

Book Reviews

Little Bit Know Something: Stories in a Language of Anthropology, by Robin Ridington. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990. Pp. xviii, 281. Illus. \$16.95 paper.

What “little bit” did I come to know from reading this collection of papers first published, or in one case given as a speech, between 1976 and 1989? There is no doubt that I learned or relearned quite “a little bit” about the traditional “thoughtworld” and current political situation of the Athapaskan-speaking Beaver Indians, or Dunne-za, of northern British Columbia with whom Robin Ridington has lived off and on since 1959. I also learned a “little bit” more about how anthropologists of the last two or three decades, and Ridington in particular, have perceived their discipline and presented their data. Readers will find the book informative and thought-provoking, well worth reading whether or not they are specifically interested in northern natives or the nature of ethnographic writing. Although the essays are not all equally successful, the issues they raise are significant, and their style is intriguing, often eloquent and moving, sometimes baffling.

A Foreword and Introduction announce Ridington’s aim of using the traditional Dunne-za approach to teaching — that of “storytelling” — to convey what he has learned about and from the Dunne-za. The fourteen papers that follow are grouped into four sets organized by theme rather than by chronological sequence. Each set has an introductory statement, and a one-page Epilogue and an Appendix relating to the Beaver Indian Audio Archive close the volume. Several hauntingly expressive pictures of Dunne-za elders are among the six photographs that precede major sections of the volume.

Both in his earlier *Trail to Heaven* (1988) and in this book, which he sees as complementary to it, the author clearly has a mission. Convinced that Dunne-za “phenomenology” and ways of learning from direct experience differ greatly from those of Western academia, with its “authoritative

institutions,” Ridington hopes to reconcile these differences and “expand anthropological discourse” (p. xiv). He describes these papers as “academic” and directed primarily to anthropology students (p. xiii), but anthropology, he says, “assumes that its own written texts and their institutionally situated authors have a privileged authority” (p. xiv). This makes Ridington very uncomfortable. He therefore rejects the writing style of “institutionally empowered anthropological authority” (p. xvi). As a cross-cultural translator, he believes that to do justice to what and how the Dunne-za have taught him he must somehow link what he calls a circle of “highly contextualized” Beaver stories (p. xiv) to the kinds of texts that mark professional anthropology. The appropriate language for this endeavour is “storytelling,” and the particular stories in this book are about Dunne-za knowledge and power.

A “story” seems to be any account based on one’s own first-hand experience, whether in the sensory and objective world or in the world of myth and dream which plays so large a role in Dunne-za lives. Ridington wants the reader, or — ideally — the listener, to hear these stories, as do the Dunne-za, with the “authority of his or her own experience” (p. xv). Indeed, the book’s title derives from the fact that any Dunne-za who speaks from such authority is said to “a little bit know something” (pp. xv; 109 and *passim*). Further, that “little bit” is a “small but complete whole,” rather than “the small and incomplete part of the whole” which Westerners count as knowledge but which Ridington describes as “instrumental to purposes removed from experience” (p. xv).

Every Dunne-za story also “contains every other” (p. xvii). The traditional Indians shared a common mythology about giant animals who once ate humans and about the culture hero-transformer Swan, who followed a song trail to heaven to become Saya, the sun-moon, cyclically moving from horizon to horizon, day to night, and season to season, and whose flight from earth to heaven could be repeated by shaman-like Dreamers who formerly taught their people songs and guided them on communal hunts through their dreaming. Swan-Saya made the first vision quest, and ever since the central event of every traditional Dunne-za’s life has been a childhood vision quest similar to that of Swan-Saya. Through this “searing transformative” experience, each quester acquired the crucial “empowering knowledge” and medicine powers that enabled him to understand and live in the world as an adult (p. 70). Success in hunting depended primarily on following dream trails, as Swan-Saya did.

This concern with dream knowledge and power is why both at the start and finish of his book Ridington rather mystically invites us to “dream”

into his stories as the only way we can really experience them and gain the knowledge they can impart.

In a short review I can only hint at the range of topics and the richness, sensitivity, and insights contained in Ridington's "stories" and at the flavour of his style. Similarly, I can only suggest what appear to be some possible flaws. "Fox and Chickadee" (1987), the first essay in section one: "Stories in a Language," tells how shortly after Ridington began fieldwork, an elder named Japasa, or "Chickadee," who was nearing death, publicly recounted his boyhood vision quest during which he met and lived with fox people and became a friend of rabbits, wind, and rain. He also publicly sang the songs that he learned from these beings. In this way Japasa both revealed the nature of his medicine powers and gave them up. Soon afterwards he died. It was this experience that led Ridington to abandon the Need for Achievement tests that he had begun to administer for his research project and to begin to listen instead to Dunne-za stories (p. 3). Overall, "Fox and Chickadee" is a much more straightforward and moving "story" than is the 1976 paper ending the first section. In "Eyes on the Wheel" the author blends a story by his informant, Jumbie, to whom he dedicates the book, with that of Neil Armstrong's space exploration. In truly elliptical language, he argues that rather than being culture-specific, the symbolic messages of a given society's myths can appear at any place and at any time because they reflect the same patterns of human experience.

"Knowledge, Power and the Individual in Subarctic Hunting Societies" (1988) elaborates the theme, binding together all the papers of the second set: "The World of the Hunters." This is the well-known point that a complex of "knowledge, power, and individualism" rather than technology is the truly distinctive adaptation of successful sub-arctic hunters. He suggests further that this complex has affected the theoretical positions of a number of ethnographers who have worked with northern natives, citing Speck, Hallowell — whose work he says has been "re-discovered" — and other more recent scholars. He lauds Hallowell's "perspective which includes an analysis of the outlook of the people themselves" (p. 118). I totally agree with this perspective myself, but wonder whether Ridington has not underplayed important influences on Hallowell's position other than those of his Ojibwa informants. Although Hallowell was a uniquely creative thinker, much that is integral to his thought also came from fruitful exchange with other anthropologists and western scholars such as philosopher Grace de Laguna and her student Maude, to whom he was married.

The first paper in the third division, "The Politics of Experience," is "Sequence and Hierarchy in Cultural Experience: Phases and the Mo-

ment of Transformation.” In spite of Ridington’s avowed intention to forgo “anthropologese” in favour of “stories” (p. xiii), both the title and the text of this paper strike me as unnecessarily laden with jargon. What will the student or even the professor make of: “Although possessed of the phenomenological moment, human experience derives its meaning from its place in a superorganic hierarchy of information” (p. 123), or of “cognized strips of experience” (p. 124)? Still, the paper includes a fascinating native account of a vision quest as well as a lot of interpretation by the author, quite a bit of which rings true to me from my own experience with northern Athapaskan speakers. This section also offers a comparative paper on Dunne-za and Algonkian concepts of Wechuge and Windigo which Ridington finds to be in opposition at a superficial level, although ultimately derived from similar thoughtworlds. As so often, Ridington looks mostly east for his comparative material. Throughout the book, in fact, he rarely refers to explicit cultural behaviour of Beaver bands other than those with which he has lived or considers data from the neighbouring Sekani and other Athapaskans to the north and west, let alone the nearby Plains-influenced Sarsi.

The papers making up the final set, “The Problem of Discourse,” were all written the the 1980s. These essays contain relatively more data from the current Dunne-za scene than discussion of traditional thought and culture. Western historical events become a little more firmly anchored in time. Although Ridington never really explains how Cree Indians came to be living on the same reservation with the Dunne-za (a situation barely mentioned in the earlier essays), readers do learn of some major changes in Dunne-za life that followed the development of oil and gas fields. By the time Ridington wrote the papers, he had known the Dunne-za for more than twenty years, and native political consciousness had been raised considerably throughout Canada. Here Ridington champions political justice for the natives who, because of the difficulties of cross-cultural communication, remain powerless. These are the “stories” which will probably be most easily understood by students and non-anthropologists.

One describes how gas from an oil well on the very edge of the reservation almost poisoned the entire population of a Beaver and Cree village, yet the people had to remain living there for quite a while afterwards. Another tells how the local Indian agent summarily gave to the Veterans Land Administration important ceremonial lands granted to the Beaver under Treaty Eight. The Indians have been unable to redress either wrong through court action because their “storied” form of discourse and that of the court differ so fundamentally in premises and approach. Contrasting

modes of discourse are also highlighted in the fourth paper, which analyzes how the host of a Vancouver radio talk show manipulated the program to support and engender prejudice against the Indians.

On a slightly different tack, the third paper, "In Doig People's Ears," discusses the audio archive of the Dunne-za made by Ridington, his wife Jillian, and Howard Broomfield, as well as several documentaries derived from it. The documentaries are meant to "recontextualize" the aural elements of the archive to make them meaningful to both Dunne-za and westerners. "Soundscapes" both of traditional Dunne-za and present-day culture are bridged by accounts of Dunne-za life as told by white oldtimers, so that the listener will understand an Indian community's changing ways of listening to the world around it. Ridington believes that "an audio documentary style using actualities from every day life" is an alternative to narrative writing as a way of getting closer to "the normal discourse of a culture that is genuine in Sapir's terms" (p. 258). In short, he sees it as another way to expand anthropological discourse. He thinks too that such audio-ethnography describes a "poignant moment in human history" when "hunting and gathering" people are moving into the industrial world, and he hopes the documentaries may help us to plan the future as well as to understand the past, for "we" cannot afford to ignore "the intelligence of our hunting and gathering ancestors" (p. 239). I share this hope; we cannot afford to ignore the intelligence of *any* human society.

Ridington says he edited the book for "redundancy," but retained considerable repetition of key ethnographic material because each essay presents it in a different perspective. For me, reading about the myths person-eating giants (few are actually told) and about Swan-Saya and the vision quest for the fourth or fifth time in close succession somewhat diminished their impact, no matter how crucial the data for the argument or how rhapsodic the prose describing them. On the other hand, repetition of basic information is hard to avoid in any set of papers written over a period of years; perhaps, in good Dunne-za fashion, we should just try to "figure out" more of its meaning each time we encounter it.

A bit more worrisome is Riddington's persistent penchant for finding oppositions and transformations reminiscent of the approach of Lévi-Strauss and other deep structuralists. He assures us, for instance, that the vision quest "symbolically transforms the child's meat into spirit, and the hunt transforms the animal's spirit into meat" (p. 60). At a certain level this may be true, but as such revelations accumulate, so also do nagging doubts as to whether all these matters were ever quite so tidily structured. In a curious way, the leeway for individual creativity and historical change

begins to shrink even as Ridington stresses the marked individualism of northern hunters, and surely his stark dichotomizing of generalized hunter-gatherers and western industrialists sometimes obscures far greater complexities than Ridington acknowledges.

Likewise bothersome are his apparently easy leaps from specific and localized Dunne-za contexts to assumed universals of the subconscious or symbolic in line with the writings of Jung, Eliade, and Campbell; the transitions are usually made without much consideration of anything in between. Ridington is often a rapid generalizer in the sense that the particular Dunne-za with whom Ridington lived quickly come to stand for all Beaver Indians, then for all northern Athapaskans, then for all sub-arctic hunters, and finally for all hunters and gatherers of the past. The ethnographic diversity of cultures and complex histories that actually mark these larger groupings are not mentioned.

Only a detailed appraisal of every paper would allow fair discussion of the above issues, so they must be left hanging. As my opening paragraph implies, however, in many ways this book — unsurprisingly — reflects popular anthropological trends of the last decades. Chief among them are an increased preoccupation with various forms of structuralism, symbolism, reflexive anthropology, political theory, communication theory, and the “textualization” of anthropology. Lurking in the background in addition to Jung, Eliade, and Campbell are surely such figures as Lévi-Strauss, Marx, Godelier, Geertz, Chomsky, G. Marcus and M. Fisher, Miles Richardson, and others. Certainly the essays reflect too the rebellion of the young against “institutional authority” that swelled and rolled through academe in the late sixties and seventies.

The best reviewer of this book should probably be one younger than I whose remembered dream life is fuller and more vivid than mine. My own style of telling about sub-arctic hunters and gatherers is somewhat different from Ridington's. Yet I too want to translate Athapaskan lives and “intelligence” into a language which will bring understanding to western anthropologists and non-anthropologists, and to Athapaskans themselves. I believe that the best ethnographers from Boas on have all struggled to present both the “inside” and the “outside” view of other cultures in order to make them as comprehensible as possible to the western society that created anthropology. In doing this they have used a variety of languages, for no single one can ever serve. Ridington is to be applauded for attempting to work out a style which seems to him best suited for expressing the nature of Dunne-za culture. Still, his “storytelling” can tell us only a “little bit.” I

am certain that even many "languages" will never tell us the ethnographic whole. It is always changing, as are the speakers and the listeners, the readers and the writers.

University of Wisconsin

CATHARINE McCLELLAN

The Story of the Sechelt Nation, by Lester Peterson. Published by Harbour Publishing (Madeira Park, B.C.) for the Sechelt Indian Band, 1990. Pp. xiii, 145. \$15.95 paper.

If one has read Sunshine Coast author Lester Peterson's previous books, *The Gibsons Landing Story* or *The Cape Scott Story*, one comes hopefully to his new book on the Sechelt Indians. Peterson tells a good story, and his taste for the lore of historical geography and oral history was apparent in those earlier works. In *The Story of the Sechelt Nation* he takes on a very different task. This book is a presentation of mythic accounts, ethnographic details, and community history of the Sechelt Indian Band of Sechelt, B.C. and is based on long personal friendships with some of the most knowledgeable members of that native community. Peterson started working in the late 1950s with Basil Joe, Reg Paull, and others, recording their stories, reminiscences, and opinions. He then wove these into a tapestry of cultural history which the Sechelt band council agreed to co-publish.

For an outsider to write the story of a native community today is both demanding and daring. One of the messages from native communities in these post-Oka times is that the native experience and perspective differs from that of the mainstream community and that many native people resent outsiders speaking for them. This allows us to focus clearly on the task that Peterson has undertaken. The product must represent not only the facts but also the viewpoints and values of the community. The obligation is brought more clearly into perspective when one realizes that this account, since it has the imprimatur of the band itself, will probably be used by the Sechelts of today and the future as a reference book for their history and beliefs. That being the case, I wish I could say that Peterson's book fulfils this obligation, but I cannot. It is neither the readable and authoritative account nor the reference source on the Sechelts that it could and should be.

Peterson approaches the story of the Sechelts from a geographical and comparative perspective. As he presents it, the story commences with mythic accounts; it then progresses through the more recent legendary exploits of Sechelt forebears to happenings and cultural practice within

living memory. What would have been a real contribution would be to have those actual accounts refer to, accompanied by a clear documentation of the cultural information about aboriginal ways and beliefs just as the knowledgeable Sechelt elders told them to Peterson. What we *have* is a book about some of the historical happenings and cultural lore that Sechelts associate with the geographical features of their traditional homeland. And to this the author adds a heavy admixture of personal opinion about how Sechelt traditional life and beliefs relate to other ancient cultures and mythologies. After a couple of readings, I realize that there is a lot of information here. But it is hard to appreciate. There are no chapter sub-headings to divide material up into sections; there is no index and no glossary of the many Sechelt terms.

That brings up the issue of the way Sechelt terms are transcribed. Throughout the book there are Sechelt words rendered in a home-made orthography for which no pronunciation key is provided. The whole issue of the Sechelt language is handled in a way which does not help the reader. Various Sechelt sounds are not distinguished (e.g. w, xw and xw are all written 'w'; just as k, k', k, and k' are all written as 'k'; etc.). Peterson obviously did not hear the difference between the sounds of the Sechelt language. Also, he is consistently wrong when he tries to analyze native words into their parts and then relate concepts. For example, he relates the Sechelt concepts *sun*, *syayekw*, and *medicine* (note *syayekwhl*, "medicine man") since the words sound alike to him (p. 106), but really they are not related at all. In fact, although the book is filled with references drawn from Sechelt words and names, almost all of them are wrong. For instance, he says that the Ancient Greek term for "river," *potamus* [*sic*], "made its way to the Pacific Northwest, to be retained intact, both in sound and meaning, by aboriginal Sechelt" (p. 125). But the Sechelt word means "flood," not river, and derives historically from a perfectly good proto-Spanish word. It is dangerous business indeed to attempt to argue for ancient folk-contacts based on words that "sound" the same. Readers should beware of the most simple-sounding generalizations. On page 3 we are told that "no European words were grafted into the Sechelt language," but in fact there are dozens of loan-words from English and French which entered Sechelt (many through Chinook Jargon, e.g. *lam*, "rum or whiskey"; 'iks, "egg(s)"; *tala*, "dollar or money"; and *kapu*, "coat (< French)."

What is even more problematic is Peterson's presentation of some extremely naive hypotheses as fact. He states that the most recent ice age lasted until "between 4,000 and 3,600 years ago" (p. 5), and notes the certain presence of humans in California as early as "100,000 to 125,000

years ago" (p. 7), etc. And even the far-fetched relations between the Sechelt and other ancient peoples and customs tax the imagination. For example, a Sechelt account in which a hunter is killed by a mountain goat is related to Greek "tragedy," which derives from the word for "goat" (p. 13).

But there is apparently enough to this book that the Sechelt band council asked to have it published. What seems amazing to me is that a publisher who has been around as long as Howard White would not have sent this manuscript out for review before publishing it. If he had, this book might have been very different.

University of British Columbia

JAY POWELL

Western Oblate Studies 1/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 1, edited by R. Huel.
Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1990. Pp. vi, 210; maps.
\$15.00 paper.

Western Oblate Studies 1, the proceedings of the 1988 symposium on the history of the Oblates in western and northern Canada, contains two articles dealing with British Columbia and much of general value to researchers here. They ought to look at the whole volume, and they should resist their tendency to disregard any studies *en français*.

The symposium and the volume are based on the Western Oblate History Project. It aims to produce critical scholarly works on the history of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a Roman Catholic congregation of priests and brothers, active in western Canada since the 1840s. A commercial company, Western Canada Publishers, was formed to manage publication of refereed research for the project.

Raymond Huel of the Department of History of the University of Lethbridge, symposium organizer and editor, acknowledges the denominational and ethnic biases of Oblate records. Yet the fact of the Oblate experience in western Canada remains, as does the possibility of objective research on it. Huel's own lead article deals critically with problems in the supply of northern missions and with the conflict between two of their administrators, Grandin and Faraud. In this and in essays on Providence Mission, Alberta settlement, Metis leaders, and Catholic-Protestant conflict, the approaches employed raise valuable comparative points for British Columbia scholars. There were different native peoples west of the Rocky Mountains but the same missionary order, fur trade company, federal

government, and railways. Descriptions by Oblate archivists on sources open to researchers show where comparisons might be explored. Personal comments by veteran Oblates also illustrate research possibilities on such topics as Indian residential schools. Maps and a list of symposium participants provide incentive and opportunity.

The two articles in *Western Oblate Studies 1* which are of particular value to scholars in British Columbia are Émilien Lamirande's "Le père Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit: son ministère auprès des autochtones de l'île de Vancouver (1849-1852)," and Thomas Lascelles' "Father Léon Fouquet, Missionary Among the Kootenays." Lempfrit and Fouquet were both French missionaries whose notes are unmined in comparison with those of their colleague and later superior, Paul Durieu. Both were involved with Oblate missions that failed on Vancouver Island: Lempfrit at Fort Victoria and Cowichan 1849 to 1852, and Fouquet near Fort Rupert from 1867 to 1874. Their correspondence could shed light on the genesis of the Indian land question in British Columbia.

The essays on these two missionaries open avenues that might well be explored in Oblate records. What was the role of native prophets in communicating perceptions of European religion and treaties among Vancouver Island natives in advance of the missionaries? What part did Lempfrit play in negotiation of the Fort Victoria treaties? How did his Salishan language and school efforts influence neighbouring natives' relationships with Oblate missionaries in later years? Why is there a lack of "success" of his and Fouquet's missions and schools where nuns were not involved? How does this compare with Oblate mission "success stories" in western Canadian missions where women's orders ran schools?

One final point to note is that the English translation of H-T. Lempfrit's *Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest 1848-1853* was done by Patricia Meyer and Catou Levesque as a project of the Société Historique Franco-Colombienne in 1985. Patricia Meyer is not père Meyer, as Lamirande calls her in his essay on Lempfrit.

Douglas College

JACQUELINE GRESKO

Ginger: The Life and Death of Albert Goodwin, by Susan Mayse. Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1990. Pp. 230. Illus. \$24.95 paper.

Susan Mayse's biography of coal miner, socialist, and union activist Ginger Goodwin is a welcome contribution to the province's slim labour history. An indefatigable researcher, the author sifted through a mountain

of evidence to piece together what will likely stand as the nearest thing to a definitive work on B.C.'s best-known victim in the class war that raged in the early years of the century.

As Mayse points out in her concluding chapter, little has been written about Goodwin and less is known about him. Shot by a special constable while evading conscription, he has been hailed by those on the left as a martyr of the working class. And there are a few too many "coincidences" surrounding Goodwin's death to dispel the sense that he was set up: his obvious ill health, which was ignored by authorities as they demanded that he report for military service; the connection between his role as strike-leader and his military call-up; the haste to track him down; and the fact that his murder came just days before a general amnesty was announced for those avoiding conscription. But the circumstances of his life are not well known. Mayse's book — a well-written account, enhanced by the skilful use of both photographic and oral evidence — thus fills a real gap.

Goodwin left his native England not long after his nineteenth birthday. He landed in Nova Scotia and worked as a miner in Cape Breton for four years, moving west in 1910, evidently blacklisted after a strike. He stopped briefly in the Crows Nest Pass and settled in Cumberland by the autumn of 1910. The next eight years, from the time of Goodwin's arrival in Cumberland to the summer day in 1918 when Dan Campbell shot him to death, form the subject of Mayse's book.

Goodwin was active both as a unionist and socialist, and Mayse does a good job of describing his career in the province's factious labour movement. She does miss one episode, a four-month period when Goodwin was a paid organizer (evidently the first) for the Socialist Party of Canada, travelling through the Crows Nest Pass and Boundary districts. Although not a great success — the *Western Clarion* reported that "the [wage] slaves have gone hockey mad" and consequently attendance at meetings was poor — Goodwin worked the region from February to June of 1914, during the period when Mayse seems to assume that he was still involved in the Miners' Strike in Cumberland. But this is not a very substantial omission.

More questions might be raised about the tone of this work. In a biography of a man who was murdered under what were clearly very dubious circumstances indeed, the author's engagement is understandable; this is a book which speaks to injustice. But balancing engagement with objectivity is a tricky business, and not all will agree with the broader picture here. (As someone forced to remove the words "scab" and "CPR thugs" from his dissertation prior to its acceptance, my sympathies are with Mayse.) The book's stark descriptions of mining are accurate but not the

complete picture. British miners, as Royden Harrison and others have argued with much persuasiveness, were proud men who did not see themselves as exploited victims. There is evidence that Island miners had a similar pride in their work; certainly the autobiography of Cumberland miner Bill Johnstone (cited by Mayse) suggests this. To portray them only as the oppressed and the down-trodden does them a disservice.

There are a few places where the book is a little careless when describing the context in which events occurred, a function of the focus on personality necessary in any biography. The discussion of the Trail strike in 1917, for example — a strike in which Goodwin played a leading role — is not particularly satisfying. Mayse is inclined to reduce it to a clash between Goodwin and a senior Cominco manager. I would have preferred a greater emphasis on the war and the impact of enlistments upon changing union strategies. And my own analysis would be a good deal less charitable towards Goodwin, whose efforts to secure an eight-hour day for the 450 workers who still worked nine-hour shifts (out of a total of 1,600, the rest of whom worked eight hours) led to the destruction of the smelter workers' union in Trail. It was more than twenty years before the union was re-established. The strike was doomed virtually from day one (on the second day the international union ordered the men to return to work), and condemned as asinine by other unionists. If there are occasional weaknesses, however, Mayse more than compensates for them with her subsequent reconstruction of the events surrounding Goodwin's murder, which came eight months after the Trail strike. She provides an excellent account of the tragedy that unfolded above Comox Lake in the summer of 1918.

Reading this book as well as Eric Newsome's *The Coal Coast*, I was struck by both authors' apparent ignorance of a sizeable shelf of scholarly literature, notably a half dozen or so M.A. theses and several excellent Honours essays. Nor does Mayse seem to have read either *BC Studies* or *Labour/Le Travail*, both of which have published articles relevant to her topic, notably the latter journal's recent piece by Allen Seager. Had she done so, or consulted McCormack's or Martin Robin's books on labour politics in the west, she may have been less likely to describe Ralph Smith as "British Columbia's first socialist Member of Provincial Parliament" (p. 50), an assertion that I suspect would have either amused or appalled the electors of Nanaimo. The Western Federation of Miners did not endorse socialism from its birth (p. 51), it did so in 1902, and then only after a heated debate which saw the six B.C. delegates split on the issue. Nor was it ever "outlawed for its revolutionary socialism" (p. 59). The I.W.W. were Industrial Workers of the World, not International Workers of the

World (pp. 75 & 82). A few errors appear even in the discussion of the Cumberland coal field: miners there worked bituminous coal, not anthracite (p. 32). While I would not want to defend Robert Dunsmuir at length, it is inaccurate to link him with the development of Cumberland (pp. 33, 219), the colliery was established by the family's next generation.

Such errors are certainly not fundamental flaws and do not diminish the value of what is clearly intended to be a popular and accessible work. And on that level this book can be hailed as a very successful one indeed. With Lynne Bowen's *Boss Whistle* and Eric Newsome's *The Coal Coast*, this book is welcome evidence that the history of the province's industrial pioneers and labour martyrs is finally reaching a broad audience. My fervent hope is that it will be sold in CPR tourist outlets across the province.

Athabasca University

JEREMY MOUAT

A history of the Corporation of the District of Coldstream, by Margaret A. Ormsby. Corporation of the District of Coldstream, 9901 Kalamalka Road, Vernon, B.C. V1B 1L6. Friesen Printers, Altona, Manitoba, R0G 0B0. Pp. viii, 145. Illus. \$14.95 paper.

The history of British Columbia's European settlement reflects the variety of its geography, its seacoast, its mountains, its rivers, valleys and lakes, the equal variety and great wealth of its resources, and the number and sophistication of its native peoples. That variety is reflected in the local history, where even in what might seem at first sight a relatively homogeneous region like the Okanagan, there are notable differences between its component communities.

Here Margaret Ormsby traces the history of Coldstream from its origin as a military grant in the early years of British Columbia's ranching, through its development as a fruit-growing centre into its present status as a highly desirable suburb of the city of Vernon and part of the residential complex that the Okanagan seems destined to become.

It was Charles Frederick Houghton who chose the name "Coldstream," not, as might be supposed, in honour of the famous regiment of Guards, but because on the property he fancied a "stream of pure water flows right down the middle of the valley and emptys [*sic*] into the Head of Long Lake." Houghton, like the friends with whom he came to British Columbia, the Vernon brothers, Forbes George and Charles Albert, sons of the high sheriff of Dublin, had been prepared for the army but saw little prospect

there or in Ireland. By 1863 the British Isles were producing far too many young men with genteel aspirations for the acceptable professions to accommodate, and too few upper class families were rich enough to set the surplus offspring up on enough land to support an appropriate way of living.

The three young Irishmen took advantage of their social connections and accomplishments to acquire property, to enter the public and business life of their adopted country and to make good marriages. Coldstream passed from Houghton to the Vernons, then to Forbes Vernon, and in 1891 to Lord Aberdeen. "This day," wrote the agent who negotiated the sale, "bought from Vernon ranch of 13,000 acres and 2,000 cattle, about 70 horses, implements, furniture and everything moveable for £50,000 (\$241,000)." In the interval Houghton had been a Member of Parliament, which bored him, and held militia appointments, where his drinking alarmed Hugh John Macdonald so much that he was passed over in favour of General Middleton for command during the Riel uprising of 1888. Forbes Vernon entered the British Columbia legislature in 1874 and served twice as chief administrator of lands and works, a powerful cabinet position. In 1887 the settlement at Priest's Valley, where a townsite had been laid out in 1885, took his name, "probably," to quote Dr. Ormsby's sardonic observation, "because he was in the position to grant favours." In 1895 he was appointed agent-general of British Columbia in London, a position abolished in 1898. He remained in London until he died in 1911. His brother Charles remained at the Coldstream Ranch until 1883. In 1879, he, like Forbes Vernon, made a judicious marriage — Houghton had married a Dunsmuir daughter. Charles moved to Victoria, engaged in real estate promotions, looked after his old friend Houghton in his final illness, and died in 1906.

Houghton and the Vernons, using Coldstream as their base, had moved through the ranching era of the British Columbia interior into the age of railway building and through these into membership in the British Columbia and indeed the Canadian establishment, with all their emphasis on the Britishness of the future of the new dominion. The Aberdeens, more firmly committed than most to doing good and "democratic aristocrats . . . indifferent to class distinctions," intended "to plant orchards on a big scale, sell off land in lots, and thus bring profit both to themselves and to their neighbours." This gave a different orientation to development at Coldstream. With the emphasis on fruit-growing in the decade following 1898, "land values were enormously inflated, and hundreds of acres were planted with

unsuitable varieties of apples and stone fruits. The whole Okanagan Valley was being converted into one vast orchard."

Much as the Aberdeens enjoyed the Okanagan as a respite from the formalities of Rideau Hall, they did not find it "the new Golconda" they, and those who had invested in Okanagan property, had hoped. Dr. Ormsby skilfully sorts out the complexities of the municipal organization in its various stages from 1906, when the District of Coldstream came into existence, and the important relationships with irrigation and power interests, so vital to the welfare of the area. The heavy investment involved was essential to fruit growing under what were not far from desert conditions and an important British contribution to Canadian development in the halcyon years before 1914.

Many names familiar in the history of British wealth find a place in the annals of Coldstream. Lord Aberdeen associated himself in the ownership of the Coldstream Ranch with James Buchanan, the whisky magnate, later Lord Woolavington, and he brought in Lord Cowdray. The name "Grosvenor" has had a long history in Canadian investment, and two Grosvenors appear. Cowdray withdrew but Woolavington deeded the ranch to his daughter, who remained an absentee landlord, though after 1948 a Canadian board of directors advised her. Bit by bit parts of its property were sold off, but it was still a substantial holding at the time of writing.

Coldstream was established and developed as a distinctive community when British immigration and investment in the Canadian west was at its height. British Columbia was particularly attractive, offering as it did uniquely beautiful scenery, a more than ordinarily pleasant climate and the opportunity to lead the kind of rural life that in the British Isles had been brought to an apparent perfection in the late nineteenth century, all the more desirable because of its sharp contrast with the urban life that for the unprivileged had accompanied the process of industrialization.

The Aberdeens and their contemporaries did create a kind of rural utopia, but it depended on infusions of capital and of new recruits to replace those whose energy and business acumen were unequal to the practical challenge. The war of 1914 put a severe strain on a district which by the Armistice had lost twenty-five of its ranchers and seventy-five of their employees. "The Coldstream Valley had been drained not only of its most experienced orchard owners but also of its prospective labour force." The orchards themselves had suffered from inevitable neglect and adverse weather conditions, and the managers had to cope with new problems arising out of mechanization and marketing. Yet as late as 1937 Coldstream could still advertise itself as predominantly Anglo-Saxon and pro-

mise "the delights of Rural England at one-tenth the cost." Sports, including a revival of polo, dances, a riding club "with a pack of real foxhounds," the Kalamalka Players, two private schools, the Mackies' Vernon Preparatory School for Boys and St. Michael's School for Girls, All Saints Church and Bishop's Garth, the residence of the Anglican bishop of Kootenay, all contributed to maintain and reinforce the British atmosphere cherished by the residents of Coldstream and their friends in Vernon.

The thirties was for the District a decade of "depression and disillusionment" and by 1939 "Coldstream's elitist society was disintegrating," "the valley of dreams when the fruit trees were planted had . . . become the valley of shattered illusions. The Arcadian life of early times had become a life of hard work and worry." War brought heavy enlistments and new anxieties but, in common with the country at large, Coldstream and Vernon prospered. The postwar years were years of rapid change as the Anglo-Scots community of the past gave way to a multicultural society. Then, after 1965, the provision of a new water supply for the Vernon Irrigation District made Coldstream "the fastest growing area in the North Okanagan" and "Vernon's fastest growing suburb." Though Coldstream still doggedly retained its independence as a rural district it had become "for its residents what it had been to their predecessors, 'second to none.'"

This is "local history" as it should be written, thoroughly researched, admirably documented, tightly organized. There is a useful name index, seven interesting maps and a collection of well-chosen photographs that admirably supplement the text in explaining the nature of the society that evolved in the North Okanagan. Coldstream is peculiarly fortunate in its historian, for Dr. Ormsby writes out of a lifetime of knowledge of the community where she grew up and still lives. She writes with both sympathy and insight and makes every sentence contribute its full weight to her narrative. My only regret is that she has confined herself to not much more than a hundred pages.

University of Alberta

L. G. THOMAS

Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945, by Angus McLaren. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990. Pp. 232. \$15.95 paper.

As McLaren reminds us, some of the contemporary debate concerning race, class, and reproduction is nothing new in Canada. The question of who should reproduce has preoccupied some Canadians for generations.

At the beginning of this century, the preoccupation was coupled with the notion that the Canadian race could be improved by social management. For some, the path to progress lay primarily through a changed environment. For others, the answer was to be found chiefly in eugenics. Some people were born defective; therefore, one could expect only so much from public health measures designed to change the environment. In order for public health measures to be effective in improving the race, eugenicists argued that they had to be linked with programs to prevent or discourage the defective from breeding.

Within this framework, McLaren's introductory chapter outlining Francis Galton's ideas and their popularization in England, the United States, and Canada is followed by an examination of three major areas: 1. Dr. Helen MacMurchy's public health work in relationship to hereditarian concerns, primarily during her tenure as head of the maternal and child welfare division in the federal department of health in the 1920s; 2. the impact of hereditarian ideas upon the debates about restrictive immigration policies, legalization of birth control, and passage of sterilization acts in the 1920s and 1930s; and 3. the connection between eugenics and such geneticists as Madge Thurlow Macklin in the 1930s and 1940s. In an epilogue, McLaren concludes that the increasing evidence of the Nazis' eugenic grounds prompted abandonment of public espousal of eugenic programs, while some ideas and practices continued (for instance, sterilization continued in some provinces until the 1970s).

Chief questions for McLaren are: who were the supporters of eugenic theories, and what was the impact of eugenic ideas? The most obvious proponents of hereditarian ideas were the approximately one hundred members of the Eugenics Society of Canada. Although McLaren spends considerable time upon the individuals clearly identified with promoting eugenic solutions to such social ills as poverty and crime, he also examines the various ways assumptions about heredity were articulated by others. Eugenicists thus are defined to include a spectrum of Canadians who manifested varying degrees of commitment to the ideas at different times and for varied reasons. A minority, for instance members of the Eugenics Society, remained steadily committed to effecting their ideas, although, as the birth control debate illustrates, they sometimes differed as to the means. A larger group of political activists, such as Tommy Douglas, temporarily supported eugenic ideas en route to different agendas for dealing with modern social problems. The majority, drawn from Canadians prominent in public health, politics, psychiatry, teaching, social work, and genetics, used the eugenicists' vocabulary and terminology for varied reasons in pro-

moting several programs — mothers' allowances and medical inspection of schools, to name but a few. Despite the apparent broad appeal of some of the eugenicists' ideas, McLaren concludes that they had limited success in implementing their agenda. He attributes this to the fact that they were "always too frightening and too elitist to garner mass support." (p. 169)

One wonders if there could be additional explanations for the impact of eugenicists' programs. Here the reader could be helped by a thorough analysis of those who actively opposed the eugenicists. Public opposition to eugenicists appears to be limited to representatives of the Roman Catholic church, some prominent French Canadians, and a few distinguished members of the medical profession, and it would be useful to know more about that particular opposition. Private opposition to the eugenicists isn't discussed, but it would help to examine the extent and rationale for any passive resistance. At the simplest level, a consideration of birth rates of those who did not share the class and cultural values of the eugenicists might tell us something about the private opposition. Greater analysis of public and private opposition would also enhance the discussion of the shift from eugenics to social welfare arguments and our perspective of the contemporary debate about alternatives to social welfare programs.

McLaren's study is a thought-provoking and disturbing examination of attempts to formula policy in response to fears about change. It serves as a timely reminder that what he calls the "new eugenics" of reproductive technology needs to be placed in the context of earlier times when scientifically trained experts assumed the right to decide who could reproduce. Then the poor and marginal were told not to reproduce; now they don't have access to reproductive technology.

My wish that McLaren could have told us more about some points and a quibble over the gratuitous information about Macklin's weight, height and health (p. 130) are minor objections to an otherwise valuable study of Canadian eugenicists' ideas during the interwar years.

State University of New York

SUZANN BUCKLEY

Bax^wbak^walanusiwa. Un récit Haisla / a Haisla story, raconté par / as told by Gordon Robertson. Lincoln, Neville J., John C. Rath, Evelyn Windsor, 1990. *Amerindia*. No. 14. Supplément 3. Pp. xii, 119. \$8.00.

The population of Kitamaat Village, on the Kitimat Arm of the Douglas Channel, is an amalgamation of a number of villages, divided linguistically into two main groups. The majority are from villages near the present

location around the Kitimat Arm and the mouth of the Kitimat River and close areas such as Kildala Arm. Gordon Robertson is a member of the second group, from the Kitlope Valley and around present day Kemano. The people and the language of Kitamaat have come to be known under the cover term of Haisla. This word is an Anglicization of *ǂà'isla* ("down river"), which was strictly applied not to the present site of Kitamaat Village (which was known as *C'imàuc'a*) but to a site in the present-day company town of Kitimat. The current names for the village and the town reflect several linguistic layerings. Note that the village name is spelled officially "Kitamaat" (this is the usual form in early references to the place in English sources) and the town as "Kitimat." This name itself is Tsimshian and is said to mean "snow people." It incorporates the common morpheme *git- gyet, get-* etc. ("person, people") that lies behind the many place and people names in the area that are Anglicized with names beginning with "Kit-" or "Git-."

Mr. Robertson's people are properly referred to as *ǂnàksiala* and their language (using the common Northern Wakashan suffix for languages) as *Xnàksialak'ala*. Mr. Robertson spent only two years in the mission school at Kitamaat, after which he was removed by his grandfather, the chief *ǂpsǂàuleq*, and given a traditional training appropriate for a person of his high standing. He is one of the few remaining elders with an extensive knowledge of the traditions of his people. He is also acutely conscious of the fragility of the language and culture and has dedicated many hours to helping provide records of these treasures. (Mr. Robertson was one of the principal consultants for the Haisla dictionary [Lincoln and Rath, 1986]. I have had the privilege of working extensively with him in the last several years and wish to acknowledge his great help here.)

Given this background, we can only echo the characterization by the editors/translators (p. x) of the present publication as "a valuable addition to the corpus of published texts" [of North Wakashan languages] (cf. also the poignant ambiguity in their mention of "the precious few Haisla texts we have recorded," p. 5 f.). This is the first published Haisla text in the original language. It is to be hoped that more texts from Mr. Robertson will be published soon. As the authors note, there has been little work available on the Haisla language. The dictionary mentioned already is in fact the only other relatively accessible extensive source (see references) on the languages of Kitamaat. (I will henceforth defer to current usage and refer to the language of the text as Haisla.)

As can be gathered from the title, the publication under review is trilingual: the text in Haisla, everything else except the linguistic analysis and

notes on the text in French and English (the textual analysis and notes are in English). The booklet consists of an introduction, the text of the story followed by smooth translations into the two white people's languages. Then there is a brief linguistic introduction: notes on the transcription system, a list of abbreviations and notational devices, a sketch of Haisla syntax. The bulk of the pages are then taken up with linguistic analysis, set up like this: a line of text, a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis and glossing, then smooth translations of each line in French and English. There is a selected bibliography and a map.

The authors list as their three goals (pp. 1/5f.): "(1) to open to inspection the main one of the precious few Haisla texts we have recorded; (2) to illustrate the function of the first and second sentential connective moods in Haisla; (3) to support Franz Boas' thesis that, at least in the North Wakashan speaking area, there was a stock of relatively well-defined mythical themes but that it varied from one local group to another which themes combined into a story and in which order." Of these three goals, certainly the first and the third have been achieved. I am somewhat skeptical about the second, and I will return to it below.

The main skeleton of the story concerns a blind man who is a skilful hunter and who has a magic arrow. We are told that he has been helped by the being whose name is given as the title of the story. In the story, the man kills a grizzly bear. His wife lies to him and tells him that he has missed it, but his youngest child reveals the truth to him, and he is able to take his revenge. He also creates coho salmon from alder wood, after several attempts with other woods that turn into different water dwellers. (The word for alder is built on the root for "red.") These thematic materials appear in a number of different stories from the region: the story was elicited by first reading a text from the volume of stories from the late Chief Simon Walkus (Hilton and Rath, 1982) and then having Mr. Robertson tell his own version, given to him by his grandparents. Besides the two other sources mentioned by the editors/translators, there is a similar story in Boas (1932: pp. 137-40, also a short summary from a different source, p. 140), also from Rivers Inlet, and Boas refers to Tsimshian texts in a footnote. In this text, and in the Kitamaat versions of the story, the man is helped by a loon, who cures his blindness.

For linguists and others interested in getting some idea about the nature of the Haisla language, the text and its analysis are extremely valuable. The Wakashan languages are famous for their rich resources in building complex words by means of some five hundred or so derivational suffixes and a

variety of stem extension operations. An example, chosen at random from the text (line 188):

piwàlislānug^wa
 piw – ala – is – – la #nug^wa
 feel – upstream – near water – Cont #1SgSu
 “*I was feeling my way upstream . . .*”

This “genius of the language” is nowhere more evident than in the creation of names, as in the name of the being of the title. The etymology of this name is a matter of some mystery: in some of the Boas and Hunt texts (of Kwakw’ala and other Northern Wakashan languages) the name appears as Bax^wbak^wa’lanux^wsi’wē’ or the like (thus in Boas, 1932, I have retranscribed the name to conform more or less to the system of the text in hand). Boas gives it the somewhat fanciful translation “Cannibal-of-the-North-End-of-the-World.” The details of this analysis have been (justly) criticized by Hilton and Rath (1982). All of these commentators connect the reduplicated first part of the word with the root $\sqrt{\text{bk}^w}$ - “human.” Boas apparently understood the reduplication as analogous to a reduplicative pattern (usually with the suffix -ka) meaning “to eat” (whatever the reduplicated stem or root refers to), hence the meaning “cannibal.” Hilton and Rath and the present authors assign it the meaning: “becoming more and more human,” or the like. There is no doubt that the Kwakw’ala form of the name occurs in contexts that are associated with ritual (feigned) cannibalism and the so-called Tanis or Hamats’a dances (for example, in Boas, 1932: pp. 37 ff.). But Mr. Robertson (p.c.) contends that the name has nothing to do with eating and concurs with the present authors. (The name occurs in one of the texts that Mr. Robertson and the reviewer have been preparing, in a prayer within a description of a welcoming ceremony for the first salmon coming up the river, and there it is placed in apposition to the name Miauxwà(na), explained by Mr. Robertson as something like Spirit of the Salmon.) Both theories need to explain the expansion of the root vowel to /a/; the only root of this shape that I know of which already has /a/ in it is the root $\sqrt{\text{bak}^w}$ - “gather and preserve salmon and meat.” (In the Haisla dictionary the name under discussion here is assigned to a separate root $\sqrt{\text{bak}^w}$ - with the gloss “?”.)

These difficulties of analysis may serve to illustrate two general points. First, in languages of the type of Haisla, it is not only the linguists who may fluctuate in their analyses of words. Given the many variations that both roots and suffixes can show, it is often the case that alternative analyses of words can be equally plausible, even with the most careful attention to the laws of combination. When words drift around then, which is especially

the case with names, which form an important part of the cultural goods of the region, the process known to linguists as “folk-etymology” can easily contribute to reshaping and reanalyses of words. What then is the “real” analysis of a given complex word? (This question is the same as one asking whether the English word *greyhound* “really” contains the morpheme *grey*, or the German word *Hängematte* “hammock” the morpheme *hang*-.) Second, the example, and many others, raise the question of the line between etymology and (synchronically valid) analysis of complex words. This in turn raises the interesting general question of the status of the division between word-structure and sentence-structure in a language like Haisla.

This review is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of the many interesting linguistic questions, both general and special, raised by the publication under review. Let me just try to explain the skepticism mentioned above about the second of the three main goals listed by the authors, the existence of what are called “the first and second sentential connective moods” (pp. 6 and 43 f.). The problem is this: there are a number of different ways to weave together the main clausal units of a text in Haisla. The forms that are employed in these discourse functions include initial auxiliary or connective elements such as *g*-, *l(a)*-, and *w(a)*-, the last usually with *l(a)*-, and the presence or absence of certain affixes, most notably *-in(a)*, glossed by the authors as Perfective. Since these are strictly grammatical elements, part of the glue that binds together a text, it is not generally possible to ascertain their meaning by simply asking a consultant (try explaining when you do and don’t use the English progressive). The thesis of the authors is that there are two “moods,” which have to do with whether or not the main topic of the sentence is shifted in the clause in the connective moods. Now, I believe that the authors have thrown important light on the function of some of the devices just mentioned, but I believe it is a mistake to codify them into two “moods” of the sort suggested. This sounds altogether too rigid.

Let me emphasize, in conclusion, that the linguistic analysis contained in the main body of the booklet is extremely detailed, careful, and insightful. The editors have given themselves the task of accounting for every morpheme in the text. The results will be of great value not only to specialists in Wakashan linguistics, but also to anyone interested in the general problems of morphology, syntax, and semantics of polysynthetic languages. We must be grateful to all four of the producers of this text.

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Senewélets: Culture History of the Nanaimo Coast Salish and the False Narrows Midden, by D. V. Burley. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 1989. Pp. 132. Illus. \$8.00.

This is a highly commendable volume, and the Royal British Columbia Museum is to be applauded for reinstating a publication series that brings to the public the kind of valuable substantive information that is contained in this volume and that is so hard to get published in other well recognized outlets.

Burley's work is a valuable contribution to the prehistory of the Gulf of Georgia region because it publishes an important site that otherwise might have been stored away indefinitely. The volume provides an extensive and well described comparative collection that other researchers will no doubt find most useful, and it places the various assemblages within the collection in their chronological position. It is always difficult to work with data collected by others, and Burley is to be congratulated for working so well within the constraints imposed by the False Narrows data base. Collecting archaeological materials from highly stratified shell midden deposits such as False Narrows using only the arbitrary level technique is not adequate by present standards or by those of fifteen years ago, when Burley first examined the collection. The resulting imprecision must have been as frustrating for the author as for his readers. Also, the absence of any faunal analysis severely limits the interpretations that can be made about site function, season and duration of occupation, the role of the site in the adaptive strategies of aboriginal Gulf of Georgia populations over the last 2,000 years, and the exact position of the site in the regional culture-historical sequence. Systematic collection of faunal remains was not a field procedure at the time of excavation, however, and, through no fault of Burley's, the report suffers as a result. Backhoe excavation of two trenches added a con-

siderable number of artifacts and features to the collection without much contextual information about them, thus creating a "softness" in the report with which Burley was nonetheless obliged to deal. The volume is well organized and clearly presented so that there is no difficulty in following the report as it develops and no difficulty in referencing specific portions of the analysis. The photographs are generally clear enough for comparative analysis, most line drawings are properly documented, and the tables are unambiguous.

There are also areas where the report could be improved. These range from picky editorial items to logical and philosophical issues. Most of the editorial items are meaningless to the content of the report (e.g., improper placement of quotation marks after the citation of Mitchell 1967: 7 on page 16; the quotation "dumping of refuse" with no citation; abrupt changes of voice from third person impersonal to first person active), but they imply that the editorial process, either at the author's end or at the publishers, is letting details escape. Of more consequence are the substantive editorial oversights that occur. For instance, figure 10 lacks horizontal and vertical co-ordinates, thereby limiting its usefulness; also, the mean lengths for triangular and excurvate chipped stone points (p. 70) are larger than the recorded maximum lengths. Potential confusion also exists when there are terminological inconsistencies. For example, a component is defined as a single assemblage on page 26, but on page 33 Component II consists of several assemblages.

Another general area in which there seems to be a problem is quantification of the data. Where artifact measurements are concerned, there are no compelling reasons presented for taking some and omitting others, nor is there any use made of them once they are recorded. Their presence implies a potential use as comparative data for other typological studies, but even here caution must be exercised. Calculation of statistics such as the mean cannot be considered very reliable when the sample size is only three or four. The biggest quantification problem, however, lies in the use of Pearson's r correlation coefficient. As a parametric statistic, it assumes a number of conditions in the data, few of which are ever met by archaeological collections, and certainly none of which are met at False Narrows. In addition, the r statistic by itself does not indicate the probability of the relationship in question occurring by chance alone; thus table 4 has limited utility for judging the relationships between components. Also, in the discussion of table 4 there is no clear separation of the strengths of the relationships between components, as suggested by the matrix of r coefficients, from the chronological relationships of the components. If the degree of

correlation, as indicated by r , were an indicator of the relative age of components, as Burley implies, then one would not expect to see essentially the same degree of correlations between FN₁/FN₂ and FN₂/FN₄. On the basis of intuitive judgement alone, Burley's assessment of the relationships may be correct.

The issue of artifact classification also merits some discussion. The discussion of the classification (p. 19) is unnecessary because there is no taxonomic rigour in the system that is used. While introductory textbooks talk of formal, functional, historical, and cultural types, the system used in this volume is most accurately described as "Gulf of Georgia Traditional," it being a widely used mixture of formal, functional, and cultural criteria. Related to this issue is the concept of diagnostic artifacts. This is a normative, outdated concept that is no longer tenable beyond providing rough guidance in the field, and it is particularly incongruous when juxtaposed against probabilistic analyses such as those using Pearson's r . Further, the unresolved opposition of these approaches to data analysis indicates a lack of theoretical rigour in the conceptual framework underlying the analyses.

The last area of discussion involves what could be termed logical issues, and there are two of these. First, the temporal relation of FN₁ to FN₂ is argued to be sequential, but the deposits assigned to FN₁ do not lie stratigraphically under those assigned to components 2, 3 and 4. Evidence in support of the earliest culture historical positioning of FN₁ includes subjective comparison between FN₁, FN₂ and other lower mainland middle Marpole assemblages, quantitative comparison between False Narrows components (already discussed above) and unclear arguments that the distance from the beach or elevation above present sea level is necessarily related to the antiquity of the deposits. It could just as easily be argued that, during the Marpole culture type time period, the higher rear portion of the site was used primarily for refuse disposal and burial of the dead, whereas the front, lower part of the site was used primarily for everyday living. Variation in the assemblages would thus be the result of differential use of areas within the site. Unfortunately, the paucity of absolute dates from the site as a whole, and their absence from FN₁, in particular, leaves the proper chronological positioning of this component in question.

The term "transitional," used to describe FN₂, also seems to be a logical issue. Elsewhere in the volume, the continuity between components is noted, but, given that continuity is indeed an aspect of the Gulf of Georgia prehistoric record, how can one part of a continuum be transitional? Again, the confusion between a normative and a probabilistic approach is evident. Setting aside the difficult issue of how to divide up a continuum, less con-

notative labels like the standard “early,” “middle,” and “late” might be more conceptually appropriate.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the analysis in this volume is what is tangentially raised but not addressed. The site is without question very distinctive and important, and it is these qualities that raise the question of exactly what kinds of cultural behaviours resulted in its formation. There are many seasonally occupied resource extraction sites that do not possess the same elaborateness in their assemblages, nor are they the same size, as False Narrows. Unpublished excavations on Newcastle Island in Nanaimo harbour, for instance, did not produce the same richness of artifacts, yet the site is in Departure Bay, where Nanaimo winter villages are recorded to have been. Does the presence at False Narrows of ritual paraphernalia usually associated with winter spirit dances indicate that all possessions were transported with the group wherever it went? If so, how does one explain the sites that lack elaborate items altogether? What settlement system model could account for these variations? Has the position of False Narrows changed over time in the local settlement system? The settlement pattern analysis in this volume would have been enhanced if such issues had at least been raised. Similarly, recognition of the same pattern of raw material exchange (copper, obsidian, dentalia, and possibly nephrite/jade) at other sites in the Gulf of Georgia, e.g. Deep Bay, would have broadened and supported Burley's discussion.

In sum, Burley is to be commended for his presentation. It is a valuable substantive contribution to Gulf of Georgia prehistory. There are some areas that are stronger than others, but the merits far outweigh the drawbacks. Some of the topics raised in this volume and pointed out here (e.g., the need for faunal and lithic analysis at the site, the need for more comprehensive dating of the deposits, and the need for a comprehensive analysis of both community patterning within the site and the role of the site in the local settlement system over time) are ones that students of the area could profitably investigate.

University of Manitoba

GREGORY G. MONKS

An Iron Hand upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast, by Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990. Pp. 230. maps; illus. \$29.95 cloth.

Obtaining evidence that would convict is a very difficult matter; naturally the Indians who take part will not divulge the proceedings, and those who dont [*sic*] take part (who are few) have their own reasons for not wishing to become implicated in any prosecution proceedings.

— Cst. George H. Clark, B.C. Police, 15 June 1931, speaking of Kwakiutl resistance to the potlatch law.

About two weeks after the authors of this new study of the potlatch law presented their work at a transboundary legal history conference in Victoria, Chief Justice Allan McEachern handed down his decision in *Delgamuukw et al. v. The Queen*.¹ The judgment runs to hundreds of pages, probably the longest ever written by a common law judge, and in it the chief justice holds that the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en peoples have neither jurisdiction over nor title to their traditional territories. In the course of so ruling, he singles out a promise made by Governor James Douglas in February of 1859. Addressing the Vancouver Island House of Assembly, Douglas had pledged the faith of the government to preserve the Indians' village sites and cultivated fields, and to protect their fishing rights and their right to hunt on unoccupied lands. One hundred and thirty-two years later, the chief justice comments:

It is difficult to read these words without wondering what went wrong for one would think that such a policy, if fairly implemented, would result in Indians having a safe haven in their villages and reserves, the use of all vacant crown land, and opportunities for betterment in the new economy that would place them in a preferred position to enjoy the best of both their own and the white civilization. I shall continue to wonder what went wrong throughout the course of this judgment.²

Only the intellectually arrogant would be rash enough to ridicule this passage. Who among us, after all, has not wondered along similar lines, at least before we began to learn about the history of the B.C. Indian land

¹ *Delgamuukw, also known as Ken Muldoe, suing on his own behalf and on behalf of the members of the House of Delgamuukw, and others v. Her Majesty the Queen in Right of the Province of British Columbia and the Attorney General of Canada* (BCSC, Smithers Registry No. 0843), delivered on 8 March 1991. The conference referred to was held at the University of Victoria between 21 and 23 February, 1991, and was entitled "Law for the Elephant, Law for the Beaver: A Transboundary Conference on the Legal History of the West and Northwest of North America."

² *Ibid.*, at 113-14.

question? But many will be surprised at the chief justice's implication that he remained as bemused at the end of the case as he was at the beginning. The evidence, one presumes, showed that the Douglas policy was not always "fairly implemented"; that the best vacant land was quickly claimed by settlers; that government soon began to regulate and restrict Indian fisheries; that aboriginal title to traditional territory beyond village sites and gardens was denied (although never formally and explicitly extinguished); and that reserves were small. More importantly, the evidence must also have shown that these things happened, in part, because the policy was a temporary one, premised upon a belief that Indians would either be assimilated or become extinct. This of course did not happen: they did not assimilate, at least not in the way Douglas and his successors had hoped, and many reserves are now crowded and desperate. Moreover, most native Canadians wish to remain distinct, self-governing peoples, and for that a land base is required, not the sort of tinkering with the Douglas policy that is recommended in *Delgamuukw* as a substitute.³

That native people have adopted many non-native ways and do not agree on everything that needs to be done to solve their social and economic problems may have influenced the chief justice.⁴ Yet this fact, which is an unavoidable consequence of the disruptive processes of colonialism, surely does not deserve to be accorded such significance. When a European power with superior numbers and technology descends upon an aboriginal society, only some aboriginals tenaciously resist its charms. Many others, recognizing this superiority and justifiably impressed by it, are willing to cautiously incorporate attractive features of the new way. Still others may even embrace its wonders with enthusiasm, especially if doing so might enhance their own position within their society. Although none of these responses need entail the abandonment of traditional rights, they do divide and weaken aboriginal power while the colonizers get on with the business of elbowing the indigenous culture aside; and they also tend to create in government the false impression that openness means surrender and adaptability means a willingness to disappear. As Nisga'a chief Charles Russ told the Northwest Coast Inquiry in 1887: "We took the Queen's flag and laws to honour them. We never thought when we did that she was taking the land away from us."⁵ Of course not: it was a preposterous idea, and

³ See especially his general comments at 1-3 and 299-301 of the Reasons for Judgment (above n.1) and his finding with respect to fiduciary duties at 245-54.

⁴ Needless to say, diversity of opinion is hardly confined to native communities, especially in the Canada of the 1990s.

⁵ Quoted in Daniel Raunet, *Without Surrender, Without Consent: A History of the Nisga Land Claims* (Vancouver 1984) at 89.

one that was asserted with vigour only once native people ceased to be regarded as a threat.

Cole's and Chaikin's new book, in which the authors meticulously explore this splintering effect of colonization in the context of the different attitudes taken by natives (and non-natives) to the law against the potlatch, provides an interesting contrast to *Delgamuukw*.⁶ In their pages the Gitksan emerge as a people that held fast to their traditions, second only to the southern Kwakiutl in their resistance to change. Adapting their ceremonies just enough to avoid direct conflict with the white man's law, the Gitksan "continued to feast, dance and potlatch throughout the period, erecting poles almost continuously into the 1940s."⁷ And so today. On 11 May 1991 a large headstone and naming feast was held at Kispiox to mark both the passing of Ken Muldoe and the transfer of his name, Delgamuukw, to Earl Muldoe, "the third since this trial started."⁸

The law that is the subject of Cole's and Chaikin's study (the first since La Violette's) prohibited the potlatch and the Tamanawas dance, neither of which were defined until the Act had been in force for more than a decade.⁹ First passed in 1884, what began as section 3 of "An Act further to amend the Indian Act" remained on the federal statute book for over sixty-five years.¹⁰ In the interim the section was amended in 1895 to respond to Chief Justice Begbie's criticism in *Regina v. Hamasak* (1889) that the prohibition was too vague, and again in 1918, when the offence was reduced from an indictable to a summary conviction offence.¹¹ The latter change may appear benign, but it was not. Judges had proved unwilling to impose prison terms on Indians who violated the potlatch law,

⁶ Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver 1990). The title is from a letter by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat to the Superintendent General dated 27 October 1879, and quoted by the authors at 15. In it, Sproat urged Ottawa to do whatever was necessary in order to end the potlatch, even to "lay an iron hand upon the shoulders of the people." The potlatch, he wrote, was "like a huge incubus upon all the philanthropic, administrative or missionary effort for the improvement of the Indians."

⁷ Above n.6 at 58-59.

⁸ "Closing Statement of the Chiefs," 14 May 1990.

⁹ See pp. 31-97 of Forrest E. La Violette *The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia* (Toronto, 1961).

¹⁰ S.C. 1884, c.27, s.3. As the authors point out, this measure came into force on 1 January 1885, and followed an order-in-council and proclamation, both of which requested and "earnestly" urged B.C.'s Indians to abandon the potlatch voluntarily.

¹¹ S.C. 1895, c.35, s.6; S.C. 1918, c.26, s.7. The authors discuss the Hamasak case at 35-36. The 1895 amendment is lengthy, but in essence it defined the prohibited activities as ceremonies where presents were made or where human or animal bodies were mutilated.

and as Duncan Campbell Scott, the new Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, well knew, summary conviction offences were triable by justices of the peace. Because Indian agents were justices of the peace, potlatching prosecutions could now be tried by them rather than by the regular courts.¹² Still, none of these stratagems had the sweeping effect hoped for by their sponsors and, notwithstanding the prosecutions, by the 1930s the potlatch — at least in those regions where it had survived Christianization and other influences — was as popular as ever. Although by the time the law was dropped from the Indian Act in 1951 the potlatch had been in decline for over a decade, the evidence marshalled in this book suggests that this was not due solely or even primarily to its prohibition.

The picture that Cole and Chaikin paint in charting Indian resistance to the law — and they “won at least as often as they lost” — is much more complex than apologists for government and even some supporters of native claims might have us believe.¹³ As the authors point out, the law was the product of the zeal of missionaries and a few federal Indian agents, not simply to gain converts but to protect native people from what they saw as dangers to health and economic well-being posed by the potlatch. As such, the law was reformist as well as oppressive, reflecting the extent to which “the assault on Indian culture bemoaned by social activists today was led by social activists of an earlier era.”¹⁴ The law’s opponents, on the other hand, were not restricted to Indians, and included the provincial authorities (the legislature passed a resolution requesting an investigation and possible repeal of the law in 1897); merchants and others who profited from the economic activity generated by feasting; and probably even the public at large, who seem to have enjoyed watching potlatches or were at least prepared to tolerate them.¹⁵ For this and a variety of other reasons (including their own inability to enforce it), neither Ottawa nor most agents wanted to see prosecutions in any but the most extreme cases. Thus the law was invoked when the allegations included the mutilation of living or dead bodies,¹⁶ but otherwise primarily only in one agency, in one eight-year period, against the one people who were most

¹² Agents had been justices for the purposes of the Indian Act since 1881: S.C. 1881, c.17, s.12.

¹³ Above n.6 at 183.

¹⁴ Above n. 6 at 24, quoting John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto, 1984) at 185.

¹⁵ Above n.6 at 50. Of course, non-native opponents of the law might well have calculated that generosity on this issue would reduce native demands with respect to land and resources.

¹⁶ For example, the prosecution (and eventual acquittal) of George Hunt in 1900, described at 73-75.

opposed to it and most inclined to resort to open resistance: the "incorrigible" southern Kwakiutl.

This restraint is interesting, given that a significant number of Indians had petitioned in favour of the potlatch law and continued to support it. These people were Christian, and the missionaries had persuaded them that to become powerful and whole, they had to deny a part of who they were. Life in European culture was identified as liberal and progressive, life in native culture as coercive and backward or, as Chief Justice McEachern put it, nasty, brutish and short.¹⁷ The fact that European wars were equally nasty, brutish and long, and that life in a Manchester slum was much worse than in a Gitksan village, seems generally to have been overlooked.¹⁸

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that younger converts especially resented being coerced into participating in old ways that they regarded as preventing their advancement. However, even native supporters of the potlatch law did not necessarily buy the rest of the colonial package.¹⁹ Under the leadership of such men as Peter Kelly, the Allied Tribes of British Columbia lobbied vigorously to have Indian title in B.C. recognized, yet declined to accede to Kwakiutl pressure to adopt an anti-potlatch law policy. Kelly was an ordained Methodist minister whose own people, the Haida, had largely abandoned the potlatch when they embraced Christianity, and he had no wish to see it revived. But he would not have understood the argument that abandoning the potlatch was somehow evidence of abandoning the land; quite the contrary.²⁰ It is much more likely that he was afraid that lobbying to repeal the potlatch law would divert energy and support from what he saw as more important issues. Compared to Andrew Paull, the other pre-eminent figure in the Allied Tribes, Kelly did believe

¹⁷ Quoting Thomas Hobbes: see *Reasons for Judgment*, above n.1, at 13.

¹⁸ Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, a Vancouver Island pioneer quoted in the judgment, was not so quick to condemn aboriginal culture. Looking back at B.C. in the colonial period, he compared it with contemporary Europe, and commented that instead of "small tribes I see large nations — instead of small parties I see legions of soldiers. Instead of a few heads and slaves being taken, I learn of thousands upon thousands slaughtered! What hypocrites we are. . . ." (See Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., *The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken* [Vancouver, 1975] at 330, reproducing a newspaper article of 1890.)

¹⁹ Nor, to be fair, did all missionaries. Duncan of Metlakatla had a relatively enlightened view of Indian title. This is noteworthy because, as Cole and Chaikin point out (at 45-46), Anglicans were usually much less concerned than Methodists "with land questions and sought to apply the weight and authority of the government and its agents."

²⁰ It is interesting that in *Delgamuukw* (above n.1 at 51), the chief justice notes that a survey of 1,000 people conducted by the Tribal Council in 1979 showed that 32% of the sample attended no feasts. One would have thought that by Canadian standards, a 68% participation rate was pretty good.

in assimilation, or at least integration; but he in no way believed that this should affect questions of title.²¹

Some of these questions were raised by Mr. Bill White at the trans-boundary legal history conference referred to earlier.²² White praised Cole and Chaikin for moving “the Indian from the generic realm into a culturally specific area” by carefully distinguishing the different experiences of the different tribal groups and by identifying individuals as well.²³ However, he reminded authors and audience alike that the danger of relying too heavily on documentary sources is that many of those who produced them — such as the agents, former fur traders and missionaries cited by Cole and Chaikin — did not always speak the language of the people they criticized and may well have been blind to much that was going on. For example, during the period when it was illegal to pursue their land claims (1927-1951), native people obeyed the law and stopped bothering government, but they did not cease talking among themselves; nor, whatever appearances may have been, is it clear that the authors are correct in implying that the Salish voluntarily abandoned the potlatch.²⁴ Indeed, as White (who is himself Coast Salish) pointed out, a large potlatch hosted by Julia and Russell Henry of the Tsartlip band was taking place in Saanich at the same time as the conference.²⁵

Because what the authors have written is legal history as much as anything else, some readers may be disappointed by their failure to identify with (or even to identify) a particular theory of the relationship between law and social change. Although they tend, correctly in my view, to side with those historians who assert that native peoples were not a passive mass upon which Europeans imposed their will, what they infer from this is not entirely clear. They sometimes seem to be of the view that the potlatch law was a significant factor in the assault on native culture. At other points in the book their attitude appears to be that it really did not make much difference at all, especially when compared to the influence of Christianity, and to jurisdictions where the potlatch was legal but declined anyway. This

²¹ The portrayal of Kelly in Alan Morley’s *Roar of the Breakers: A Biography of Peter Kelly* (Toronto, 1967) underplays this aspect of the man, as Paul Tennant points out in *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver, 1990) at 252n.

²² See n. 1, above, and accompanying text.

²³ Mr. White kindly supplied me with notes of his remarks.

²⁴ Above n.6 at 60-61.

²⁵ In fairness, it must be added that the meaning of “voluntarily” and “potlatch” are open to debate, and that Cole and Chaikin did not mean to dispute that the potlatch was far from moribund among the Coast Salish today.

may be a genuine and justified refusal to go too far beyond the data, but less understandable is the lack of an appendix setting out the various texts of the potlatch law, and the absence of references in the index to standard legal terminology. Does this reflect a belief that the technical details of the law are unimportant, and is it therefore a clue to the nature of the authors' unstated theory of law and social change? If so, this needs to surface and be defended.

In conclusion it must be stated that this is a book rich in detail, and it is difficult to do it justice in a short review, especially one by a reviewer who felt compelled to take up valuable space by attempting to relate it to the decision in *Delgamuukw*. Nonetheless, to this connection I now return, because at the end of their book Cole and Chaikin address the question of why the Kwakiutl and the Gitksan "persisted with their potlatch to a greater extent than did many of their neighbours."²⁶ They concede that "this exceptionalism is not easily explained," but suggest that,

[a]mong the Gitksan, a probable factor was the close connection between status and ownership of resource territories. The potlatch, as a validation of territorial rights, may have received extra reinforcement as a means of furthering land claims against the government.²⁷

Yet, according to the judgment in *Delgamuukw*, by the time the potlatch law was passed in 1885 the Gitksan and their Wet'suwet'en neighbours had no territorial rights: unbeknownst to them, their aboriginal title had been extinguished twenty years earlier, implicitly, by colonial laws that could not be enforced and that made no mention of either title or extinguishment. Compared to this ruling, the iron hand of the potlatch law is a gentle tap.²⁸ By drawing our attention to this important part of our legal past, the authors have provided us with a useful contrast to the supreme court decision, and done both law and history a genuine service.

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²⁶ Above n.6 at 181.

²⁷ *Ibid.* As Wet'suwet'en chief Gisdaywa (Alfred Joseph) told an audience in Smithers recently, over the years elders literally wore out drums singing songs about their territories. Yet, he said, they are not bitter about the chief justice's decision, because they know that, in the end, they will prevail.

²⁸ Indeed, the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en hardly seem to have regarded the potlatch law as a threat. In 1890 the people at Kitwanga told the Indian agent there that the law "was as weak as a baby." And as late as 1920 some Hagwilget people merely giggled when the local priest told them not to potlatch "because of the threat of the law." (See above n.6 at 39, 179.)

Ranald MacDonald: The Narrative of His Life, 1824-1894, ed. William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami. Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1990. Pp. 350. Illus. \$30.00.

Northrop Frye observed that although historical narratives incorporate unifying forms "to tell a historian that what gives shape to his book is a myth would sound to him vaguely insulting." It is unclear how the authors of *Ranald MacDonald: The Narrative of His Life, 1824-1894* (first published in 1923) would have felt about such a statement. There is little question, however, that they found it not only permissible but indispensable to tamper with the historical facts. In the process, they endowed Ranald Macdonald with "heroic qualities" and facilitated his rise from relative obscurity to his present status as a folk hero.

The thesis of the text is abridged on the monument erected to Macdonald in 1988 at his birthplace at Fort George, present-day Astoria, Oregon. It reads:

Ranald MacDonald, First teacher of English in Japan. The son of the Hudson's Bay Co. manager of Fort George and Chinook Indian Chief Comcomly's Daughter. MacDonald theorized that a racial link existed between Indians and Japanese. He determined to enter Japan although it was closed to foreigners. . . . Sailing in 1848 as a deckhand on an American whaler, he marooned himself on Rishiri island near Hokkaido. While awaiting his deportation he was allowed to teach English to 14 Japanese scholars, some of whom became leaders in the modernization of Japan. He spent his active life in Europe, Canada and Australia. He is buried in an Indian cemetery near Curlew, Washington.

Almost all of this statement is factual, yet in the juxtapositioning of the information fabrication is created. Jean Murray Cole's "Afterword," which has been added to this reprint, sounds the warning note, and historians are cautioned to read her comments before beginning the text.

In brief, much of the manuscript was not written by Macdonald, but was the work of another fur trade son, Malcolm McLeod, an Ottawa lawyer, who, with Ranald's assistance, incorporated Ranald's narrative into various manuscripts of his own. In the course of this undertaking in the early 1890s, the elderly McLeod, who had never been to Japan and the aged Macdonald, who had lost his Japan notes, turned to other books, especially Richard Hildreth's *Japan As It Was and Is* (1855) for inspiration. At times, the borrowing bordered on plagiarism, but more often it instructed McLeod and refreshed Ranald's memories, allowing him to "see" again what he had viewed briefly some forty years before.

As Metis, McLeod and Macdonald were sensitive towards native peoples and sought to create a positive image of them. With this in mind, McLeod infused the narrative with generous lectures on brotherly love and Christian duty, and it was he (rather than Macdonald) who theorizing a racial link between the northwest coast Indians and the Japanese which cast both in a favourable light.

In the early 1920s, however, when William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami "discovered" Ranald's manuscript (actually Ranald's handwritten copy of one of the McLeod-Macdonald manuscripts), it was widely believed that "nature" was more important than "nurture." As a consequence, they distorted some of the correspondence between Macdonald and McLeod in their "Biographical Accounts of Ranald Macdonald," which precedes the narrative, to reinforce a biological interpretation of Ranald's actions and perpetuated the notion (first put forward by E. E. Dye in her *McDonald of Oregon* in 1906) that Ranald's favourable attitude towards and treatment by the Japanese was directly related to his inherited "Indian characteristics." In reality, however, Ranald, who was raised as a middle-class youngster, was unaware that his birth mother, who died shortly after he was born, was a Chinook Indian until after he returned from Japan. In official Japanese documents, Ranald is listed as a "Canadian," and there is no indication that the Japanese believed him to be either an Indian or a half-breed.

To simply decry the untruths or complain that the thirty years Ranald spent in British Columbia have been left out of the text leaves little over for ascertaining what is in many respects a remarkable story of a remarkable man. Whatever else might be said, Ranald's narrative has captivated readers for more than sixty years and no doubt will continue to do so in the future. For the "Friends of MacDonald" who are responsible for the publication of this facsimile edition and for thousands of other Japanese and Americans, the myths in the narrative are of secondary importance to the message in Ranald's story that "international boundaries are no barrier to friendship."

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Note on Spelling:

Ranald spelt his last name *Macdonald*. Lewis and Murakami, who edited the text, spelled it *MacDonald*. Eva Emery Dye spelled it *McDonald*, the same way Ranald's father Archibald McDonald spelled his last name.

Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989, by Paul Tennant. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. Pp. xvi, 305. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

After a century and a half of bluster, obfuscation, subterfuge, and outright bullying, the British Columbia government seems finally prepared to sit at the table and discuss the province's oldest and most intractable dispute: aboriginal land claims. The appearance of Paul Tennant's *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics* would be an important publishing event irrespective of the circumstances, but at this critical juncture in the history of Confederation's spoilt brat, it is doubly welcome. Tennant's purpose is "to describe the history of the land question in British Columbia and to reveal something of the remarkable achievements of the Indian peoples in their steadfast pursuit of their land rights through peaceful political means." In this he succeeds.

The first part of the book traverses terrain that has been diligently explored by other writers: the Douglas treaties, the reserve commissions, the McKenna-McBride business, the Nisga'a petition and the parliamentary inquiry of 1927. But Tennant brings fresh insights to these old controversies.

He questions — and I think on very good grounds — James Douglas's reputation as a man willing to give Indians all the land they wanted for their reserves and committed to the recognition of aboriginal title as a matter of principle. And he offers the first coherent account of the extension of Treaty 8 into the northeastern corner of the province and its implications for the recognition of aboriginal title. The analysis of the parliamentary hearings of 1927 is the best to date. Tennant shows up the crude unfairness of federal government tactics during these deliberations and the blatant contradictions of the committee's report.

After 1927 and an amendment to the Indian Act which more or less suppressed native political activity, agitation over the land issue went dormant. Tennant follows the story through the 1930s and 1940s, looking at the work of native organizations in those decades of ambiguity. There were other grievances that needed redress — education, economic rights, and so forth — but the question of aboriginal title was never lost sight of. In the less repressive climate of the 1950s and 1960s, the agitation surfaced once more, and Tennant leads us skilfully through the bewildering array of new native organizations that appeared and the attempt at finding a common voice — so important in being taken seriously in Ottawa. The book's greatest strength is its clear and concise analysis of the arguments put forward for and against aboriginal title in British Columbia.

Tennant correctly identifies a number of critical court cases which were instrumental in forcing serious soul-searching on the part of the federal and provincial governments. The White and Bob case of 1963 appeared to accept the application of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 to British Columbia, and this lent credence to a long-standing native historical argument. In 1973 the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that the Nisga'a had once had aboriginal title but couldn't decide if it still existed or not. This was enough, however, to bring the Trudeau government to the negotiating table. And in 1984 a land dispute involving the Musqueam band was decided in court with the judges accepting the principle of aboriginal title. More recently the British Columbia courts have shown a willingness to grant injunctions against resource companies wishing to exploit land claimed by the Indians. With the companies unhappy, the Social Credit government was willing to talk.

This is not a book for the general reader. It assumes a great deal of knowledge of British Columbia history, and the broader context of many events is often given but a passing nod. I have no problem with the facts and interpretations as such. Apart from a few minor slips (the spelling of "anomie" on p. 72 and the use of "alternate" instead of "alternative" on p. 147) it is a piece of work that is professionally and competently executed.

The native voice is heard throughout, and this, I believe, is a significant accomplishment. But many of the native personalities, with the exception of George Manuel, are a little flat and lifeless. We don't really come to know them on the page — they remain as faceless names. Perhaps this is due to prose that is itself often flat, but never, mercifully, bogged down in academic jargon.

Paul Tennant's *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics* will prove an invaluable source on native land claims and politics in British Columbia for many years.

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BRIAN TITLEY

Three Men and a Forester, by Ian Mahood and Ken Drushka. Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1990. Pp. 240. \$26.95 cloth.

Ken Drushka's *Stumped*, published in 1985, has helped countless British Columbians make sense of the forces shaping exploitation of the province's forests. Those hoping that the collaboration between Drushka and Ian Mahood would update and broaden the analysis and prescriptions offered

in *Stumped* will greet *Three Men and a Forester* with mixed emotions. The disappointing news is that Mahood and Drushka provide little analysis of post-1985 forest policy developments. The happy news is that while it covers much of the same ground dealt with by Drushka, the new book adds additional layers to the treatment, using a different approach to craft an analysis every bit as instructive. Whereas *Stumped* systematically chronicles developments on a number of dimensions of forest policy, *Three Men* mixes critical analysis of the industry's evolution with Mahood's autobiography, presenting colourful reminiscences from his sixty-year career. Mahood began to learn about forestry at the side of his forest ranger father in the 1920s, moving on to a UBC forestry degree and summer work with the Forest Service and with Bloedel, Stewart, and Welch. After returning from the war, he worked for the government before joining the H. R. MacMillan Export Company and then MacMillan Bloedel. Following his departure from M & B in the late 1950s, he became a principal in logging and consulting companies, taking on a diverse array of tasks on behalf of clients.

Mahood is clearly someone with a "grounded" knowledge of how the industry operates and, not surprisingly, the account is rich with anecdotes. We hear, for example, about summer baseball games between Bloedel and MacMillan loggers at Alberni in the 1930s, about his hike over the Allison pass to take a job with an early Forest Service inventory project, and about a memorable run-in with J. V. Clyne at a reception held to introduce Clyne to his new underlings at MacMillan Bloedel. His wartime recollections provide an interesting account of the role that pioneers of the Forest Service's air survey program played in development of allied air photography and mapping capabilities.

Although the approaches taken in *Stumped* and *Three Men* are quite different, the demonologies at the heart of the two books are much the same. Drushka and Mahood are soulmates. Like the earlier work, *Three Men* contends that the province's forests have been badly managed by large monopoly corporations and a weak forest service. Government policy in the sustained yield era is said to discriminate against small loggers (the authors like H. R. MacMillan's term, "citizen businesses"), while allowing the large companies to highgrade and dissipate rent. Both corporate and government bureaucracies are held to be populated by professional foresters with no sense of what is termed the Magna Carta (or protector of the realm) vision of the forester's role.

Mahood and Drushka are especially critical of the behaviour of companies that become heavily involved in pulp and paper operations. They contend, for example, that after H. R. Macmillan's departure, MacMillan

Bloedel was taken over by "lawyers, accountants and pulp and paper thinkers who did not know the forests" (p. 179). This leadership sanctioned highgrading, excessive waste, and the treatment of silviculture as little more than a public relations gesture. Many in the industry will be greatly aggravated by the strong suggestion that, given the free ride pulp companies have received under the province's stumpage system, American pulp producers would be perfectly justified in following their lumber industry counterparts in seeking countervail redress against the B.C. competition. Mahood and Drushka step up the attack on the status quo in the last few chapters, excoriating the sympathetic administration policy of the 1980s, and devoting a full chapter to illustrating how large companies can cheat logging and silvicultural contractors and the public purse.

Mahood and Drushka miss no opportunity to praise H. R. MacMillan or snipe at C. D. Orchard, the architect of "sustained yield" and the TFL system. Orchard is portrayed as a partisan (Liberal) civil servant who knew little about silviculture or economics, and who shirked his obligations as a professional forester and the Chief Forester during the events leading to the Sommers affair. MacMillan, on the other hand, is presented as a prophet whose advice, sadly, was ignored. Large chunks of the book are devoted to presenting passages from, or synopses of, MacMillan's briefs to the Sloan royal commissions. In these, he spoke of the danger that the postwar policies would lead to "the early extermination of the most hard working, virile, versatile, and ingenious element of our population, the independent market logger and the small mill man" and leave management in the hands of "professional bureaucrats, fixers with a penthouse viewpoint who, never having had rain in their lunch buckets, would abuse the forest" (pp. 168, 170).

What to do? The prescriptions will be familiar to anyone who has followed Drushka's forceful contributions to the forest policy debate. Diversify the tenure system and increase private ownership of forest land in order to promote small-scale, independent forest farming operations and a more labour intensive, diversified industry. Separate the manufacturing arm of the industry from the logging and silvicultural arms, forcing the processors to compete for fibre on open markets. Transfer administrative control to regional land use boards.

In sum, Mahood and Drushka effectively develop both diagnoses and prescriptions. There certainly are places where we might have hoped that someone as closely involved as Mahood would have been able to illuminate more fully the circumstances surrounding important events. For example, the discussion of the Sommers affair leads only as far as the pale conclusion

that "other unsavoury actions far more significant went unpunished. Some day the other aspects of the Sommers case may surface" (p. 132). Similarly, the later exposition of the Shoal Island log scaling controversy peters out with "[i]t would be interesting to know whether particular companies, such as those operating the offending dryland sorts, were generous donors of political money to the Social Credit party" (p. 219). In addition, some will say the authors are overly sanguine in their argument that small loggers could have been (or could be) transformed into successful small-scale tree farmers. But on the whole this is a fine book. All those interested in B.C. forest history should hope that it inspires other industry pioneers to have a go at setting down their experiences.

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JEREMY WILSON

Landscape Evaluation: Approaches and Applications, edited by Philip Dearden and Barry Sadler. Victoria: University of Victoria Department of Geography, 1989. Pp. xvi, 305. Illus. \$15.00 paper.

Rarely has a book so clearly relevant to current problems in western Canada been so understated. *Landscape Evaluation* was published in 1989, and the importance of its themes to public policy has grown over the ensuing years.

Landscape Evaluation looks at the visual aspects of the western Canadian landscape. Edited by Philip Dearden and Barry Sadler, both with long-standing associations with the Geography department of the University of Victoria, the book provides a key linkage between the emerging body of theoretical, technical, and policy literature on visual resources management that is being generated in the United States, and those issues specific to our region.

The book has chapters that provide a framework for landscape evaluation research and for looking at socially derived aesthetic values. Douglas Porteous' essay on Malcolm Lowry's vision of the landscapes of the British Columbia coast is intriguing, as is the photographic essay on the early years of Banff National Park. Both chapters explore the play between cultural themes related to the landscape and the implications to land use policy. Unfortunately, the most pressing landscape evaluation issue in British Columbia, managing the visual impacts of logging and setting socially derived standards for aesthetics, is barely mentioned.

Landscape Evaluation is part of a recent wave of new literature on visual resources management and provides some unique contributions — mainly grounded in the context of the dramatic landscapes of western Canada. However, the cultural milieu from which individual experience is in part derived is not as carefully described. Marsh's discussion of how postcards shape the tourist experience is probably the most region-specific.

Dearden and Sadler have compiled much for a key regional discourse, and the book warrants serious use in university programmes in landscape studies and environmental planning. The book is well produced, and the extensive reliance on photographs makes its points even more compelling.

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GORDON BRENT INGRAM

Landscapes of the Mind: Worlds of Sense and Metaphor, by J. Douglas Porteous. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. Pp. xv, 227. \$40.00 cloth.

Robert Bringhurst's "Sunday Morning" turns on these intricate metaphors for the mind:

The mind is the place not already taken.
 The mind is not-yet-gathered beads of water
 in the teeth of certain leaves —
Saxifraga punctata, close by the stream
 under the ridge leading south to Mount Hozameen,
 for example — and the changing answers of the moon.

Such speculative epistemology might serve as the epigraph to J. Douglas Porteous's *Landscapes of the Mind*. The book is a relaxed and reverent meditation on the necessity of knowing the world "close-up," through the non-visual senses, and balancing and integrating such physical contact with apprehending through processes of metaphor (as duplicitous as in Bringhurst's poem).

Porteous proposes an interdisciplinary exploration of the sensory and existential ways in which we perceive the world — or, of the ways we could/should perceive world if the visual sense were not so dominant and imperialistic. As a geographer, Porteous is interested in landforms and topography. As a humanistic geographer, he is interested not so much in the quantitative measures central to his discipline as in the human beings' *conceptions* of geography, in the connections between people's imaginative comprehension of landscape (in language, through literature — in par-

ticular the novel) and the outer landscape. Porteous's argument for the landscapes known by the immediate senses, and through metaphor, provide the organization of the book: two chapters on sensory apprehension — "Smellscape" and "Soundscape"; and three pairs of chapters under the general title "Landscapes of Metaphor": "Bodyscape"/ "Inscape," "Homescape"/ "Escape," "Childscape/Deathscape."

Landscapes of the Mind examines British Columbia incidentally — the objective is generally applicable principles. Nevertheless, in its use of Malcolm Lowry's Dollarton-Paradiso as a key point of reference, and in its concern with knowing the local close-up, it constantly touches on British Columbia studies: Emily Carr learns through listening how to paint; detailed classification of sounds in Victoria's south Fairfield district elaborate Porteous's claims for earwitness. Perhaps, too, the book's somewhat mystical, lyrical approach, which Porteous cheerfully acknowledges (and urges), is typical of the west coast and particularly of the Gulf Islands (Saturna provides the dateline for the book's Acknowledgements).

Reading this book I felt both excited and frustrated — paradoxical reactions which originate, no doubt, in its "pioneering" dimensions. Particularly in its sections on literature, *Landscapes of the Mind* is more list than analysis. Porteous catalogues relevant passages sensitively, but says little about them. He holds them up as self-sufficient illustrations. When he does attempt interpretation, and considers implications, these come typically at the end of chapters, tantalizing but undeveloped. The book thus points its way constantly to an integration of disciplines never quite achieved — at least not achieved with the density and excitement it is achieved in, for example, Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay* (1987) or, somewhat closer to Porteous's theme, in Paul Stoller's *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (1989), or in Diane Ackerman's *A Natural History of the Senses* (1990). Porteous himself acknowledges several times the implicit limitation of using almost entirely male British writers as examples (Lowry and Graham Greene are the two principal figures). The perspectives of Annette Kolodny's study *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience in American Life and Letters* (1975) or Susan Griffin's *Women and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (1978) would have been valuable additions. Closer to home, of course, one can think of many other relevant female writers: of Audrey Thomas's *Intertidal Life* (1984); of the soundscapes in Daphne Marlatt's *Ana Historic* (1988), of the childscapes in the fantasies of Christie Harris. But that many of these titles obviously appeared too late to be included in *Landscapes of*

the Mind demonstrates the extent to which Porteous is setting out an alternate geography.

I certainly found dozens of fascinating moments in this book: the information that psychological studies show human olfactory memory to be much stronger than visual memory; the argument that we should consult children and our knowledge of children in environmental planning; the aside that Inuit have a particularly fine sense of taste for salt. "The way we perceive landscape," writes Conger Beasley Jr. in *Sundancers and River Demons* (1990), can have a direct bearing upon the way we perceive society and the human beings who comprise it." Such ethical and political possibilities in landscape construction are provocatively posed or promised in *Landscapes of the Mind*. The book repeatedly forces us to think in new ways and to reconsider our preconceptions about landscape, but it is a very initial and tentative pushing of these ideas which needs heft and analytical muscle. Essentially Porteous keeps returning to the foundations of landscape in the multi-sensory jumble: sound and smell, especially, fused in the primary encounter with the world in childhood. "It occurred to me . . ." says Beasley of Santa Cruz Island (off California), "that the best way to become acquainted with a landscape is to crawl across it on your belly." That's a "close-up" "processing of information" that Porteous would endorse with enthusiasm.

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