BOOK REVIEWS

Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake

Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. ix, 331 pp. Illus. $25.95 paper.

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POET, WRITER, storyteller, spokesperson, performer, actress, performance artist. Pauline Johnson is certainly the most public and popular writer that nineteenth-century Canada produced, and perhaps even the most public Canadian writer of the last century. Such is the fame that she embodies some ninety years after her death in 1913. And yet, despite this exposure, Johnson remains essentially an enigma. For as Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson state in the introduction to *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson,* "the conversation between Johnson and her audiences did not end with her death. Authors from Earle Birney to Ethel Wilson, Margaret Atwood and Beth Brant continued to address her contributions. Their varying attention reflects their own knowledge, mostly fragmentary, of her work and history." Because the idea of the "Indian" has continuously changed, as the society doing the gazing changes, so too does the perception of Johnson evolve. The question, therefore, becomes how to locate the essential subject while recognizing one's own biases and shortcomings.

From my reading it appears that there are two fundamental ways writers tend to approach biography. In laying out their copious, researched facts, they either try to enliven their narrative by employing many novelistic techniques in order to recreate particular episodes and scenes, or they take the opposite approach and simply present the facts. It is the latter approach to biography that academics Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson take: they focus specifically on the "texts and times" of Pauline Johnson rather than on her life per se. Where Strong-Boag and Gerson do probe Johnson's life, it is always in relation to her written work and it always occurs within a specific context. To say that the authors have done a copious amount of research in unearthing every shred of writing by

and about Johnson would not be an overstatement. As the text's endnotes and bibliography indicate, they have gone to great lengths to track down everything from the earliest juvenilia to uncollected and scattered poems and articles from a variety of sources.

This is not to say that the authors do not have an agenda. From the outset, they tell us that they are both "Euro-Canadian feminist academics – a literary critic and an historian" (5) who "both came to this shared project with long-standing commitments to recovering women in Canadian literature and history" (15). Their "unashamedly partisan" position is therefore aimed at analyzing Johnson's writing to "return her to center stage" (ibid). To their credit, the authors do not presume to know more than they do. They make it clear that, upon Johnson's death, many of her private papers were destroyed. They also note that nearly all of the sources for this text are non-Native, which makes for further gaps in the E. Pauline Johnson story. Nevertheless, by working closely with what is available, the authors engage "seriously and systematically" with the entire body of Johnson's surviving work. Pointing out that the current reassessment of Johnson is due to contemporary interest in early Canadian literature by women and a renewed interest in Aboriginal peoples, the authors look to Johnson – a mix of Mohawk and United Empire Loyalist – as the nineteenth-century embodiment of Canada itself.

What makes *Paddling Her Own Canoe* so interesting, then, is that the authors wade through the entire body of Johnson's work to find clues to her "true" nature and identity, while being conscious of their "own making" of Johnson. Thus, beginning with her childhood on the Six Nations Reserve and moving on to her career as one of Canada's major writers of her time, the authors document and analyze the facts of Johnson's life through what one might call their nationalistic/feminist filter.

So what exactly do the authors advance that we might not already know? Lots. Adhering to their text-based methodology, they begin with an overview of "The Politics of Race, the Six Nations and the Johnson Family" (19) and probe the dynamic between non-Native and Native peoples in the nineteenth century within the context of Johnson's immediate milieu. We learn that the earliest events in Johnson's life may have influenced what she later wrote. Likewise, we learn of the significance of the Christian "mixed-race elite" of that time, which was reflected in the Johnson family's own dual heritage and the zealous Christianity of Johnson's father, George Martin Johnson, an Anglican missionary and government interpreter. We realize why the Johnson family might have had to move off reserve after the death of Pauline's father in 1884, when Pauline was only seventeen, ostensibly cutting her off from the Mohawk community.

The authors also take special note of the "New Woman" movement of the nineteenth century and persuasively link Johnson to it. In providing evidence, they document her encounter with the suffragist Nellie McClung, her membership in the Canadian Women's Press Club, her unorthodox relationships with men, and the network of women whom she befriended. We learn, however, that Johnson's place in the movement is complicated because, although White middle-class women shared some issues with Aboriginal peoples, "most had too much invested in race privileges to accept Aboriginal peoples as their equals" (68). Accordingly, we are bound to ask how Johnson reconciled such contradictions in her life and writing. The authors tell us succinctly that, throughout her

life, she faced this ongoing dilemma: how to be true to herself as a woman of Aboriginal heritage with close personal and professional links to Anglo-Canadian feminists. Hence, Johnson's evolving persona as Native advocate/United Empire loyalist/ Indian Princess/Victorian Lady.

What I personally found interesting in the subsection entitled "Lovers, Wives, and Mothers" is the authors' statement that Johnson "dared to create young women who are much more physically expressive than their Euro-Canadian counterparts" (86). From their apparent survey of the literature of the time, Strong-Boag and Gerson even go so far as to claim that "Johnson extended Canadian literature's range of emotional possibilities" (87). This is an aspect of her writing that has been largely ignored to date and, as the authors contend, was certainly overlooked in her time by the male-dominated literary establishment.

Also equally remarkable is the prodigious literary output that Johnson managed in her short life. While citing the four books she published in her lifetime and the two published posthumously, the authors inform us that much of the poetry and prose she published in newspapers and magazines was never collected. This is confirmed in the text's appendix by a comprehensive list of Johnson's publications. If one considers the times in which she lived and the daily grind of performing in venues from one end of the country to the other, then Johnson's achievement is quite astounding. This is made all the more impressive when we consider that she was a single woman – of Mohawk heritage – threatened by ill health.

Johnson had a mission, and the scope of this mission is well documented. It is clear that she identified herself as a female Mohawk writer and was passionate about the Native cause. It is in examining her heritage in relationship to her writing and career that the authors' take on Johnson becomes problematic. Quoting from reports of the time, they indicate that the "role of stage Indian inflected her public identity, as evidenced in the increase in the Native content and Native commitment of her work ... Thus, to some extent, Johnson was a 'woman who actually became her role'" (113). Given that Johnson found herself increasingly in the public eye as her career developed, and in a position to voice what really mattered to her, I find this observation troubling. It gives the impression that Johnson's identity was as easily put on and taken off as were her costumes. It thus neglects the primacy of her Mohawk heritage (the significance of growing up with her grandfather Smoke Johnson, for example) during the formative stages of her life. Furthermore, as her career developed, and as she began to travel widely, she would have become politicized by virtue of seeing first-hand the abject poverty ("the growing misery of the prairie tribes" [214]) in which the vast majority of Aboriginal peoples lived.

The authors further suggest that Johnson's performance was unthreatening because of the sequence of her costumes: first the "wild Indian" and, second, the cultivated European lady. This is problematic because, from all reports (which the authors themselves acknowledge in the endnotes), Johnson did not always adhere to this order. In fact, she sometimes ended her performances dressed like a "wild Indian," thus emphasizing her "Indianness." This leads me to ask whether the authors' biases (as stated themselves) have inadvertently led them to include Johnson's Mohawk heritage under the umbrella of feminism. They would seem to substantiate this position by focusing on her English bloodline and noting that the bulk of

her poetry makes no explicit reference to Aboriginal issues. Because the evidence of Johnson's childhood is scanty and inconclusive (the earliest records were destroyed by her sister), and because much of her poetry is apolitical, it is easy to dismiss the profound impact that being even part Mohawk would have had on her in nineteenth-century Canada.

The statement that "Johnson's poetry forestalled the necessity to engage other Native Canadian voices" (115) also raises concern. While this may be true to some extent (Bernice Loft Winslow, Dawendine, was not published until her ninetieth year), one must consider that, at the time of Johnson's death in 1913, the residential school system was doing its utmost to eradicate Aboriginal culture through government and church decree. That Johnson's poetry survived to provide a voice to a disenfranchised and "voiceless" people is a testament to its durability – perhaps because it did arise out of the margin between two cultures – to its ability to survive blatant racism. It seems to me that, if the dominant culture was content to hear only Johnson's voice over the ensuing years, then that speaks far more of the prevailing attitude of the time than of Johnson's dominance as the representative Native poet of the period. The authors' contention that "Modernism was most comfortable with Indians when they were cast as primitives" (129), and that Canadian modernists literally sweep Johnson's work aside, is perhaps the most telling indication of what happened to the Native voice in the years following Johnson's death. For if the most renowned Native poet was herself locked into the paradigm of "primitivism," then how could there be room in a modern Canada for other Native writers? Still, as the authors point out, even in death Johnson managed to keep "Canadians from forgetting entirely the presence of a Native 'Other' in their midst" (216).

What Veronica Strong-Boag and Carol Gerson's text manages to do, then, considering their admission of their limitations, is to provide a thorough re-evaluation of Johnson's life and work within the context of race and gender issues. By asserting a panoply of evidence that Johnson belongs at the forefront of Native literature and feminism in Canada, the authors successfully argue that the cultural and historical significance of her poetry and prose has been unjustly neglected. I say "successfully" because *Paddling Her Own Canoe* compels us to (re)turn to the primary sources themselves – in this case, the poems and stories of E. Pauline Johnson herself. And, in the final assessment, this is perhaps what the best biographies aspire to do. If only an inkling of the poet in Johnson had rubbed off on these two authors.

E. Pauline Johnson
Tekahionwake: Collected Poems
and Selected Prose

Edited by Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. ix, 331 pp. Illus. $65.00 cloth.

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In their introduction to this collection of poetry and prose by E. Pauline Johnson, the editors, Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, reference their previous biography *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)*. This makes perfect sense because this collection

of Johnson's work appears as a compendium of sorts to the preceding text. Where the authors argued in *Paddling* that Johnson's historical and cultural significance had been unjustly neglected and that a reassessment of her place in Canadian literary history was long overdue, *Tekahionwake* serves to substantiate their argument by showing us why they are advocates of Johnson's work. Beginning with an introduction that builds on the research gathered in *Paddling*, Gerson and Strong-Boag provide a brief overview of Johnson's life and milieu while highlighting various themes in her work in order to provide a context for those who might be reading it for the first time. The works included consist of all the poetry the authors have managed to locate as well as a substantial amount of her prose, including classic examples of her short stories and essays.

Though obviously not as comprehensive as the full biography, the collection's introduction nevertheless serves the text well in providing a general "map" by which to navigate the body of Johnson's prose and poetry. It is worth noting that the authors expand *Paddling* by adding several topics to the introduction. For example, most significantly, they emphasize the oral tradition in Johnson's work, which necessarily implicates her Mohawk heritage. Acknowledging that her work "regularly recalls the persistence of such traditions" (xxx), as evinced in both her writing style and her oral performances, the authors point to Johnson's early upbringing, particularly the influence of her grandfather (Smoke Johnson) and the socio-cultural environment within which she was raised – despite her having grown up somewhat separated from the larger Mohawk community. Her Mohawk heritage, for example, gives her an alternative perspective on the rights of women – a perspective that was well advanced for its time. By implication, Strong-Boag and Gerson's emphasis on the oral tradition makes us realize that Johnson came by her "Indian" identity honestly, despite her (melo)dramatic stage appearances, which, one suspects, were a direct result of financial need and, hence, a sop to a white audience's expectations. The authors' emphasis on the oral tradition clearly signals a rethinking of their position in *Paddling*, where they held that, "initially [Johnson] drew very lightly on her Native heritage" (101). Such a statement now appears limited to addressing the work thematically without taking into consideration stylistic qualities inherent in her poetry.

The authors also touch on the implications associated with "naming." Noting that "naming represents power, its loss represents defeat" (xxxii), they tie this idea specifically to Johnson's adoption of the Mohawk name "Tekahionwake." The authors indicate that the act of naming may be interpreted as a further indication of Johnson's identification with the Mohawk side of her family. As in their previous study, Strong-Boag and Gerson point to themes involving First Nations issues, women's issues, sexuality, nature, and the more general "idea" of Canada and of how Johnson perceived the nation in her work. We learn that she exulted in the idea of the fledgling nation while, at the same time, challenging its treatment of First Nations peoples. And yet, while referring to the public's continued fascination with Johnson, the authors also note the mixed reception of her work over the years – usually on the part of male critics. However, with the advent of postcolonial and feminist studies, which have ushered in a positive reassessment of Johnson's life and work, time is clearly on Johnson's side. Strong-Boag and Gerson hammer this point home by ending their introduction

with a reference to Johnson's influence on the new wave of First Nations writing, a point that is self-evident in the publication of this comprehensive collection.

That the authors' thorough research has made available all of Johnson's poetry under one cover, along with a fine selection of her representative prose, warrants considerable applause. The organization, however, is problematic. For the poetry, there are four general divisions: (1) The Early Years: Beginning to 1888; (2) The Prolific Years: 1889-1898; (3) Later Years: 1899-1913; and (3) Anonymous and Pseudonymous Poems. Although such divisions provide a logical methodology by which to structure the text, they make for rather difficult reading – especially if one is trying to interest students in the work. To find the poetic gems, one must dig through pages of raw material. In any poet's body of work, there are poems that will be remembered and poems that will be quickly forgotten (and, in some cases, for the better). This is certainly the case with Johnson. This not to say that all the poetry is not without interest and value; it is just that it might have been much more effective to have structured this section around Johnson's first two publications, *The White Wampum* and *Canadian Born*. For the most part, these collections contain "the best of Johnson," while her previously uncollected work provides an overview of her development as a poet. As it stands, the major poems have a tendency to get lost in the lesser work. Furthermore, to locate the poems that were published in these first two collections, the reader has to constantly refer to the text's notes at the back of the book; and, although these notes are in themselves informative, the constant flipping back and forth becomes quite tedious. For Johnson scholars, and others with an abiding interest in her work (like myself), the text will undoubtedly be appreciated, and perhaps the linear structure will not present a problem. However, those intending to use the text in the classroom, especially at the undergraduate level, will have to consider strategies to keep the students from being overwhelmed by the material. They will have to point them directly to the gems and then move them on from there in order to keep them from succumbing to frustration and boredom.

As for the prose section, the authors point out that, because of the text's limited number of pages, they have had to be "highly selective." The nineteen pieces they have included work well to balance the representative pieces with the more obscure pieces. Their selection includes classic stories (such as "As It Was in the Beginning" and "A Red Girl's Reasoning") along with the previously uncollected (such as "A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction" and "Mothers of a Great Red Race"). To their credit Strong-Boag and Gerson even manage to include the previously unpublished essay "The Stings of Civilization." My only complaint – and this is highly personal – is that the authors did not include Johnson's story "My Mother," which was inspired by her mother's life. They do acknowledge that this piece can be found in the short story collection *The Moccasin Maker*, which is still in print. I bring this up because any instructor wanting to use *Tekahionwake* in class will either have to ignore this insightful story (which provides important clues to Johnson's upbringing) or send the students off to the library. Anthologizing is no easy feat, however, and it always demands tough decisions that will not please everyone. Thus, one must commend Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag for work well done. They have

done much to bring Tekahionwake's work back into the spotlight.

Invisible Indigenes: The Politics of Nonrecognition

Bruce Granville Miller

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 243 pp. US$49.95 cloth.

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A text that purports to examine the experiences of indigenous peoples on a global scale is by definition ambitious and, thus, open to a variety of critiques. These works tend to sacrifice detailed analysis in favour of sweeping descriptions and often base their comparisons on weak evidence. Yet this criticism would be unfair to Miller because, as he understands it, "indigene" is fundamentally a global concept. Indigenes the world over were created through roughly contiguous practices – similar forms of territorial conquest, discrimination, and cultural genocide. According to Miller, the failure to recognize indigenous peoples on a global level is simply the latest injustice.

Miller's analysis works on three levels. He provides a detailed examination of the struggles of Coast Salish and Snohomish in Washington State to gain recognition from the US government, and then he goes on to provide a more general analysis of other US groups and Canadian Aboriginal peoples. Following this examination he introduces observations from every region of the planet in an effort to connect local struggles to global issues. Moving from the specific to the general will please some readers as the examples he offers from the Pacific Northwest seem to have important analogies elsewhere. This same practice, however, will frustrate others. As Miller moves further from the cases that he knows best, his grasp of the details weakens and analytical flaws become more evident.

The text's principal strengths lie in Miller's analysis of the Pacific Northwest. Political manoeuvres and changing legal definitions of the concept "Indian" have made claims for recognition in this region particularly difficult to prove. Miller sees a sinister state here – one that is either in the hands of perfidious individuals or one that simply endeavours to limit recognition in favour of ethnic genocide. He has plenty of evidence for this, as the actions of Bureau of Acknowledgement and Research (BAR) officials are hard to render sympathetically. Moreover, Miller points out other structural obstacles to recognition. What of the Sinixt, whose cross-border traditions and small numbers have trapped them in the United States and whom federal officials have grouped with larger communities? And what of the Lubicon in Alberta, who were not included in Treaty Eight because federal agents did not know they existed?

These are good questions, but Miller offers one-sided answers. Intransigence on the part of the leaders of the Lubicon produced a schism in the band over the issue of recognition, a conflict Miller represents simply as a product of federal manipulation. Would the 182 individuals who took part in the opposition to band leaders see it the same way? Furthermore, when Miller tries to extrapolate from these struggles to a more global approach to indigenous rights, he falls short. He privileges concepts that simply do not translate well beyond North America. His assumptions come out of a context within which federal states denied or

granted special rights based upon a legal definition of "Indian." Because the state in North America has the capacity to grant fishing, hunting, welfare, and other benefits to recognized indigenes, the category has some appeal here. Elsewhere, however, the state has never had the power to grant or enforce the rights associated with recognition, and the concept that the state should grant these rights and benefits seems alien.

Some of the underlying assumptions about what it means to be an indigene in North America do not translate well from here to other places. This is underscored by the fact that in Chile, Guatemala, or Venezuela (three countries Miller discusses), the Coast Salish would not be described as indigenous but, rather, as ladino/mestizo. This category is not a product of ethnic genocide; rather, it originates in the belief that simple dichotomies do not describe these complex societies particularly well. Miller fails to adequately account for these different histories, and he suggests that countries in this part of the world are/should be moving towards a conception of indigenous rights that is more like that accepted in North America (217). Leaving aside the question of whether or not this is just another example of North American imperialism, it suggests that Miller has learned little from the other cases he studied.

Miller's concept of indigenousness also fails to be convincing outside of the North American context. He outlines the difficulties associated with a variety of etic, emic, historical, and geographical definitions, but he leaves his readers with the unsatisfying observation that indigenousness is "best understood as arising from historical experience and associated with particular forms of reaction to particular forms of state formation and modes of economy"(61). His definition is particularly troubling for those who want to interrogate indigenous claims and for those who believe that, if the state is going to recognize special rights, then it needs to have a concrete basis for doing so. His own estimates of the global population of indigenes are profoundly imprecise (between 3 percent and 5 percent), including either very few Africans or all Africans (between 1.2 percent and 100 percent). Furthermore, inasmuch as Miller critiques traditional methods of determining indigenousness, he does not recognize that many of his own claims are questionable. His unwavering support of oral histories and criticisms of historical empiricism (the former are always reliable and the latter are always "flawed," especially when they contradict the former) leaves one questioning whether this is a scholarly work or an exercise in unrelenting activism. Fairness dictates that the claim to indigenousness be supported by concrete and mutually acceptable evidence. If we ignore this requirement we risk a political backlash against the very concept of indigenous rights. What may be at stake is not an expansion of rights but, rather, the end to any acts of recognition.

Land of Promise: Robert Burnaby's Letters from Colonial British Columbia, 1858-1863

Anne Burnaby McLeod and Pixie McGeachie

Burnaby, BC: City of Burnaby, 2002. 200 pp. Illus. $18.69 paper.

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LAND OF PROMISE is a compilation of the letters of Robert Burnaby to his family in England. These letters were written between 1858 (the first year of the Fraser River gold rush)

and 1863, while Burnaby was living in colonial British Columbia. His letters are rich in detail and entertaining in narrative, and will be of interest to any reader seeking a vivid sense of nineteenth-century society in the colonial Northwest Coast. Introduced and transcribed by Anne Burnaby McLeod, with a detailed overview of Burnaby's political, commercial, and social endeavours on the Pacific Coast by historian Pixie McGeachie, this book adds to the body of archival material on colonial British Columbia.

The phrase "land of promise" – taken from Burnaby's letter of 22 January 1859 – is full of the optimism of the colonial speculator and is steeped in biblical references. It conjures an "anticipatory geography" of a new land for the taking and reminds us of the spatial and imaginative qualities of imperial endeavour. In this sense Burnaby's land of promise is akin to the "perfect Eden" of James Douglas, the governor of British Columbia, as he surveyed the future site of Victoria, Vancouver Island, in 1843. It is also the *Australia felix* of Major Mitchell, the British surveyor of Southeastern Australia. These men of empire sought to possess the new landscape, first, by imaginatively producing a space that could be appropriated, then by reaping material rewards through survey, mapping, allotment, and speculation.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, much imperial travel writing presented inland exploration as a heroic enterprise in the service of empire, and a thread of this attitude runs through Burnaby's letters, which, at times, read like epic narrative. Burnaby's destination, the Pacific Northwest Coast, is his "El Dorado" (49), the place where he hopes to make his fortune. Similar letters of this genre were coming from all points of Britain's empire. Designed to provide both intimacy with entertainment for those at home (nothing like a good colonial yarn!), they have the rhetorical flourish and detail of a time well before e-mail, when letters took months to arrive at their destination. Part affectionate son and artful observer, part imperialist and hopeful speculator, Burnaby ensured that his letters embraced many facets of the colonial experience, from the social conditions in Victoria and the menu of a colonial town – oyster pies and "salmon, boiled turkey ... rhubarb tart ... and lots of bitter beer" (59) – to more serious topics, such as Native and European relations, colonial commerce, mining, and the British apprehension of the wilderness.

Robert Burnaby's experiences are recorded through the eyes of a privileged British man. Burnaby was well connected, arriving in the colony with a letter of introduction from Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the British Colonial Secretary. Burnaby is at times disparaging of Jews, Aboriginal peoples, Chinese, Irish Catholics, and anyone of the lower orders who pretends to a higher station. In this sense he was every inch the "true Victorian gentleman," as the back cover of the book rightly describes him. He may have been at the edge of empire, but his prejudices remained intact. At times, Robert Burnaby is not altogether likable, but he is always interesting.

Burnaby's activities span many aspects of BC social and political concern, which is what makes his letters such a useful resource. He tries his hand at being a commission merchant; at being involved in real estate, insurance, law, and banking; and at selling blankets. He helped build New Westminster, the imagined "great city," and attempted to speculate in gold and to discover coal. He founded the first Freemason lodge in Victoria in 1860 and was a dedicated member for Esquimault in the House of

Representatives. He was, without doubt, a key figure in BC colonial society. Steeped in the male (homosocial) culture of colonial British Columbia, Burnaby turned to men of his own standing for company and for reference points in the socio-political landscape. His personal and amusing narrative style and keen characterization make for really compelling writing. And it is in his lyrical description of the landscape that he really gets into his stride, often referring to the grandeur of the BC landscape. Yet at other moments, this grandeur becomes the "monotonous sublime," and Burnaby longs for the cultivated fields of England (69). He depicts a constant back and forth between "home" and "here," the perennial malaise of the expatriate.

Most interesting is Burnaby's apprehension of Northwest Coast Aboriginal peoples. When he is on expedition, Aboriginal people paddle his canoes, haul his luggage, tend his fires, guide him through the landscape, and host him at their villages, yet he describes them as a "lazy and helpless set" (103). He refers to Native women in Victoria who appear at the balls and dance halls as "belles sauvages" and says "you can detect in their black eyes, high cheekbones, and flattened heads whence they came" (65). Later he comments, "you know that there are no eligible ladies of the right sort here" (95). Native peoples are generally viewed as degraded creatures or hopeless mimics of white culture. He writes about a "tour" of the Songhees village across the harbour to entertain his sister at home (143), evoking the voyeuristic accounts of journeys into the dark London slums found in many newspapers of the time. But there is much valuable detail here, too, and Burnaby's account of a potlatch is fascinating (151). Crucially, Native peoples rarely figure in his accounts of the sublime, botanical, or scientific landscape. In Burnaby's writings, as in many colonial accounts, we see the curious intimacy and distance of the colonial encounter, where Native peoples are at once in close vicinity and wilfully left out. This strange, bifurcated colonial vision is a phenomenon also present in many colonial accounts of Australia, and it is complicit with the marginalization of Native peoples in the face of progress.

At times, like any expatriate traveller, he resents his "El Dorado." At the height of the gold rush in 1860, Burnaby's "land of promise" becomes the "fag end of the earth ... a chronic state of rocks, pine trees and natives ... a population with Yankee cut and a Hebrew phiz, and a restless mass of miners" (134). But by 1862 he writes, "I am very happy"(169), and his enterprising nature and enthusiasm for the colonies seem as strong as ever, despite his being unrequited in love.

That *Land of Promise* is published by the City of Burnaby's Community Heritage Commission and co-authored by Burnaby's descendant, Anne Burnaby McLeod, is an obvious testament to Robert Burnaby's prodigious legacy. But it also presents a danger: that of a well-meaning community overvalourizing a founding father. It is to Anne B. McLeod's credit, however, that Burnaby's prejudices are left intact and that we get the whole man. Appendices 2, 3, 4, and 5 trace Burnaby's genealogical lineage and the family coat of arms, which may be of interest to local historians and genealogists.

When Coal Was King: Ladysmith and the Coal-Mining Industry on Vancouver Island

John R. Hinde

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.
276 pp. Illus. $24.95 paper.

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WHEN COAL WAS KING, Ladysmith was a small, undistinguished pit-town, one of thousands around the industrializing world. On the eve of the Great War, Ladysmith's population barely passed 3,200. Compared with Nanaimo or Cumberland, let alone any of a dozen villages in the Rhondda, Ladysmith was small beer. Why, then, devote a book to less than two decades of mining history in this backwater?

The answer is: Ladysmith earned it – the hard way. One of a litter of towns whelped by the Dunsmuir clan, Ladysmith (and its conjoined twin, Extension) was from its inception hostage to the province's foremost capitalist and to a provincial administration that was his handmaid. In the first thirteen years of the twentieth century, the community endured the usual humiliations that are the birthright of company towns, including tied housing, company stores, and a punitive blacklist system. But it also suffered disasters, strikes, oppression, military occupation, riots, and mass incarcerations that set it apart from even its immediate neighbours. In the aftermath of the 1913 strike, nearly four out of every five Island miners who were packed off to Oakalla prison came from little Ladysmith. This was a terrible decade and a half for the town and its neighbourhood, a forge upon which (as John Hinde is keen to demonstrate) community was fashioned. The heft of the hammer used is, of course, of fundamental concern here.

Histories of coal-mining often miss the point. It's not about coal; it's about energy. The history of coal is cousin to the obscenely grand schemes of the North American Water and Power Alliance, deforestation in the Sahel, and two Gulf wars. Whoever controls the principal energy resources in any economy holds the trump card; pity the fool – unionist, environmentalist, or sovereign state – who gets in the way. *When Coal was King* recognizes this reality, a fact that raises it above local history and regional labour history. The book makes a contribution to our knowledge of both, but its real value is that it shows how larger, even global concerns play themselves out at a microhistorical level. The smallness of Ladysmith thus becomes an asset rather than a liability with regard to the significance of this study.

There is, of course, a growing literature on the Vancouver Island coalfield. Hinde engages with the work of others in a manner that clarifies, expands, and advances, without a lot of tiresome kvetching along the way. Unfortunately, this book came out too soon after my own *Colonization and Community* for Hinde to take into account the modifications I had made to my earlier assessments of the Island coalfield, so there can be only a partial engagement between the two works. We disagree on a great many details and on a few larger questions (Hinde favours the cultural and biological interpretation of anti-Asian racism; I prefer the economic view), but the unmistakable trend is still further removal from the old chestnuts of "Western exceptionalism" and an inherently radical immigrant Left Coast proletariat.

The industrial and political struggles of the Edwardian era dominate this story, but they are freshly recast. In this

respect it complements Jeremy Mouat's contemporaneous *Roaring Days*, a study of the province's southeastern mining frontier. It does, however, slide back and forth between the 1870s and the 1910s (especially in Chapter 4), and the lens expands to take in the whole Island coalfield in order to make sense of the peculiarities of Ladysmith and Extension. In this respect I wonder if the book's title is not misleading: it is less about "industry" than it is about "community." Given that community is Hinde's milieu, this is odd. One of the key and distinctive conclusions he reaches is that the violence witnessed at Ladysmith in the 1913 strike and riot was neither mindless nor orchestrated but, rather, an almost instinctive expression of community desperation. According to Hinde, this violence served as a glue for a population that felt itself being torn asunder (211). This is an important and welcome understanding of "the crowd" (as per George Rudé) in BC history. Hinde could be pushed, however, to look at the *other* crowd at Ladysmith in that hot summer before the storm broke in Europe: what can we know of the strikebreakers? The "scabs" and "blacklegs" included a good many local men, not least of whom was Tully Boyce, a former president of the local Miners' and Mine Labourers' Protective Association. What was *their* take on "community"? At one remove from that question, from whence did the "half-clad barbarians" of the provincial militia hail? Were they all, as anecdotes have it, Oak Bay swells out to put the proles in their place? Or were they workers themselves, drawn by the promise of three squares a day and a decent wage?

John Hinde is a superb writer and a thoughtful scholar. A background in political philosophy (he is an authority on Jacob Burckhardt) serves him well: whenever he crawls out on a limb he produces a ladder as if by magic. The main complaints I have are trivial: the maps on pages 20 and 44 should be reversed and the rustic cover illustration might convey the incorrect impression that this is a hopelessly parochial history. It is, indeed, much more than that.

Building the West: Early Architects of British Columbia

Edited and compiled by Donald Luxton

Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2003. 560 pp. Illus. $60.00 cloth.

HAROLD KALMAN
Commonwealth Historic Resource Management Ltd., Vancouver

OUR KNOWLEDGE of the history of architecture in British Columbia has taken a quantum leap forward with the publication of *Building the West*. This remarkable reference work is a collaborative effort involving no fewer than fifty-seven writers, researchers, and advisers (including myself), but it would never have seen the light of day, nor achieved its depth and quality, without the enormous effort and commitment made by organizer, compiler, editor, researcher, and writer Donald Luxton.

The book sets out to "chronicle British Columbia's rich architectural and social history through its urban landscape" (Dustjacket), although it breaks much more ground with architecture and built history (most contributors' area of expertise) than with social history. Statistics give some sense of the massive scope. The book contains biographical essays on about 170 architects who practised (but were not necessarily based) in British Columbia and shorter notices on just as many more, the earliest of

whom began to work here in 1858, the last in the 1930s. Many earlier architects practised in an unregulated professional environment and/or had no formal training; only after 1920 was the use of the title "architect" in British Columbia controlled by legislation. The book is illustrated with more than 600 historical photographs and renderings. A contextual essay heads each of the six chronologically and thematically organized sections, and the text also includes a foreword, some dozen and a half sidebar-like essays on mini-themes from surveyors to pattern books, and more than 100 pages of back-matter. The design, by Leon Phillips, is a tour de force that complements the text, with the many illustrations – from thumbnails to two-page bleeds – never making the pages look crowded. The only distraction is the reflective nature of the gold and other inks.

The project was jointly conceived by Vancouver heritage consultant Luxton and Victoria retailer and consultant Stuart Stark. Exploratory meetings with their colleagues led to the group effort and provided an opportunity to draw on a broad base of current and recent research. The concern was how to squeeze so much information and so many potential illustrations within the covers of a viable book, but Luxton and publisher Talonbooks succeeded with distinction.

And quality? For the most part, the reader gains a sense of confidence in the data's authority. Entries have evidently been thoroughly researched. Surely some errors will emerge over time, but such is history. Sources are provided in separate entries at the back (see below). And, as we are reminded at the head of this section, "Few of these architects have ever been written about, and many had been completely forgotten" (489). There is nothing in the literature on BC architecture to which to compare it. *Building the West* is as much an authority on its turf as is Howard Colvin's classic and definitive *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (3rd ed., 1995) on its. As with Colvin, the tone is descriptive and not critical, appropriate for the genre.

This wealth of layers is both the book's greatest strength and its Achilles heel. The volume is difficult to navigate, a definite handicap for a reference book. The principal listings are contained within the six main chapters, where architects are arranged in chronological order – not by their year of birth but, rather, by the start of their architectural practice in British Columbia (even though many were in their forties when they designed their first buildings here). A typical entry is one to six pages, with an essay that provides an overview biography and names the more important works, a portrait, the subject's signature (a nice touch!), and historical photos and drawings of key buildings. Additional information on each architect, ordered alphabetically and in catalogue style, listing projects and bibliography, is provided in a section entitled "Sources" (489-525). A second tier of architects, who didn't quite make the grade or about whom little is known, is introduced with short biographies in a section entitled "Additional Significant Architects" (450-88). The indexes of architects and buildings help somewhat but would be far more helpful if they bolded principal entries as so many architects and buildings have multiple page references. Lest the reader think these comments petty, she or he should try to find basic information on a particular architect quickly.

This structure poses an inconvenience but is certainly not a fatal flaw. If navigation is a challenge, then just sit in a comfortable chair and read the book: dip into it anywhere, read it from start to finish, examine

it in random order. However one may approach it, *Building the West* is a great achievement and a good read that teems with information – big stories and delightful trivia alike.

Building Community in an Instant Town: A Social Geography of Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia

Greg Halseth and Lana Sullivan

Prince George: UNBC Press, 2002.
310 pp. $26.95 paper.

TREVOR J. BARNES
University of British Columbia

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S single-industry communities that lie outside the province's heartland of the Lower Mainland and southern Vancouver Island have experienced a dreadful pummelling over the last quarter century. Because of technological change, alterations in labour practices, failing global markets, hostile trade acts, and diminished resource bases – to name just a few of the body blows – single-industry communities are reeling. There is not much sense of this, though, in Halseth and Sullivan's book about the emergence and subsequent trajectory of two of British Columbia's recently formed single-industry communities: Mackenzie, incorporated in 1966, and a product of the forest products industry; and Tumbler Ridge, incorporated in 1981, and a result of coal extraction. Rather, Halseth and Sullivan offer an often insular and celebratory reading of the two towns, ignoring the larger tumultuous and sometimes-violent context within which they are embedded, choosing, instead, to emphasize the salve of community.

It is not exactly clear what they mean by "community." They provide an encyclopaedic listing of formal and informal community groups found in both towns as well as an equally encyclopaedic listing of community events. But surely these are only the means by which community is expressed rather than community itself. Further, there is no sense of people within either community. No one speaks. Apart from the preface, where two men associated, respectively, with Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge provide personal testimonies, we do not hear voices from the towns. There are only lists and desiccated tables of figures. Perhaps this feature is the oddest of all. Greg Halseth, in particular, is passionate about British Columbia's small communities and holds a Canadian Research Chair in rural and small town studies at the University of Northern British Columbia. His media interviews are full-blooded and compelling, in part because he talks about people and their sometimes difficult lives in single-industry towns. But this is not often apparent in *Building Community*.

The first half of the book is better than the second. Divided into four parts, *Building Community*'s first two sections discuss the founding of Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge, and the socio-economic relations that sustain them. Both communities were the consequence of British Columbia's Instant Towns Act, 1965 – legislation that allowed the rapid construction and political incorporation of towns based on the development of remote resource sites. In Mackenzie's case this was the forest resource of the Central Interior, and in Tumbler Ridge's case it was deposits of northeast coal. Both communities were fully planned, the model being Kitimat, which was designed in the early 1950s

by the prominent American planner Clarence Stein, who was associated with the garden-city movement. What drove Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge were not bucolic hinterland activities of the kind usually envisaged in the garden-city movement but, rather, gritty staple resources: two-by-fours, kraft pulp, and coal. Halseth and Sullivan do a good job discussing the nature of staples production in Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge. Still mainly "men's work," it is linked to relatively high wages, high rates of unionization, and periodic employment fluctuations. Empirically they also do well in discussing housing and the gender relations that stem from such staples work – flat-line or declining housing value in real terms, low female wages in both full-time and part-time work, and strains on family life due to shift work. What is lacking, however, is interpretation, a wider corpus of ideas that animates and provides meaning to what we are told.

This problem is exacerbated in the book's remaining two sections, which discuss civic society and civil society, respectively. For Halseth and Sullivan civic society means government and the provision of government-funded services. So we are given lists of committees, committee memberships, town councillors, flow charts of committee structures, and budget statements. But there is neither explanation nor a conceptual framework with which to interpret them. At least in my discipline of geography, of which Greg Halseth is also a member, since the late 1970s there has been a sustained theoretical discussion concerning the state at every geographical scale as well as its relationship across scales. All this work is ignored. The discussion of civil society is perhaps even more unimaginative. The two chapters in this section provide a comprehensive inventory of all formal and informal community organizations, and a calendar of events for each month of the year. But no wider ideas are provided to make sense of what any of it means.

The single-industry communities of British Columbia, of which Mackenzie and Tumbler Ridge are two, deserve to have their story told. I'm convinced this is possible only by setting such communities against the larger canvas of industrial capitalism and the full body of literature and ideas that enable us to understand it. Halseth and Sullivan seem to think that relating only the narrow, internal facts of community life is enough. It is not. It is thin description. As a result, what has been lost is an opportunity to recount an important narrative about a seemingly abiding feature of British Columbia's geography (which turns out not to be so abiding) – the single-industry town.

Reserve Memories: The Power of the Past in a Chilcotin Community

David W. Dinwoodie

Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 118 pp. Maps. $39.95 cloth.

Jo-Anne Fiske
University of Lethbridge

The current political climate in British Columbia is one that seeks to resolve Aboriginal legal entitlements and treaty rights through verification of precolonial practices and residency. Since 2000, when the so-called modern-day treaty process was initiated, the focus of provincial-Aboriginal relations has centred on negotiated settlements that, potentially, will create an economic

climate that simultaneously provides for large-scale corporate investment as well as clarity and security for First Nations through stipulating the scope of the latter's rights over traditional territories, natural resources, and federal government benefits. Integral to this process are emerging discourses of First Nation identities grounded in narratives of cultural truths, historic events, and mythic traditions. As Dinwoodie states in *Reserve Memories,* these narratives form a core identity from which First Nations "are creating history by dynamically applying several variations of traditional narrative ... to the circumstances of contemporary reserve life" (1).

In order to understand the contemporary application of traditional narratives, Dinwoodie turns to an ethnography of speaking. In doing this, he seeks to challenge the established assumptions of an existing synchronicity between the communicative and material aspects of life by applying Marshall Sahlins's conceptualization of "the structure of conjunction" or, in Dinwoodie's words, the "arena in which history is meaningfully assembled. It is [here that] coherent frames of the past are brought to bear on the ambiguities and general lack of fit of the present" (8). Drawing on a complex array of discourse theories, structuralism, and ethnopoetics, Dinwoodie situates traditional and contemporary narratives within a historical, cultural, and political mileux in order to illuminate "how vernacular history is practiced in small communities today" (107).

Reserve Memories is a reworked version of Dinwoodie's doctoral thesis enriched by subsequent ethnographic work with the Xeni Gwet'in First Nation (referred to throughout as the Nemiah Valley Indian Band or the Chilcotin people of the Nemiah Indian Reserve community) that continued through the 1990s to 2000. The book is organized into five chapters: (1) a general introduction to method and theory, (2) the ethnographic context, (3) the interpretation of historic narrative, (4) contemporary myth, and (5) the "new" discourse of public politics. In Chapter 1 the emphasis is on the ethnohistoric emergence of the contemporary Chilcotin speech community, now one in which English is dominant even though the vernacular retains considerable loyalty, while in Chapter 2 social organization is depicted as predicated on kinship relations, although now tempered by government politics. In Chapter 3 Dinwoodie goes on to present historical narratives from two perspectives: as events that are narrated and as narrative events. This dual approach allows him to explore the interactions between narration and narrator through a social-textual approach called entextualization/contextualization. He finds that historical narratives offer a structural template for representing historical change. Not only do they relate specific events but they also "exhibit Chilcotin cultural perspectives on how to go about addressing new situations" (57). Historical narratives, moreover, link past and present genealogical relationships that give further meaning and coherence to past events.

From historical narratives Dinwoodie turns, in Chapter 4, to contemporary myths, which he distinguishes from the former on the basis of formal patterning and the felt gravity of the situations within which they are narrated. Like historical narratives, contemporary myths bridge experienced disjunctures; they are context-relevant and critical to what M.M. Bahktin calls the "individual's ideological becoming" (80). In the concluding chapter, characteristics of the "new" discourse of

public politics are explicated through a multi-perspective interpretation of a text known to the community as "the declaration." Written in English by a committee and a lawyer in order to protect traditional territory from clear-cut logging, the text was translated by a second group of community members literate in both languages. While the English text has appropriated a discourse of nationalism, the Chilcotin text, Dinwoodie concludes, "represents nothing less than one community's attempt to encompass the modern political present within the framework of the traditional culture" (83).

Given Dinwoodie's concentration on the nature of narratives, it is not surprising that *Reserve Memories* is constituted through a blend of narrated events and scholarly analysis; each chapter is structured in roughly the same manner. Descriptive anecdotes of his personal encounters with Chilcotin individuals, which provide the context for understanding the text and its form, open the chapters. These narratives offer glimpses into the interpersonal relations Dinwoodie established during his work as well as into the flow of community life in the 1990s. They provide some cultural and historical context for Dinwoodie's theoretical interpretations and serve the reader's need for material information essential to understanding ethnohistorical forces that have shaped narrative form and content. Brief literature reviews follow, setting out the selection of appropriate theoretical and methodological perspectives, which are then applied to the narratives complete with bilingual illustrations.

Reserve Memories is a welcome addition to a growing body of literature addressing the contemporary politics of First Nations of British Columbia. It will appeal to a wide audience: sociolinguists, anthropologists, historians, and discourse theorists will all find something of interest. Although the work is brief and does not explore the political ramifications of the "new" public politics discourse in any depth, it does offer insights into the political culture that gives meaning to the concurrent discourses of "land claims" and "modern-day treaties." Its structure is such that it is suitable for use in undergraduate classes without losing its appeal to graduate students and scholars.

A Voyage to the North West Side of America: The Journals of James Colnett, 1786–89

Edited by Robert Galois

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.
448 pp. Ill. $95.00 cloth.

Barry Gough
Victoria

James Colnett will always remain a name of notoriety in world history for it is he who responded to Commandant Esteban Martinez's demands and formalities at Nootka Sound in 1789 and started, so it is said, the Nootka Crisis. On that occasion Colnett is said to have been intemperate and hot-headed, even unsettled or unbalanced. The fact of the matter was that, in the circumstances, he was no less intemperate than was his Spanish counterpart who was going by the book and who was determined to enforce the imperium of the King of Spain in that remote quarter of contested empire.

Students of Pacific and global navigation have always appreciated Colnett's capabilities for reasons other than what happened at Nootka Sound. For instance, Colnett is often cited as a pioneer of European navigation in Japanese seas. Even more important,

he was commander of an important British scientific and hydrographic expedition – his ship was the *Rattler* – charged with determining, under Admiralty protection, prospective bases of operations for British whalers in the southeast Pacific. It was Colnett who pointed out the value of such places as Juan Fernandez and of the Galapagos Islands. In fact, all prominent persons in the merchant trades of the United Kingdom and British Empire knew the name of James Colnett, and when his name was spoken it was done so with respect and with acclaim. But it was not always this way, and in his early days, including during the voyage addressed by Robert Galois's project, "Colnett" was not yet a name to be treated with reverential acclaim. He was just another competent sailing master who had his education in long-distance voyaging under the inimitable James Cook, with whom he sailed on the second Pacific voyage. Unlike many of the great British mariners who came to Nootka Sound in the wake of Cook, Colnett had never been there before; however, as a competent navigator and skilled sailor and commander, he was able to sail there from distant shores, all other things being equal in the line of weather and sailing conditions (along with a good ship and healthy crew).

Colnett's second voyage to Nootka Sound and elsewhere on the Northwest Coast is dated between 1789 and 1791, and his journal of that voyage was published by the Champlain Society in 1940 under the editorship of F.W. Howay. Colnett's *Rattler* voyage was accomplished in 1793 and 1794, and the charmingly illustrated manuscript is to be found in the manuscripts department of the British Library (Add. Mss. 30,369). The text of the work published by Galois is in the Admiralty Papers, Kew, England, under file Adm.55/146. I mention these facts and details because the editor's explanation of the disposition of these several documents and partial publications is by no means certain, and for the life of me, I could not find specifically stated the file reference for the document published in this book. I had to resort to my own *The Northwest Coast: British Navigation, Trade, and Discoveries to 1812* to find it, the only other choice being to take an educated guess on the basis of the bibliography. There must be a Colnett worm at work, for in chasing through Howay, I could not find the original file for the document that he had edited for publication. All these matters point to the need for a comprehensive, notated Colnett bibliography and, perhaps, even a Colnett biography.

Colnett's visit to the Northwest Coast in the *Prince of Wales* derived from the enthusiasms of Richard Cadman Etches, a London tea merchant who was drawn into the vortex of merchant venturing to the Northwest Coast attendant on James Cook's discoveries (and advertisement) of a gigantic profit to be made in the sea otter business. Etches and company first sent out the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte,* commanded by Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, respectively, then, as a follow-on, sent the *Prince of Wales* and its tender, the *Princess Royal*, commanded by Charles Duncan. Colnett was commander of the whole latter enterprise. With Colnett sailed surgeon Archibald Menzies, noted naturalist later to accompany Captain George Vancouver; James Johnstone, a prominent mate who later sailed with Vancouver; Thomas Hudson, who features in the Nootka Crisis; and the third mate, Andrew Bracey Taylor, whose lively commentaries add much to Colnett's generally dry prose. Colnett's voyages stand between those of Cook and Vancouver and are thus immensely important in tracing the progression of

British understanding of the Northwest Coast in the active 1780s and 1790s. As to the persons involved, almost invariably they were connected to the Royal Navy or to the scientific circle of Sir Joseph Banks.

Dr. Galois's interest includes place names, and, with painstaking effort, he has connected the newly applied English name with the indigenous appellation. Place name typographical conventions are established. He has taken care to provide many good maps, with dates of Colnett's visits to various locales. This helps the reader to revert to the text as required and forms a strange sort of visual index. On these maps Galois places ethnographic names in bold, contemporary names in parentheses, and historic names in Roman – all of which will be of future value in land claim cases, though the details should be checked against the records of other traders, other mariners. And he includes a few of Colnett's original drawings.

But the importance of this work lies in its presentation of Colnett's remarks, or his journal. Colnett was a dry and matter-of-fact fellow, not a bad thing in itself for there is an added veracity to such a well tempered account that a more flamboyant one might present as inadequate or puffed-up. Colnett was a servant of his paying masters, and he was valued by the latter for this important characteristic. What we lose in possible descriptive excitement, we gain in reliability and authenticity. There are snippets on various chiefs and peoples – for instance, on Coyah of Houston Stewart Channel in the Queen Charlottes in 1787. And from Colnett's record, we can now find new details about Coyah's life before he was shamed by John Kendrick, the Boston trader, in an infamous incident described elsewhere.

In short, Colnett's has always been an important in-between text, and now that it is in print, the researching public will be able to plumb its depths. We are indebted to Dr. Galois for this opportunity. That having been said, this is a book that requires excessive patience to use. In fact, it is the most reader-unfriendly text that I have faced as a researcher. The notes are impossibly placed as endnotes, of which there are two sets, both with the same coding of page references. You might find note 74 in two different places and wonder which is which. A reference book should have its notes at the foot of the page, and I hope that the publisher will consider making this change.

Black Diamond City: Nanaimo – The Victorian Era
Jan Peterson

Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2002. 240 pp. Maps, illus. $18.95 paper.

Hub City: Nanaimo, 1886-1920
Jan Peterson

Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2003. 288 pp. Maps, illus. $19.95 paper.

Patrick Dunae
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Nanaimo is a blue-collar community, but lately it's been wearing a tie. Traditionally a tough-guy town, Nanaimo is projecting a kinder image to the world. The erstwhile Hub City (so-called because of the radial pattern of its streets) today promotes itself to tourists, investors, and retirees as the Harbour City – a name that suggests a cosmopolitan community on the ocean's edge. This city, built on grimy coal mines and belching wood mills, is looking for a cleaner, sweeter future.

But Nanaimo is fascinated by its sooty past. The downtown core is dotted with historical plaques, cairns, and markers commemorating coal-mining days. Nanaimo supports several coal heritage societies. It has a vibrant museum, with engaging exhibits of industrial artifacts and a first-rate community archives. The library contains the finest collection of Pacific Northwest historical material outside the provincial archives. So, this is a city that likes history. And it's a city that likes to tell its story. In the last thirty years, the history of Nanaimo has been recounted many times, in myriad ways. Its history has been told not only in books, articles, and newspaper columns but also in poems, films, and dramatic productions. Relative to its size, Nanaimo may be the best documented city in the province.

Nanaimo's bibliography was augmented recently by Jan Peterson. As she demonstrated in her highly acclaimed books on Port Alberni, Peterson has a keen eye and good nose for local history. (She has been honoured twice by the British Columbia Historical Federation for her historical writing.) Upon retiring to the Harbour City, Peterson turned her writing and research skills to producing a historical trilogy on the Nanaimo region. The first two volumes are now available. *Black Diamond City* (2002) touches on the precontact period and includes a brief chapter on the Snuneymuxw, the Aboriginal people whose territory straddles Nanaimo harbour. The Spanish are also mentioned. Captains Galiano and Valdes, who were attached to Alexandro Malaspina's scientific exploring expedition, visited the area in 1792 and identified it as Bocas de Winthuysen on their charts. But *Black Diamond City* is principally framed by two dates: 1852, when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) established a coal-mining settlement called Colvile Town; and 1886, when the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was completed. The second volume, *Hub City* (2003), takes the story up to the end of the First World War.

The author's intention is to narrate "stories that link the past with the present" (*Hub City*, 5). Accordingly, she selects stories that will engage general readers, especially local residents. In *Black Diamond City* she recounts the story of Ki-et-sa-kun, the Snuneymuxw man who alerted the HBC to coal outcroppings on Nanaimo harbour. She describes how a stout octagon-shaped structure known as the Bastion was built in 1853. She recalls the appalling conditions endured by British settler families who travelled to the colony aboard the *Princess Royal* in 1854. Local readers can relate to these stories because they are part of the fabric of this community. Princess Royal Day is celebrated every year on 27 November in Nanaimo with a ceremony held near the settlers' original landing site, a place called Pioneer Rock. Ki-et-sa-kun, known to local folklore as Coal Tyee, is commemorated in a prominently sited bronze bust and a newly built elementary school. The Bastion, one of the only fur trade era bastions in existence, is the corporate symbol of the City of Nanaimo.

Local readers will recognize many of the leading citizens who feature in the two volumes. There are, of course, the Dunsmuirs – father Robert, son James, and the pretty daughters. (Dunsmuir Street runs behind Nanaimo City Hall and in front of the large bingo hall called Dunsmuir Palace.) There are many references to Mark Bate, long-time mayor and patron of Nanaimo's celebrated Silver Cornet Band. (The band is still active and a bronze bust of the former mayor sits downtown in Mark Bate Memorial Tree Plaza.) Nanaimo's ethnic communities and

the contributions of immigrants from China, Finland, Italy, and Croatia are described. As might be expected, both volumes deal extensively with the coal mines of Nanaimo and nearby Wellington. But other commercial activities – ship-building, whaling, brewing, cigar-making, fishing, and logging – are also described. The author acknowledges industrial strife and the gruesome death rates in the mines. (An appendix to *Hub City* contains the names of nearly 300 men killed in the coal mines between 1879 and 1920. The descendants of many victims live in Nanaimo today.) But this is not a gloomy or melancholy narrative; rather, it is a chronicle of social diversity and community resilience.

Promotional blurbs from the publisher promise a "Fact-Packed Nanaimo History." The books deliver on this promise. Jan Peterson has mined the rich seams of the local museum and archives and has unearthed carloads of historical material (metaphor intended!). She has consulted many secondary works, as is evident from the bibliographies that accompany each volume. However, these fact-packed books may disappoint some readers of *BC Studies*. The books are long on action but short on analysis. There is no synthesis of the extensive literature on Nanaimo, no commentary on current research (John Belshaw's work is not mentioned or cited), no suggestions for new lines of enquiry. But possibly the author intends to offer a critical perspective on Nanaimo's history and historians in the final volume of the trilogy. If so, we look forward to it. It would be an opportunity to reconsider entrepreneurs like furniture manufacturer John Hilbert and sawmill owner Arthur Haslam. Since these men looked to Vancouver for leadership, the author may want to look at recent scholarship on Vancouver's business elite. Similarly, she may want to place the labour movement in Nanaimo within a broader context. Were union activists in Black Diamond City different from their comrades in roaring towns like Rossland? And what about the character of modern-day Nanaimo? Is the tough-guy personality a legacy of 100 years of labour strife? Is the community still smarting from capitalists who left slagheaps on the waterfront and built castles in Victoria? These are compelling questions and, with her formidable knowledge of Nanaimo history, Jan Peterson might consider them in her concluding volume.

On a more prosaic note, Volume 3 would be a good place to install conventional endnotes instead of the quirky and cryptic citations that appear in the first two volumes. Also, the publisher, Heritage House, should hire a copy editor and proofreader to oversee the bibliography in the new volume. The bibliographies in these volumes contain many errors and inconsistencies.

Still, these are attractive and appealing books. The cover of *Black Diamond City* features a hand-tinted photograph, circa 1890, of the Bastion and Nanaimo harbour. *Hub City* features a 1984 painting by Paul Gagnon, depicting Commercial Inlet, circa 1910. The first volume contains charming line drawings by the author, and both volumes are illustrated with interesting, well placed, and well captioned historical photographs. Both books are indexed, and both are informative, entertaining, and well written. And they are popular: according to Nanaimo's leading bookseller, P.B. Cruise, they are selling at an extraordinary rate. No surprise there: the people of Nanaimo have a big appetite for history and Jan Peterson has put two delectable dishes on the table. A third dish is on the way.

Emerging from the Mist: Studies in Northwest Coast Culture History

Edited by R.G. Matson, Gary Coupland, and Quentin Mackie

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003. xiv, 380 pp. Illus. $39.95 paper.

CATHERINE C. CARLSON
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IN ORGANIZING this collection of papers on late-period Northwest Coast archaeology, R.G. Matson, in his introduction to this edited volume, proposes to make Northwest Coast archaeology more visible in the literature alongside the prominent ethnographic accounts. Following a discussion that re-evaluates the boundaries of the Northwest Coast, the introduction serves to present an overview of each chapter. The introduction would have provided a better outline of the goals and purpose of the volume if it had been merged with Leland Donald's extensive concluding chapter 13, especially given that Donald also provides a separate epilogue.

In the following chapter 2, Andrew Martindale evaluates the early contact period of the Tsimshian along the Skeena River and in Prince Rupert Harbour by comparing precontact and historic site locations. He argues that, after the construction of Fort Simpson, settlement location and the seasonal cycle of residential movement changed. In the early 1800s there occurred a consolidation of economic power brought about through the control of fur redistribution under individual Native leaders, resulting in a temporary historic phenomenon – the creation of "paramount chiefdoms." In the process of clarifying the complex contact history of the Tsimshian, using both archaeological and documentary data, he also portrays the rapidity with which indigenous social institutions were able to change. There is room to argue, however, that these particular historic chiefs were not true "paramount chiefs" but, rather, the servants of the fur traders.

The excellent chapter by Dale Croes describes rich wood and fibre artifacts found in wet sites, and discusses how they add significantly to resolving questions about precontact resource procurement, storage, social organization, and exchange. He describes three major types of wooden fishhook, each with different spatial and temporal distributions. Wooden arrow points vastly outnumber stone in the assemblages, and the high number of arrow points and shafts probably suggest substantial warfare in the late precontact period. Significantly, the wood harpoons from the Hoko site indicate that the lack of unilaterally barbed harpoons (which define Locarno phase non-wet sites) is not cultural but, rather, is the product of poor preservation. As for storage technologies, the most common type of storage basket found archaeologically – the open-twined cedar-splint utility basket – is rare in museum collections, indicating an ethnographic collection bias. Three different types of woven cedar hats suggest at least a 3,000-year history for a hierarchical social organization involving nobles (knob-topped hats), commoners (flat-topped hats), and northern noblewomen who had intermarried (round-topped hats). Foreign basketry types also show extensive exchange networks from afar.

The purpose of R.G. Matson's chapter is to describe his research on the design of the Coast Salish shed-roof house by comparing ethnographic descriptions to archaeological exca-

vations of a house feature on Valdes Island. After the excavation of roughly half of the house (initially delimited by remote sensing), a compacted floor was encountered and inside wall "benches" were inferred on the basis of a change in soil compaction. He also infers two inside "compartments," but it is unclear as to how they were delimited. In addition, a number of large and small post moulds were found, including a cluster of small ones along one wall, which suggests the use of ethnographic-style Salish shed-house walls. The two compartments were compared and it was determined that the floor of one was more swept than was the floor of the other. This is interpreted as suggesting that the elite lived on the swept side of the house because they typically hosted dances, which Matson believes called for the sweeping of the floors. Sea urchin spines found in the swept compartment also corroborate status differences between compartments.

Alexander Mackie and Laurie Williamson describe the mapping of thirty-one house depressions at two Nuu-chah-nulth sites in Barkley Sound, dating to the mid-nineteenth century. At one site there are preserved wood house posts and rafters showing both gable and shed roofs. Numerous tables provide the dimensions of the houses as well as the diameters and lengths of the posts and beams. The so-called shed-roof houses do not differ in construction from gable-roof houses, and they are not of the Salish shed-roof style. I suggest that it would be more correct to call them *half* gable-roof houses.

Gary Coupland, Roger Colten and Rebecca Case discuss excavations at the late precontact village site of McNichol Creek in Prince Rupert Harbour. Fifteen house depressions and two separate middens (front and back) were mapped. Three of the houses were partially excavated, and the middens were tested. They suggest differences in "primary" and "secondary" midden deposition between the front and back middens, but unfortunately do not offer a clear definition of the cultural meaning of primary versus secondary (particularly since both middens contained human burials). There is indication of status differentiation between the houses based on the presence of labrets, nephrite, and exotic chert and obsidian in one house, which also contained a very large central hearth. The large hearth suggests "competitive feasting" activities, but how this differs from the more traditional "potlatching" is not defined.

Colin Grier looks at the question of how groups from the Gulf Islands were linked in "regional interactions" with the Gulf of Georgia and Fraser River areas during the Marpole phase (2500-1000 BP). Ethnographic evidence suggests substantial seasonal population movement from the Gulf Islands to the Fraser River, and this is supported in reference to Roy Carlson's archaeological study of the obsidian trade, plus the widespread distribution of nephrite and Marpole burial mound features. Grier's new faunal data from the Dionisio Point site on Galiano Island, which contains significant amounts of salmon, is suggested as evidence for procurement of "extralocal" salmon. Salmon rivers on the east coast of Vancouver Island and the Fraser River are the implied source for this extralocal salmon, thereby supporting a model of regional human interaction. It is odd that the author did not consider as a source of fish the abundant and locally available runs of salmon travelling through the narrow marine passes between the Gulf Islands on their way to spawn in the Fraser River. In addition to the faunal data, it is argued that two wonderful pecked stone human head bowls found in situ at the site are

further evidence of linkage to a regional ceremonial complex found along the Fraser River.

Gregory Monks investigates the cultural transport and usage of whale bone at two West Coast sites – Ozette and Ch'uumat'a. He argues that the ethnographic accounts are biased towards describing the prestige of hunting whales and the distribution of the blubber and oil. Archaeological study of the bone indicates that many parts of the whale were used in a wide variety of ways in the villages. Taphonomic study of the bone shows that whale was butchered for meat, preserved, consumed, and processed for oil. The bones were also used for architectural purposes (drains, support posts), in tool technologies, and for social symbolic purposes.

In a well-written chapter that reviews archaeological and ethnographic evidence for the use and manufacture of copper and iron tools, Steven Acheson argues that an incipient metallurgical tradition was present on the Coast in the late precontact period. Iron was rare and was probably obtained as "drift iron" from Asian shipwrecks. Less rare were small copper artifacts made from native copper; however, the large potlatch coppers of the nineteenth century were made from industrial trade copper. A recently recovered small fragment of native copper wire wrapped around a shell, taken from a Haida site and dated AD 1150-1400, led to this review of precontact artifacts. Acheson notes that a growing inventory of archaeological sites containing copper artifacts (labret inlay, tubular beads, figurines, daggers, projectile points, and pendant wire) argue for a "well established and sophisticated pre-contact metalworking tradition" (227). While that is probably overstated, clearly the production of metal artifacts was precontact in origin, but became well developed only after the introduction of trade copper.

Kathryn Bernick discusses the implications of a unique archaeological find – a 900-year-old cross-stitch wrapped cedar basket found eroding on the Fraser River banks in Coquitlam, albeit one that she has previously reported on. Basketry techniques are seen here as indicators of ethnicity, but this specimen was problematic because none of this type is known from this part of the Coast Salish area. The only ones known are from Puget Sound, and they are generally of twentieth-century vintage. Bernick sees cross-stitching as a variant of wrapped twining, a technique common in all precontact Coast Salish baskets. She concludes that this unique specimen represents a "residual type of ancient woven basket" (242), supporting stylistic continuity from precontact times to the present, and that cross-stitch wrapping is therefore not an introduced European or African embroidery technique. Significantly, Bernick also clearly shows the inherent biases in a knowledge of basketry based largely on ethnographic museum specimens.

In a thoughtful and well-written article Alan McMillan provides an overview of his earlier ideas of cultural change as an in situ evolution of culture versus one of population migrations. He outlines how linguistic models that favour migrationism may explain discontinuities in archaeological assemblages and support an archaeological model for population replacement of earlier Salishan groups by Wakashan speakers on the West Coast. Initial occupation of proto-Wakashan speakers appears in the "homeland" near Yuquot and Quatsino around 4000 BP, where no archaeological discontinuities exist. From there, linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests Waskashan

movement both north and south as well as inland into Alberni Inlet, replacing earlier Salishan occupations about 2000 BP. New archaeological work in Barkley Sound, as well as oral histories of some southern groups, support this view.

Using a type of geographical spatial interaction analysis known as Location-Allocation Modelling, Quentin Mackie studies the site distribution of 576 shell middens on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. He argues that, whereas the use of predictive modelling of archaeological site location can result in strong correlations between site location and environmental variables (exposure, slope, freshwater), site size is not predicted. Therefore, modelling a more social geography of the landscape may be a better predictor of site size and location. Citing the theoretical work of Martin Wobst and Alexander Lesser, his analysis produced maps of networks and several "solution sets" that were beyond my comprehension (despite my having studied under Wobst). Unfortunately, the general discussion and conclusions did not bring clarity to the study, and the original question of how to predict the relationship between site size and location was not addressed.

In an overly long final chapter, Leland Donald provides a useful summary of the ethnographic Northwest Coast within Kroeber's culture area concept. As previously mentioned, this would have provided a good introductory chapter. He describes environmental factors, such as the pivotal role of salmon and cedar. He also presents a discussion of characteristic ethnographic traits, including slave killing, head deformation and labrets, dancing societies, and seated human figure bowls. The chapter ends with a discussion of the definition of the boundaries of the Northwest Coast, with the "Oregon Coast gap" being problematic. Following this is an epilogue (also by Donald) that provides a summary of the book's chapters by breaking them into loose themes: boundaries, whaling, stratification and big houses, interaction spheres, wet-site data, and new analytical approaches.

In summary, *Emerging from the Mist* presents a diverse set of largely archaeological papers on the Northwest Coast that focuses on the late precontact period. It also presents a substantial incorporation of ethnographic materials. The chapters describe several new and different data sets that depart from more conventional archaeological culture history studies, and this is a welcome change in archaeological reporting. Unfortunately, each chapter topic is not linked under an over-arching theme; there is no well-defined goal for the book, making it more a compendium than an integrated scholarly work. The editors and authors have not made even a minimal attempt to cross-reference the chapters. Organizing the chapters into a set of themes – an idea proposed in Donald's epilogue – would have given the book more cohesion. The audience for this work will be academic rather than popular; however, its usefulness as a class textbook on BC archaeology is limited by the idiosyncratic and highly specialized topics of many of the chapters.

Starbuck Valley Winter
Roderick Haig-Brown

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing 2002 [1944]. 272 pp. $14.95 paper.

Arn Keeling
University of Saskatchewan

You won't find many kids like Don Morgan these days. The plucky protagonist of this reissued

children's novel is a sixteen-year-old who hunts avidly, builds a waterwheel-driven pump to supply the farmhouse with water, and dreams of running his own salmon troller. Don's skills are in woodcraft, not computers; he gets around using snowshoes and canoes rather than snowboards or cars. So far from contemporary teen life are the novel's characters, situations, and settings that it is admittedly difficult to foresee this book's appealing to young readers today. That said, *Starbuck Valley Winter* offers readers an opportunity to revisit the literary and personal world of Roderick Haig-Brown (1908-76), among this country's foremost twentieth-century nature writers.

Haig-Brown emigrated from England in 1931, eventually settling at Campbell River on Vancouver Island. Best known for his popular books on fishing and country life, Haig-Brown also wrote two novels for adults and seven books for young readers. He was an ardent conservationist and well-known public figure, serving as a stipendiary magistrate for the Campbell River District, as a personnel officer in the Canadian Army during the Second World War, and, in the early seventies, as a commissioner for the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission and chancellor of the University of Victoria.

Something of these diverse pursuits is woven into his stories for young people. They combine a sense of adventure and love of the outdoors with an appreciation for personal strength, courage, and skill in facing challenges from society and nature. Along with its sequel, *Saltwater Summer* (1948), *Starbuck Valley Winter* belongs to that characteristic subgenre of youth fiction, the boy's adventure story, which to greater or lesser effect, employs nature as both a setting and a didactic element. Literary biographer Anthony Robertson observes that, in the Don Morgan stories, "it is the possession of nature and a proper relationship with it that the boys strive to attain."[1] In this sense, *Starbuck Valley Winter* echoes a central theme of Haig-Brown's writing: self-discovery through interaction with nature.

Drawing on Haig-Brown's personal history and experience on British Columbia's resource frontier, *Starbuck Valley Winter* is set on a northern Vancouver Island ranch where the orphaned American hero, Don Morgan, comes to live with his uncle's family. Don dreams of the freedom and self-sufficiency of fishing but must earn the money to buy a salmon troller during a winter spent trapping in the valley. With his friend Tubby, Don learns the secrets of trapping, tends his lines, confronts a mysterious backwoodsman, and overcomes crises, including Tubby's near demise. Written in Haig-Brown's typically unadorned style, the narrative is laden with somewhat wooden dialogue but is redeemed by absorbing descriptions of flora, fauna, and the details of making a living in the bush. While romanticizing the frontier somewhat, the story recalls a period when the geography, opportunities, and resources of the province seemed limitless.

Starbuck Valley Winter was an instant success. It won the first-ever Canadian Library Association medal for best children's book in 1946 and the sequel won a Governor-General's Award for juvenile fiction. *Starbuck* remained in print for thirty years in the United Kingdom and for twenty in Canada, appearing in a Canadian School Edition in 1968 for use in Canadian classrooms.[2]

[1] Anthony Robertson, *Above Tide: Reflections on Roderick Haig-Brown* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1984), 68.

[2] Robert Bruce Cave, *Roderick Haig-Brown: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Citrus Heights, CA: The Author, 2000), 84-96, 327.

For all his success as a children's writer, Haig-Brown did not consider writing for children separate or different from writing for adults. "I think children rate sensible discussion of their own times and ways, life in their books they can recognize as not too far removed from their own."[3] While the times and ways of youth have moved beyond the Don Morgan stories, this reissue is a welcome reminder of Haig-Brown's varied contributions to Canadian nature writing.

Breaking the "Silence": A Review of Tong: The Story of Tong Louie, Vancouver's Quiet Titan

E.G. Perrault

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 2002. 191 pp. Illus. $39.95 cloth.

Shelly Chan
Richmond, BC

This book is a biography of Tong Louie, a second-generation Chinese Canadian businessman whose name, for several decades, has been tied to two of the most well known retail chains in western Canada – IGA and London Drugs. Published posthumously to celebrate his lifelong achievements, this biography also marks the hundredth anniversary of the H.Y. Louie Company, a family-owned corporation founded by Hok Yat Louie and inherited by his sons in the mid-1930s. Like most biographers, E.G. Perrault faces the challenge of crafting a coherent, focused, and balanced portrayal of his subject. Perhaps more important, Perrault picks Louie's silent reputation as his central theme. He refers to this silence as "a common Chinese trait" (13) that makes it rather difficult to fully account for the man whom he considers to be a quiet titan largely unknown to British Columbians. But Perrault's book is more than just the biography of a prominent business figure who survived severe financial hardships and racial discrimination during Vancouver's early years. It reaches far beyond that to encompass a family history of three generations and to establish it as constituting a Vancouver-grown success story achieved against all odds. It is a statement that attempts to reclaim a voice that has been somewhat denied.

The reader will find that the book follows a common narrative – one that has guided the popular telling of most immigrant experiences in Canada (as well as those of native-born ethnic minorities). It is mainly about people like Tong Louie, who weathered the hard times, assimilated into the "mainstream," and emerged triumphant and vindicated, especially after Chinese Canadians received the vote in 1947. The Louies were said to live far better lives in Canada than they would have done in China, despite having to face white racism in their new home. This type of narrative is also concerned with a sense of rootedness felt by those who swallowed their bitterness and remained to build Canada into its present shape. As Perrault notes, unlike those who were broken by the immigrant experience, Louie rose to the challenge to "improve [the Chinese Canadians'] corner of the world to the benefit of all" (17). This image of Louie may also be contrasted to those marginalized but feisty Chinese Canadians who sought head tax redress, stubbornly clung to Old World ties, and seriously questioned or rejected

[3] Roderick Haig-Brown, "On Writing for Children," *Canadian Author and Bookman* 35, 1 (1959): 5.

Canada. As Perrault says, quoting Roy Mah, Tong Louie was an example that "blazed the trail for future generations to follow" (15). This reflects the narrative framework of heroic agency and final victory, which remains tempting and powerful, and downplays the sufferings of the past, seeing them as necessary to the achievement of present glories (enjoyed by most, if not all).

Moving through the book, one discovers that Vancouver's quiet titan was not so "quiet" after all. As a successful multi-millionaire, Tong Louie was indeed frugal and modest, and consistently shied away from publicity. He was a man of very few words. As Perrault observes, Louie did not seem to know how to talk about himself in interviews, and it is other people who speak for him on such personal subjects as the shock of his wife's death. Nonetheless, as a recipient of the Order of Canada and the Order of British Columbia, and as a committed philanthropist, Louie managed to create a significant stir in various social and political circles. And Perrault points out that as many as 2,000 people attended his funeral in 1998.

Given his wealth, influence, and list of honours, what was it about Tong Louie that made Perrault refer to him as "quiet" (other than the fact that he was self-effacing)? Was it because of his "Chinese" upbringing and heritage (to which Perrault frequently refers when explaining everything from the practice of polygamy to a mother's enormous responsibility to her family)? If Louie's quietness may be explained by his Chinese heritage, then how do we explain the "noisy" behaviour of some Chinese Canadians who engaged in anti-W5 protests in 1980 or the urban renewal projects in Strathcona during the 1960s? In implying that certain Chinese values ought to affect behaviour, are we not in danger of creating a uniform, essentialized image of Chinese Canadians and their social and political attitudes? Furthermore, to what extent was Louie's apparent "quietness" assigned and imposed by others, and/or self-consciously acted? What aspects of Canadian society motivate certain groups of people to become successful while also making it clear that they should be "quiet" about it? This theme of quietness as applied to Tong Louie's remarkable life leads to some stimulating questions for those interested in BC and Canadian history. Perrault assumes the validity of this theme, and it is up to the reader to consider whether or not he should have done so.

Edenbank: The Story of a Canadian Pioneer Farm

Oliver N. Wells, edited by Marie and Richard Weeden

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 2003. 186 pp. Illus. $36.95 cloth.

Morag Maclachlan
Vancouver

Allen Wells, who came west from Upper Canada for the gold rush, stayed to farm, establishing Edenbank, one of the earliest and largest farms in the Chilliwack Valley. As new settlers arrived, he encouraged "the right type," and, as a result, he played an important role in establishing Sardis as a community indelibly shaped by Methodist values and conservative political views.

Oliver Wells, one of Allen's grandsons, took over the farm from his father, Edwin, and wrote a history of Edenbank before his untimely death in 1970. The work has been published because of the support Harbour Publishing gives to local history and

because of several publishing grants but largely because of the persistent efforts of Oliver's daughter, Marie Weeden, who did further research, elicited help from a number of people (including her husband who shared the work of editing) and produced a handsome book. With a colourful jacket and at least one black-and-white picture on almost every page, *Edenbank* is a thing of beauty and provides a pictorial as well as a written record.

One of the most important contributions this book makes to local history is the insight it gives into many aspects of farming, from milking to haying and harvesting, from raising animals – cows, horses, pigs, sheep, and poultry – to methods of housing and feeding them as well as the skills involved in slaughtering them. It also provides an important record of the many changes in agricultural practices over the years. The publication of this family history is important at a time when Edenbank is a housing estate and when urban sprawl has eliminated so much of the dairy farming that was once so vital to the economy of the lower Fraser Valley.

Although Oliver Wells was largely responsible for establishing the Chilliwack Historical Society for the purpose of establishing a museum and an archives, both very successful projects, he had no training as a historian, and his research was based mainly on personal experience, family lore, and family papers. One example of this amateur approach can be found in his discussion of seasonal flooding, one of the hazards faced by Chilliwack Valley farmers. He recounts some experiences and discusses the tactics used to protect the land. Then (146) he mentions that the Chilliwack River changed course, failing to explain that the Wellses and some of their Sardis neighbours caused the change by blocking the river so that the water flowed down to Atchelitz. The vigilantism and the court cases that followed go unmentioned, although there is a vague reference to a third-hand account of the troubles (63). Sardis people remembered the valiant struggle against the floods, but bitter memories lingered for years in Atchelitz.

Although Wells had no background in linguistics, he attempted to record the language of the local Native people. Two positive things resulted from this venture. He recorded many of the local legends, which were later published by Marie Weedon with the assistance of Ralph Maud and Brent Galloway, and he and his wife also played an important role in the revival of Salish weaving. He claimed that his interest was piqued when he was asked to write an introduction to the "Sepass Poems," a collection of local Native legends that Eloise Street claimed to have received from Chief Sepass, an indication that he accepted without question a story that academics found highly dubious.

It is highly likely that he was even more influenced by his knowledge of the policies practised at Coqualeetza, a residential school for Natives that was established by the Methodists. Although the school had a fine reputation and many grateful graduates, children were forbidden to speak their own language and no local children attended. The Stó:lō, among the last to have close contact with Europeans and the first to experience the debilitating effects of white settlement, were considered inferior to other Native groups. Coqualeetza looked to the north for students, producing many graduates who have been very vocal about their happy experiences there, including several First Nations leaders, Frank Calder, Guy Willaims, and Hattie Ferguson among them. Wells, interest in his neighbours was obviously an attempt to make up for their earlier exclusion.

This family history reveals a great deal about Wells himself. He was no academic and he attempted some things for which he had insufficient background, but his heart was in the right place and he left the world better for his presence. By maintaining a prize herd of Ayrshire cattle and by responding to change, he upheld the reputation for progressive farming first established by his grandfather. And by seeking to beautify Edenbank he fulfilled his father's aspirations to create an atmosphere that would live up to the name of the farm. His strong sense of place, his love of the land, his quiet satisfaction in life as a farmer, and his concern for others are all qualities that are clearly evident. In concluding his history, Wells appears to be a man at peace with himself. He treasured his inheritance and he did his best to right wrongs. One can only agree with Allan Fotheringham, who wrote the introduction to the book, that Wells "set an example of how fine a man could be."

McGowan's War: The Birth of Modern British Columbia on the Fraser River Gold Fields

Donald J. Hauka

Vancouver: New Star Books, 2003.
256 pp. Illus. $24.00 paper.

DANIEL MARSHALL
Cobble Hill, BC

IN 1858 TENS OF thousands of non-Native goldseekers rushed to the Fraser River in search of gold, a substantial number of them being American citizens who paid little heed to British sovereignty in the region. The events of 1858 precipitated numerous instances of Native-white conflict as well as the formation of the Crown colony of British Columbia, previously a fur trade preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). This tumultuous gold rush is the focus of Don Hauka's book, as is his assertion that the presence of one goldseeking individual – the American Edward McGowan – threatened to precipitate war through filibustering and to claim the colony for the United States. Hauka's central premise is that "Modern BC was born of political crisis created by a sudden rush to exploit a rich natural resource and by the need to keep the territory out of the hands of the Americans" (3). I would agree with Hauka, but at times the author has made undocumented assertions to support his view – assertions that are not supported by the historical record.

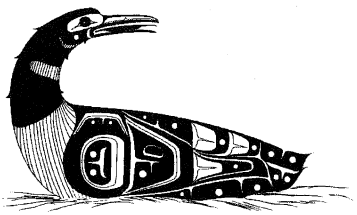
For instance, Hauka is of the opinion that Governor James Douglas was responsible for devising the Fraser rush for the purpose of profit (22). He also asserts that Douglas had calculated each aspect of the rush through promotion in Pacific Northwest newspapers and shipment of gold to San Francisco, thereby manufacturing the "Fraser River Fever" that ensued (23). The evidence does not support this claim. In fact, if one consults colonial correspondence for the period, one finds that Douglas initially attempted to prevent the Fraser rush, concocting a plan to reserve all the profits of goldmining for the HBC in alliance with its long-standing Native trade partners. The HBC's operations had already suffered the adverse effects of the 1849 California gold rush, and it viewed the impending Fraser rush with a great deal of trepidation.

Hauka has depended largely on the glorified reminiscences of Edward McGowan ("Reminiscences," *Argonaut* San Francisco, 11 May - 13 July 1878). It is true that there were many filibusterers

on the Fraser in 1858-59 (veterans of the Mexican-American War, Nicaragua filibusterers, and the like), and certainly British officials were anxious about them. While mining at Hill's Bar, McGowan had apparently entertained notions of furthering American Manifest Destiny. As McGowan recalled: "We had arranged a plan, in case of a collision with the [British] troops, to take Fort Yale and then go down the river and capture Fort Hope ... This would, we supposed, bring on the fight and put an end to the long agony and public clamor – through the press of the country – that our boundary line must be 'fifty-four forty or fight.'" There is some evidence for McGowan's plan. John Nugent, McGowan's friend, was appointed by President James Buchanan as a special agent to the Fraser River to monitor US interests in the region; however, surprisingly, Hauka makes no mention of his official report (*Message of the President of the United States communicating the report of the special agent of the United States recently sent to Vancouver's Island and British Columbia.* Ex. Doc. No. III: 1859). If he had done so, then a greater degree of evidence would have been found in support of his view. For instance, Nugent's extensive reconnaissance report appraised the military capabilities of the colonies, particularly the Royal Navy at Esquimalt and the "military or naval force the British authorities [had] in the vicinity of the [Fraser] river." The agricultural potential was also assessed, along with timber, coal, and, of course, gold. In addition, he levelled substantial criticism against the HBC and its "oppressive" system of licences and taxation, its monopoly control of navigation of the Fraser River, and the fact that it had apparently encouraged First Nations to resist the influx of American miners.

Nugent also believed that Americans had been denied their right to proper representation in the court system of the Colony of Vancouver Island, and he pledged "the intervention of their own government for the redress of their grievances and the protection of their rights" (Victoria *Gazette*, 13 November 1858). Luckily for Douglas, Nugent concluded: "The Americans, it is true, were in sufficient force any time within the first six months to make successful any movement on their part towards the seizure of the colonies ... [but] the two colonies of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia really offered no inducements sufficient to render them worthy of even a temporary struggle." The inclusion of the above information would have substantially aided Hauka's argument.

As a non-academic work, *McGowan's War* offers a good narrative of the events of 1858, bringing to life the principal characters of the Fraser River gold rush, and Hauka's refashioning of this well-known story is particularly sensitive to the presence and role of First Nations. Also, the book will undoubtedly introduce a much broader audience to the clash that occurred between British, American, and First Nations interests – a lively story to ponder while travelling the Fraser River corridor in search of the origins of the BC colony.



"Frontier Cultural Complex": Mountains, Campfires and Memories

Jack Boudreau

Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 2002. 254 pp. Map., illus. $19.95 paper.

Wilderness Dreams

Jack Boudreau

Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 2003. 159 pp. Map., illus. $19.95 paper.

Bloody Practice: Doctoring in the Cariboo and around the World

Sterling Haynes

Prince George: Caitlin Press Inc., 2003. 160 pp. Illus. $18.95 paper.

LORNA TOWNSEND
University of Northern British Columbia

IN HER RECENTLY published ethnographic case study of the Cariboo-Chilcotin area, anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss describes what she calls the "frontier cultural complex" or the Canadian version of Frederick Turner Jackson's American "frontier thesis."[1] The ideology behind the terms centres on the notion that non-Natives who settled on the periphery of mainstream societies have constructed their regional identities based on the premise that the wilderness and all of its natural resources were un-owned and therefore "free for the taking."[2] Furniss further explains how Euro-Canadians' belief in their own "superior cultural knowledge, material privileges, and political authority" has placed them into categorical positions with Natives that are "mutually exclusive and oppositional."[3] Her study, which focuses on contemporary Native/non-Native relations, also demonstrates how this "frontier cultural complex" continues to be perpetuated in a public context through local museum displays and popular histories.

Drawing on Richard Slotkin's study of the American "frontier myth" and a substantial collection of local monographs, Furniss illustrates how popular histories from the interior of British Columbia tend to follow a similar thematic template that begins with the white man's journey into the wilderness and his "regression to the more 'primitive' conditions encountered there."[4] These frontier male-centred narratives then progress to their central purpose, which is to detail the "epitomizing events" that exhibit the daring, heroic actions of white men as they struggle valiantly to conquer and tame the harsh wilderness environment and all of its natural beasts (including "potentially hostile Indians").[5] The symbolism and metaphors that characterize these romantic frontier narratives include a litany of "firsts," the element of "discovery" or "empty" wilderness, the heroic policeman or doctor, and many other stereotypical assumptions that tend to neglect or place First Nations peoples on the periphery of the narrative.

[1] Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), chap. 3.

[2] Ibid., 17.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. See also Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). Furniss draws on Slotkin's work to emphasize the continuities between American and Canadian frontier narratives.

[5] Furniss, *Burden of History*, 18.

While many scholars argue that such romantic and subjective renditions of the past contribute to the notion of regional imperialism, the proliferation of popular histories in recent years clearly indicates that the province's non-academic, mainstream literary audience appreciates reading about the adventurous tales and experiences of early settlers and regional pioneer families. Prince George author Jack Boudreau has written four popular history bestsellers in recent years, including his two latest: *Mountains, Campfires and Memories* and *Wilderness Dreams.* Although the title of the former suggests that this book offers a nostalgic glimpse of the past, *Mountains, Campfires and Memories* could have been more appropriately named *Survival and Death at the Hands of Nature, Beast, and Humans in the Wilds of British Columbia.* Boudreau draws on a lifetime's worth of personal experiences and brutal wilderness stories told to him by guides, trappers, game wardens, settlers, and prospectors in this collection of spectacular tales about murder, suicide, hunting deaths, and river and airplane accidents, all of which occurred in the rugged mountainous areas of northern British Columbia during the past century. The book is loosely organized into thematic chapters, which include dangerous water mishaps, bush-crazed trappers and heroic game wardens, hunting tales, manhunts, and grizzly encounters. It follows no apparent chronological order and has a rambling and often humorous conversational tone that allows the author to frequently digress from one topic to another.

Boudreau's latest book, *Wilderness Dreams,* is a departure from his previous works as it represents his first attempt at biography. The genre appears to work well for him as it supports a more focused and linear narrative yet still permits him to share with the reader his own love of the outdoors and pioneer life. The book details the life experiences of Clara and Ted "Hap" Bowden, an American couple who came north looking for "gold" and adventure more than fifty years ago and decided to settle permanently on the edge of civilization, twenty-five miles southeast of Quesnel. The economic adventures of this strong, independent-minded couple truly epitomize the notion of "living off the land" for they have successfully raised their family and survived in the bush for over fifty years by ranching, hunting, trapping, logging, mining, and, more recently, deep-sea fishing.

Although Sterling Haynes's collection of short stories, entitled *Bloody Practice: Doctoring in the Cariboo and around the World,* does not fit into the category of an "early settler" narrative, it does include many of the stereotypical elements portrayed in Furniss's "frontier cultural complex." With a great deal of humour and creative skill, Haynes provides highlights of his forty-year career as a rural and urban general practitioner, which began in Williams Lake in 1960 and eventually took him to Alabama, Nigeria, and South America. The author's portrayal of Williams Lake as "the last frontier" and his medical tales paint a picture of a "Wild West" community best remembered for murder, "wild" Indians, drunken brawls, and benevolent medical heroes. The second half of the book, on the other hand, is a series of unrelated anecdotal vignettes that include childhood reminiscences, medical details of George Washington's death, the introduction of patent medicines in the United States, Vietnam veterans, civil rights heroes, and the medicinal attributes of indigenous plants.

While the thematic template of popular histories may fit uneasily into the mainstream of academic social analysis, there is no question that the

"frontier cultural complex" will live on in local bookstores for many years to come.

Academic Freedom and the Inclusive University
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THIS BOOK SUCCEEDS in exemplifying what it fails to define. It contains seventeen chapters written by academics from the United States and Canada – academics who occupy a variety of positions: college teacher, university administrator, philosopher, lawyer, student, historian, sociologist, professors of English, and so on. Each author brings a unique perspective; all argue with persuasive eloquence; few listen to the others.

The book begins with Stanley Fish's "What's Sauce for One Goose." An essay that challenges what he sees as the underpinning of academic freedom by the application of Kant's categorical imperative. Fish seems to attribute to academics the belief that, in order to have free debate and inquiry, the academy must tolerate new ideas and examine them in an atmosphere of reciprocal respect. But this procedure ignores the fact that geese and ganders are not the same (11). Fish's "sauce" sounds peculiarly like Jennifer Bankier's "reciprocity" (Chapter 15), which Bankier advocates not to animate academic freedom but, rather, to permit it to accommodate inclusivity. Will Bankier's reciprocity work? Does inclusivity necessarily restrict academic freedom? If so, then does academic freedom only remain pure in an "old boys club"?

In our use of academic freedom, do we have the right to offend? A right of free speech, for example, "keeps good people from doing good things," remarks Frederick Schauer (19); that is, because it requires them to respect another's right of free expression, a universal right of free speech actually restrains good people from inhibiting bad people from saying bad things. So does academic freedom inhibit? "The problem we are facing is that a program of *taking offence* is wreaking havoc in the university," says John Fekete (82, emphasis in original). So if its very existence as a communal right demands self-restraint, and if it must also be constrained (by people who may "take offence" from time to time), then can we ever have academic freedom?

No one doubts the inevitability of change. So the question is how to preserve the best of the old while embracing the new. In many chapters in this book, the problem comes down to freedom – what it is and how we exercise it. Do we have freedom as individuals in an absolute sense, a sense developed in the nineteenth century (see Jennie Hornosty, Chapter 5)? In other words, do we have the individual right to express ourselves as we think fit without regard for others' sensibilities? If I truly have freedom, should I have to be concerned if someone *takes offence* at what I say?

Lynn Smith sketches a response to this dilemma early on in *Academic Freedom* (24): "Should academic freedom take priority over subjective discomfort? Yes. Should promotion of equality take priority over unfettered expression of whatever may occur to an individual scholar, even when irrelevant to the subject matter, simply because it flows from his or her personal creativity? Yes.

Will there be difficult, disputatious cases that don't fall clearly on one side of the line or the other? Yes."

Bankier reminds us that Canadians are not in a vacuum when it comes to dealing with these "disputatious cases" because we have the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. "The Supreme court of Canada," she reminds us, "has made it absolutely clear in the context of both human rights codes and the Charter, discrimination is not restricted to situations where there is intent to injure on the basis of group membership. Discrimination can be found in situations where people act on the basis of unconscious stereotypes, and discrimination includes neutral practices that have discriminatory impacts" (144). I read this to mean that it is proper for people to "take offence" and that we all must take notice when they do.

The question is how to respond. That is the subject of many chapters in this book (e.g., Stan Persky and Diane Dyson in Chapters 8 and 13, respectively). The debate is difficult but worth the effort.

On the other side, the supporters of inclusivity have their own challenges. As "new kids" it is perhaps natural for women's studies or ethnic studies to be protectionist regarding their identities, especially in the face of an entrenched establishment (Graham Good and Harvey Shulman, Chapters 10 and 11, respectively). "Reciprocity" requires, however, that, to the extent that they ask the establishment to open itself to them, they must do the same for it. But can they trust the establishment to protect the integrity of their programs and not to swallow them up?

It is evident *Academic Freedom* covers a wide range of perspectives. There are two things that an informed reader might miss, however. First, there is no attention paid to the issue of external pressure on universities to capitulate to an agenda that has more to do with money or political ideology than good scholarship. When this book was being produced, the Nancy Olivieri case was making headlines. The report of that case (*The Olivieri Report* [Toronto: Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2001]) left little doubt of the determination of well-funded corporations to stifle scholarly output when it suited them, and of the willingness of universities to comply. That side of academic freedom is not the topic of this book.

The second omission is closer to the heart of the subject. The Canadian Association of University Teachers has a standing committee on academic freedom and tenure as well as a committee on the status of women. It deals with these policy issues on a regular basis. Granted, Jennifer Bankier has chaired the Status of Women Committee, but there is surely an argument for including a chapter by someone with experience on the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee. These two committees work steadily at facing and resolving the issues raised in *Academic Freedom* both on a policy level (where they work together at the executive committee level) and on a case-by-case basis.