Doyle collection housed at the University of British Columbia and the University of Washington libraries. Each chapter contains an introduction by Newell, who provides

some background information and a thread that connects the various extracts and creates a picture of this man's involvement in the shaping of the B.C. salmon-canning industry in the period of its formation. In addition, Newell provides an appendix with tables that supplement with empirical data the growth of the provincial industry and compare it with other countries, particularly the United States, British Columbia's most immediate competitor, often over the same runs of fish. Finally, there is a glossary of terms which people unfamiliar with the industry may need defined.

Doyle was central in the formation of the B.C. Packers Association in 1902, an attempt to control the salmon-canning industry. The association acquired thirty-five canneries, twenty-seven on the Fraser River and twelve in the north, and in 1903 it produced 41 per cent of the provincial pack (Newell, 1989: 25). Doyle's family had been involved in the fishing-supply business in San Francisco. The firm of Henry Doyle & Co. established branch offices in Seattle, Astoria in Oregon, and Henry Doyle was sent to manage the branch office in Vancouver. Doyle was familiar with two earlier amalgamations that had resulted in the formation, in 1887, of the Columbia River Packers Association, and, in 1893, of the Alaska Packers Association. Doyle's knowledge and relative non-involvement in the B.C. canning industry made him appear to be an impartial outsider and thus an ideal candidate to persuade the various canners to sell their operations.

Having helped to create the B.C. Packers Association, Doyle encountered numerous difficulties with the directors and, in 1904, he resigned as general manager and director. In 1906 he "secretly attempted to interest a few investors outside the province . . . to create a new syndicate to take over control of both British Columbia Packers Association and Columbia River Packers Association" (Newell, 1989: 73). Unsuccessful, he engaged with other canners and managed several canneries.

One of the features of this industry, particularly in its early formation, was the relative ease of entry into salmon canning. While B.C. Packers had bought out a number of canners and employed several of them, others gradually became directly involved in the industry, once again competing with one another and whittling away the monopoly position of B.C. Packers. After leaving the company, Doyle himself became a significant competitor. Another related feature of the industry is its vulnerability to a fluctuating supply of fish, the raw resource, and boom and bust cycles in the larger economy further aggravated by intense competition over markets from other countries, especially from the Alaskan fishery.

Take-over attempts usually occur after a downward spiral, and after the economic depression following the First World War, in which Doyle himself lost control of his canneries, he attempted his last amalgamation. He approached the California Packing Corporation several times in the mid-1920s, offering to help it gain monopoly control of the industry. By this time, the dominant position exercised by B.C. Packers had been eroded, and Doyle felt that the time was ripe to effect another amalgamation and absorb at least 60 per cent of the operators. Doyle's correspondence during this period is fascinating. He provides extensive details on the major canners and their weak spots, suggesting ways of taking over their companies, either through direct purchase or by take-over bids on the stock exchange. Clearly, in his "business" approach, Doyle was a ruthless competitor who would stop at little in attempting to regain a dominant position in the industry. Aemilius Jarvis, responsible for acquiring the financial backing necessary for the amalgamation that resulted in B.C. Packers, and the company's vice-president, found himself in a Toronto jail, charged with bribery, theft, and conspiracy concerning his stock-and-bond business. After having failed to institute his own coup, Doyle approached Jarvis in 1928 when the position of general manager of B.C. Packers became vacant. He was not given the position. Newell's account ends here.

In her Preface, Newell notes that she has retained some of Doyle's writings on labour conditions. There was, however, very little of this and the little available was difficult to understand because Newell does not provide information on the racial (and racist) distinctions made use of by salmon canners in hiring labour and in organizing tasks in the canneries and adjacent operations like reduction plants and cold storage facilities. For example, the two royal commissions of 1885 and 1902 investigating, first, Chinese immigration and, then, both Chinese and Japanese immigration, provide a rich source of data on the canners' attitudes, including testimony from Doyle himself, towards the labour of Indian women and children, Chinese workers and Japanese fishers as distinguished from the "white labour" provided by fishers and men working, usually in managerial and recognized skilled positions, inside the plants.

The value of the book comes from its presentation of an "insider's" view of the industry and of that "insider's" attempts to become a dominant player. Particularly interesting is the web of relationships formed among the canners themselves. All were men, and the majority (with very few exceptions) were white — all of those who engaged in the industry for several generations were white men. Together they created an industry that was and is capitalist. Some, like Doyle, attempted to go further and

establish monopoly control. The history contained in the work that Newell has edited provides a snapshot of these relationships and Doyle's own place among his peers. It does not in any way present a picture from the point of view of the other important players: fishers, shoreworkers, contractors, union organizers, etc. It is therefore dangerous to present one man's account as if it were representative, for it renders invisible those who exercised far less control but who were equally crucial in the formation and development of the B.C. salmon-canning industry.

University of Regina

ALICJA MUSZYNSKI

"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years, by Lee Stewart.
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. Pp. 208; illus.
\$29.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

"It's Up to You" is the inaugural volume of a monograph series on Women and Universities published by the UBC Academic Women's Association. Its very existence testifies to that organization's vitality and commitment to the wider community of women beyond its own membership. The book traces the history of women at UBC from the early years of the twentieth century to just after the Second World War, and as it unfolds the story is a frustrating one. When UBC opened its doors, there was no debate over whether women would be admitted. That battle had been fought in other institutions across the country. As a result, the author has had to read between the lines, or in popular terminology read the "silence," in order to flesh out what officials thought of women entering the world of higher education. From the university's subsequent history, a reader would conclude that they did not give much positive thought at all to women. Until 1941 there were separate first-year English courses for women, taught by women but designed by men. Not until 1951 were women's residences available. At times, the university seemed to go out of its way to put obstacles in women's path. Men could share apartments off campus and thus lessen their rent, but women could not do so unless one of the women sharing was at least 25 years of age.

The book is, in many respects, an institutional study in that the focus is on the entry of women to the university and the establishment of programmes such as nursing and home economics that were specifically designed with women in mind. But although the author spends a great deal of time tracing the introduction of these programmes, she really does not

look at their content or what they taught women about themselves. Neither is much information on the women faculty or their experiences provided. Nevertheless, the study does offer a glimpse into the nether world of university politics and intransigence which the author skilfully ties together through the use of three themes. The first is that advances for women do not necessarily mean acceptance of women's rights. The entry of women into universities, for example, was not an acknowledgement of their equality with men but rather an economic decision based on the prohibitive expense of separate institutions of higher learning for women. The second is that advances are often "more apparent than real" (7). A university education does not automatically prepare women to take an equal place with men in the world. It can just as easily direct women into a subordinate role, reinforcing all other social pressures. This is especially true in an environment where women are a minority and where their education is viewed as extraneous to their eventual role in society. The third theme is the issue of equality between men and women and whether it is best gained through having them do the same or different activities. The separate programmes of nursing and home economics exemplify the latter, for they trained women for professional life but did so in a way that encouraged women's separateness from men.

Before the First World War, women in British Columbia identified three needs of female students which, if satisfied, would make it clear that the university welcomed them: a programme in home economics which would reflect the interests of women students; a dean of women who would represent women within the university administration and be a constant reminder of the presence of women on campus; and residences for women that would allow women to participate fully in the life of the university, provide a cheap place for students to live, and be a recognition of women's importance to the university similar to that given to men. Only after the Second World War were all these modest demands finally met. The irony of women's experience at UBC is that what women asked for they didn't get and what they didn't ask for they got. In 1919 the first Department of Nursing in the country was established, not through any demands from women or students, but because of the needs of male administrators at the Vancouver General Hospital. In the early years, the cost of the department was carried by the hospital, which was one reason why the administration was willing to go along with it. The chancellor of the university was also chairman of the educational committee of the hospital. The lobbying of women's groups to have a Home Economics department, on the other hand, was long and hard, and Stewart rightly gives it pride of place in

her study. But the delay and equivocation of the administration revealed that administrators were just not interested. This is the best chapter, and as the ins and outs of negotiation and politicking are detailed the reader shares in the women's frustration. It was only due to political pressure that the department finally opened in 1943. The university had been forced to commit itself to giving home economics priority, and before any other department could be established it had to fulfil this commitment.

The book ends with a discussion of what at the time were contradictory demands placed on women students. They were expected to achieve academic distinction, just like men, but at the same time remain feminine. Students learned very quickly how to do this, and the author is sympathetic to their various accommodations and willing to see the benefits of them. Indeed, throughout the book, Lee Stewart has tried valiantly to be positive about the experience of women at UBC and to give the women in the community, who fought to make a way for young women in the university, their due. But what emerges is the reality that women were not a priority for the university, that once they had entered, university officials seemed to feel that they had done all that could be expected for women. In her conclusion the author describes the unwillingness of the administration to spend money on women when it would take away from the needs of men. As she concludes, "There is little doubt that women in B.C. were accommodated in 'the cheapest way'" (123). "The cheapest way" would have made a fitting title for this study, since it certainly summarizes women's experience at UBC and probably most universities.

University of Waterloo

WENDY MITCHINSON

The Devil of De Courcy Island: The Brother XII, by Ron MacIsaac, Don Clark, and Charles Lillard. Victoria: Porcépic Books, 1989. Pp. 123; bibliography; index. \$12.95 paper.

In 1927 a group of British occultists landed at Nanaimo and soon established a religious colony at Cedar, B.C. Led by Edward Arthur Wilson, also known as The Brother XII, they were soon joined by other members from the United States. Their commune, known as the Aquarian Foundation, created considerable local controversy. Unhappiness within the organization led to two celebrated court cases in 1928 and 1933. In 1933, during the second trial, The Brother XII disappeared. His myth survives

with lurid tales of sex slaves, buried treasure, Egyptian rites, and armed guards.

This latest account of The Brother XII, researched and written mostly by Charles Lillard, recounts the published myths and oral traditions about the events at Cedar and on Valdes and De Courcy Islands. In the second part of the book he attempts to reconstruct the actual historical events which led to the demise of the cult.

The book's thesis is that immoral actions by Wilson, and the fact that he had adopted a new version of theosophy, were too much for his ageing followers. When he would not return to the "truth" which he had first taught them, they revolted. Lillard tries to place The Brother XII within the wider world of theosophy.

Overall, the result is disappointing. Even a seasoned historian, familiar with The Brother XII legend, is left trying to distinguish fact from fiction. Excessive padding and irrelevant details cloud the text. Lillard gives too much credence to the fraudulent book, *Canada's False Prophet*, purportedly written by The Brother XII's sibling. Straw men and women — for example, Mabel Skottowe — are created and torn apart. *Argumenta ex silentio* abound. The book lacks documentation. Factual information on contemporary religious movements is erroneous. The Irvingites (74) were quite different theologically from Roman Catholics. Lillard mistakenly links Aimee Semple McPherson (81) with the theosophists. He labels his distant relative William Jennings Bryan, who was a Presbyterian, a Baptist (83).

The book was originally entitled *The Brother XII, B.C. Magus*. This was changed to a more sensational title which does not reflect the thesis of the book. The cover contains a drawing of The Brother XII which looks surprisingly like Charles Manson.

Those hoping to find out the real history of The Brother XII will have to wait until more research is done. The Nanaimo Museum Archives contains several books by The Brother XII and his followers. The files of the B.C. Attorney General's department are also said to contain vital information on this subject.

University of Victoria

DAVID R. ELLIOTT

Uncommon Property: The Fishing and Fish-Processing Industries in British Columbia, edited by Patricia Marchak, Neil Guppy, and John McMullan. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989. Pp. 424; illus.; bibliography; index. \$21.95 paper.

Many carefully considered theories — political, biological, and economic — have met untimely ends in the B.C. fishing industry.

For example, few serious students of industry politics would argue any more, as did industry founder Henry Bell-Irving, that fishers and canners have a fundamental identity of interest.

Nor would biologists press any claims for the theory of maximum sustained yield, which already was in disrepute when B.C.'s once boundless herring stocks defied the experts and almost vanished in the late 1960s.

Economists, however, have shown much greater tenacity in the face of overwhelming evidence that their theory of the "tragedy of the commons" requires a major overhaul.

Jack Davis's notorious licence limitation plan of 1968 marked the first major offensive by the economists to end the deplorable overfishing, overcapitalization and "dissipation of rents" which was said to exist under the old open fishery. Yet capitalization soared and the allegedly overfished runs are coming back better than ever.

Little wonder that fisheries economist Blake Campbell concluded in 1972 that "fishermen do not behave in a classic manner based on theoretical economic guidelines. To assume that they do is inviting disaster."

The authors of this book appear not to have heeded this important finding.

Ten years after Campbell rang this alarm, members of the Anthropology and Sociology Department at the University of British Columbia obtained funding to undertake an unprecedented three-year research project on the political economy of the fishing industry. Both the timing and the scope of the project raised the prospect that this endlessly fascinating industry would be studied comprehensively for the first time. Sadly, that promise was not realized.

Mainstream economists have long insisted on two critical points about fisheries, the B.C. fisheries in particular. The first is that an open entry, common property fishery is inherently wasteful of capital and labour and can only be cured by the introduction of some form of private property rights.

The second article of faith, which is held by the authors of this book,

is that fishers who own their own vessel should be classified as businessmen, not workers.

Despite these declared truths, B.C. fishers have fought for almost a century to save the fishery from exclusive rights. Fishers also have defied economic theory and organized unions for 100 years, prosecuting strikes and winning a substantial number of court and political decisions confirming their right to bargain collectively.

Here let me declare my own bias. For twelve years, until early 1990, I was editor of *The Fisherman*, the newspaper of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, an unparalleled but partisan vantage point in the industry. From that perspective, I can say that there is much in *Uncommon Property*, and in work published elsewhere by the research team, which is of unique and lasting value.

John McMullan's essay on "State, Capital and the B.C. Salmon-Fishery" is an excellent review of the interlocking strategy developed by major processors and the federal government to exploit the industry's wealth. Neil Guppy's paper, "Labouring at Sea: Harvesting Uncommon Property," contains valuable information on the reality of fishers' incomes and the overwhelming perception among fishers that the processors dictate the industry's economic life. Alicja Muszynski's papers pull together for the first time a picture of union organization in the shore plants, an area which has too often gone unnoticed.

But these important studies seem to have gone nowhere. Patricia Marchak's dispirited conclusion is that "this is not a situation involving good guys and bad guys: rather it is one in which numerous groups with competing interests are trying to solve an unresolvable contradiction" created by confusion about the nature of this "uncommon property." The only way out, Marchak says, is a "serious commitment by governments to a genuine consultation process."

This policy is a non-starter, as subsequent history has shown. Since government is not a neutral party to the disputes of the industry, as *Uncommon Property* has documented, it can hardly play the role of honest broker. That has always been the dream, however, of those who believe that fishers, processors, and government ultimately have the same economic interests at heart.

Because Marchak believes that fishers owning small boats should properly be classified as capital, groups endorsing this viewpoint receive disproportionate analysis. Here the book wanders into a labyrinth from which it never emerges. Obsessed with the "cleavages" between gillnetters and

seiners, natives and non-natives, sport fishers and commercial fishers, shoreworkers and fishers, Marchak becomes completely demoralized.

This tendency is most apparent in her account of a February 1984 workshop to which all industry groups except the union sent representatives to "hammer out a set of proposals for reviving the industry." Only a handful of fishers attended this meeting at a Vancouver Island resort. To Marchak's dismay, the UFAWU "sponsored a demonstration in Ottawa" during the same weekend.

The "demonstration" in this case was the three-day Fishermen's Survival Coalition lobby to Ottawa.

More than 100 fishers from every major industry group and every part of the coast travelled to Ottawa to meet with all three parties to oppose implementation of the Pearse report. It was the largest such effort in the history of the industry and, not surprisingly, the seminar went unnoticed. The conclusion seems obvious, but Marchak is unwilling to draw it. Despite the many "cleavages" of the industry, there is a strong majority support for certain basic principles advanced by the union.

The cornerstone of the coalition's campaign was the preservation of fisheries resources as the common property of the people of Canada. On this and many other issues, the UFAWU continues to win support far beyond its ranks, despite its stubborn insistence that its members are workers and that common property is not tragic.

This book would have been much stronger if it had concentrated on determining why this is so rather than seeking reasons why it should not be.

Vancouver

GEOFF MEGGS

Economics and the Environment: A Reconciliation, edited by Walter E. Block. Vancouver: Fraser Institute, 1989.

The heat of the argument is inversely proportional to the credibility of the facts.

It is both curious and lamentable that economists and environmentalists so often talk past each other. Curious because both groups are professionally trained to think in terms of systems where the components are linked together and everything depends more or less on everything else: atmospheric quality in the Canadian arctic depends upon sulphur emissions in Asia; a New York office building is structured of steel made in Luxembourg

and fabricated in Dallas. Lamentable because both groups can together contribute constructively to understanding shared problems which not only challenge each as scientists but are significantly in the public arena.

Economics and the Environment: A Reconciliation is a collection of ten articles representing a range of decentralized market-oriented (economic) approaches to environmental questions, as contrasted, for example, to “deep ecology” views which feature ethical reconstruction to support a “conservator society.”

The editor, Walter Block, sets the agenda in his Preface, in which he rejects both “let-her-rip” economic development and uncompromising environmentalism. He advocates “moderation,” with governments supporting “a legal system based strictly, and rigidly, on rights of private property,” in matters of environmental policy. Beyond this, governments are seen as ineffectual, misguided, and, in many cases, purposefully wasteful of environmental assets. (How else can one describe, for example, government subsidies for commercial fishing of already savaged fish stocks?)

The first chapter, *The Economics of the Conservator Society*, is also the longest (eighty-nine pages), and in some ways seems out of date. The authors attack the Science Council of Canada and the Gamma Group for positions articulated over a decade ago but which are still said to be representative of hard-core environmentalists. Two points are central here. First, a conservator society cannot compute values: for example, how much pollution production and abatement is “enough” relative to other economic goods that people want (or need)? Economics, for all its imprecision and lack of data, can compute an answer that balances costs and benefits in ways that people understand and accept. Many conservators will advocate zero tolerance for pollution on apparently “religious” grounds. Economists will hardly ever find that no pollution at all is economic.

Second, the conservator society rejects “free choice by those who do not share their values. They do more than urge others to change. They propose using the coercive power of the state to compel the change.” This alleged “environmental fascism” is generally rejected by economists trained in the liberal tradition of J. J. Rousseau and T. Jefferson who respect the values of informed citizens.

New environmental difficulties have been identified in the last decade (ozone depletion, global warming) and old ones found more pressing (photochemical smog, acid rain), and perhaps our perceptions of problems have become more acute and focused, our approaches more mature and our attitudes less polarized. Or, perhaps not.

The idea of “sustainable development,” articulated in reports such as *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), would be a more timely target than the “conservator society.”

The government as a trustee of environmental assets, as a surrogate for representing future generations and an instrument for trans-generational equity, is examined in the second chapter, and is found wanting. The discussion of the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund will be especially interesting.

The next two chapters (3 and 4) carry on with questions of inter-temporal resource allocation and make the case that responsible behaviour is to be expected from people who must live with the consequences of their decisions: private persons, not bureaucrats or politicians. The misuse of land, water, forests, energy reserves, fish and wildlife resources is encouraged by governments who fail to define and enforce property rights in environmental assets. Private property rights permit people to use markets to their advantage and to enlarge the common wealth. But if there are environmental benefits to extending the scope of private ownership and control of environmental assets, and the services they provide, there are also economic costs. These can be lumped under the heading of “transactions costs”: defining characteristics of the property right (duration, divisibility, transferability), enforcing exclusivity (including abatement of the “free rider” problem), establishing reputations of both buyers and sellers so that contracts are credible. Nature conservation is given as an example. The Nature Conservancy Trust in the United States, The Woodland Trust in the United Kingdom, and organizations buying tropical rain forests to preserve them are cited as successful experiments in accommodating transactions costs and using private property to good effect.

Private property rights, or interests, in land are common and well understood. But what of atmospheric quality? Carbon dioxide (CO_2 is the chief “greenhouse gas” responsible for global warming), chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs are destructive of stratospheric ozone) and sulphur dioxide (SO_2 is a prominent source of “acid rain”) are deleterious by-products of industrial and transportation activity. These have “global” (at least transnational) effects of uncertain, but perhaps catastrophic, magnitude. Four chapters (5, 6, 8, and 9) analyze problems in the atmosphere, the “giant global commons.”

Chapter 5 reviews some of the scientific literature on global warming and ozone depletion. As presented, the scientific theory and evidence to support causal links between human activity and imminent catastrophic

consequences are strikingly weak and scientific opinion is mixed. There is insufficient evidence to discredit pessimistic predictions. What to do?

Abatement of greenhouse gas emissions would be extremely costly, denying the use of fossil fuel energy (releasing CO₂ previously sucked from the atmosphere by photosynthesis and entombed by geological forces) to a world economy needing energy to develop. Should China and India be denied economic development because the rich and wealthy fear some climatic change? (China and India are notable for having large and usable coal reserves.)

Ozone depletion is a more tractable problem. Its potential for damage is comparable to global warming and is possibly linked to it if photosynthesizing phytoplankton in the upper ocean are depleted by sea-level ozone. But the costs of abatement are almost trivial. CFCs are used, mostly in refrigeration, because they are cheap and safe in application. But their consumption, relative to fossil fuels, is negligible and there is the promise of ozone-friendly substitutes on the horizon. But as a global problem, a global solution is required.

The 1987 Montreal Protocol may provide a model for international action. It features national entitlements to CFC production, initially set on historical levels but falling. The protocol does *not* prescribe *how* the declining quota is to be met. This is important. Having set the quotas by agreement by *governments* the practical implementation of reduction is assigned (in the U.S. and Canada) to the *private sector* and to the market-place to generate incentives for economic substitution and for cost-effective research and development. The free-rider problem — a country reneges while enjoying the benefits anyway — is addressed by the threat of economic sanctions. The private sector ensures economic and voluntary realization of the targets as contrasted to police powers of the state enforcing costly bureaucratic and technocratic “solutions.”

Acid rain, as greenhouse gases, is concomitant with energy production from fossil fuels and so is costly to abate. Just now, it is a regional and transnational problem but may be globalized as large Asian economies develop. Acid rain is a complex Canadian problem. We produce it and also involuntarily import it from the U.S. Because there are many point sources of emissions of SO₂ (also nitrous oxides NO_x) and many parties which suffer the resulting acid rain, transaction costs are an economic barrier to voluntary agreements between involved parties. The market cannot be expected to effect a solution (pollutees paying polluters not to pollute and/or polluters compensating pollutees for their losses) and so there may be a role for collective action through governments. So far, these have tried

traditional “command and control” approaches which, because of political forces and the great cost involved, have been notably ineffective. But, as in the case of CFCs, the market-place and voluntary contracts promise a more economic way to meet emission standards. A market solution might be so inexpensive relative to traditional methods that electric power utilities, notable point sources of SO₂, may find that money spent reducing emissions to meet standards is less than money spent persuading governments to erode them.

Using the Montreal Protocol as a model, governments in the U.S. and Canada would agree, with expert advice, to regional emission quotas. These, in turn, would be allocated to the utilities, or their plants, based on their historical generation capacity. These quotas would be *marketable* so that emitters would have incentives to abate their emissions in order to get hard cash by selling their permits. Low-cost abaters will be eager to reduce emissions, selling their quotas to high-cost abaters who find it more economic to buy quotas than to buy expensive new equipment or to substitute cleaner fuels. This induces more production of “clean” electricity and less production of “dirty” electricity. In short, the regional quotas are met at least cost.

The quotas could be designed to “evaporate” at, say, 10 per cent per year for awhile. Yet more quotas could be retired if, for example, downwind Canadians bought quotas from upwind U.S. emitters. Exercising this option would reduce an apparently intractable Canada-U.S. diplomatic problem to one of simple market transactions.

A major advantage of marketable quotas is informational. So far, we really do not know the marginal cost of pollution abatement (value of emissions) to compare with putative downwind damage.

The penultimate chapter (9) is supposed to address air pollution too. In the event, it is a stimulating introduction to a growing branch of law and economics — libertarian legal theory. The “Chicago school” of legal theory has been popular with economists who think of the legal system as an institution for finding economic corrections (remedies) when markets fail. Ronald Coase, Harold Demsetz, and Richard Posner are representative of this approach.

By contrast, libertarian scholars hold that “every man is a self-owner, having absolute jurisdiction over his own body” and, by extension, over “whatever previously unowned resources he appropriates or mixes his labour with.” Self-ownership and “homesteading” are the “twin axioms” for the “system of property rights titles in a free market society.” From these axioms, libertarians hold to the doctrine of strict liability (a person is liable

for damages even if “due care” has been exercised) and “the liability must be proven on the basis of strict causality of the defendant’s action against the plaintiff and it must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt.” These seem to rule out economic outcomes in the courts since some “due care” by victims is often efficient. Also, legal action against producers of acid rain would not succeed if only because “strict causality” is not now technologically feasible.

It is not required to read the entire volume to understand the kernel of the message — free markets can play a constructive role in solving environmental problems if only governments would give them a chance. The message, complete with examples, is conveyed by Block’s excellent Introduction and his Chapter 10, which concludes the book. I also liked Chapter 7 on “chemophobia” for readable illustrations of ideas which run through the book.

Readers who have a particular interest in local environmental issues will be disappointed — examples are drawn from many countries. References to environmental law and enforcement are drawn mainly from the United States. This is too bad for Canadian readers, because our institutions for environmental management are significantly different in concept and in practical application.

A word of caution. Professional economists may share objectives with environmentalists, or not. I think that a great many do, if only because they recognize that markets in environmental assets are imperfect and incomplete. Economists will differ on practical methods to overcome these market failures. This book represents one coherent economic approach with an arguable claim to generally constructive application. It is a positive contribution to an ongoing market in dialogue and debate on economics and the environment.

University of British Columbia

PHILIP A. NEHER

Recollecting Our Lives: Women’s Experience of Childhood Sexual Abuse, by the Women’s Research Centre. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1990. Pp. 272. \$14.95 paper.

This book is the result of a collaborative effort of several women and the Women’s Research Centre. Their work was aided by funds from Health and Welfare Canada and the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada. The basis of the book is a set of interviews with seventeen women

survivors of childhood sexual abuse and eight women whose children were sexually abused. These women were referred to the project by counsellors and therapists or by the Women Against Violence Against Women Rape/Crisis Centre in Vancouver. The twenty-five women were interviewed for an average of four hours each, following interview protocols. Outlines of the protocols are provided as appendices to the text.

The contents of the interviews have been excerpted and organized to form the basis of the material in this book. In addition, the authors have drawn a variety of conclusions about child sexual abuse and have employed the excerpts to reinforce their conclusions. The contents of the book have been organized to address the following issues: the childhood of the interviewees; the description and analysis of their abuse; the consequences of the abuse; recovery; and needed reforms to deal with the problems of child sexual abuse.

During the past decade we have become aware of the pervasive problem of the sexual exploitation of children. The sexual abuse of children is both pandemic and epidemic in our culture and its consequences are profound. One consequence is that many women are in need of assistance to deal with the consequences of abuse. Women are in particular need because girls are most frequently the victims of sexual abuse (and thus many women are survivors of childhood abuse) and, in the role of mother, women are the primary support for children who have been abused. The principal goal of this book is to provide a resource for such women, and in this manner the book is very successful. Adult survivors of abuse, or women who have learned that their children have been victims, will find both solace and assistance in these pages. The excerpts from the interviews provide the kind of support that only another victim can provide. The interviewees' comments are poignant and relevant to any woman facing the problems associated with child sexual abuse. Also, the organization of the text enables the reader to find material on different aspects of the abuse problem, as needed.

A second, more explicit, goal of this book is to provide information about the sexual abuse of children and, in the process, expose myths and misinformation about abuse. The book is much less successful with respect to this goal than it is with its primary goal. Early in the text the authors note that their sample is small and cannot be considered as representative of survivors of abuse or mothers of abused children. They noted that "[w]e do not presume to generalize or claim their [the interviewees'] experience is broadly representative" (18). Having said that, however, the authors proceed to draw too many broad generalizations. In the process, they

misrepresent the complexity and nature of child sexual abuse. By the middle of the book they have forgotten the limited and biased nature of their sample and they conclude that the interviews "challenge many theories and assumptions about childhood sexual abuse and how and why it happens" (81). For example, they state that "abusers are most often adult family members" (21). While most abuse is done by men who are known by their victims, they are frequently not family members (one problem here is with the definition of family). In the sample of women in this project, the majority of children had been abused by more than one offender, and the abuse happened repeatedly. Although both these features are all too common, neither is typical of the kind of abuse most children suffer. Perhaps the worst example of the over-generalizations found in this book concerns the systemic response to the reported abuse. This section of the text deals with the way in which the social service and criminal justice systems dealt with the allegations of abuse. The authors simply do not appreciate the complexity of cases of child abuse which these agencies face. The agencies are indicted as inadequate, which indeed they may be in many respects, on the basis of the reports of the handful of women interviewed in this project. There is a need to address systemic response to abuse but it must be dealt with in a comprehensive fashion, not from the limited perspective of only a few women.

This book joins the increasing ranks of texts concerned with helping those who are directly or indirectly the victims of childhood sexual abuse. As a resource for women it should prove valuable. As a resource for those who wish to understand the current state of knowledge about abuse this book fails. Its reference list is outdated, it reflects only part of the complex problems associated with child victims of sexual abuse.

University of British Columbia

JOHN C. YUILLE