The Principles of Tsawalk: An Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis

Umeek (E. Richard Atleo)


Damien Lee
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Do the theories and worldviews of the Enlightenment reveal all there is to know about reality? Can the political relationships between Canadians and indigenous peoples be healed solely through Eurocentric remedies? Can settler Canadians and indigenous peoples live together respectfully?

These are just some of the questions addressed by The Principles of Tsawalk. Umeek (E. Richard Atleo), a hereditary Nuu-chah-nulth chief from the west coast of what many today call Vancouver Island, offers us a read that brings into relief the normalized Eurocentric concepts of reality and politics underpinning Canadian society. By threading the various expressions of Darwinism (e.g., social, biological, political) into a sustained critique of Eurocentrism, he argues that a way of seeing reality predicated on competitiveness and fragmentation has brought the world to the brink of environmental and political collapse.

The Principles of Tsawalk offers a framework for indigenous-Canadian political relations that does not embrace competitiveness per se but, rather, seeks to manage inherent polarities within and between world views. Whereas every culture has a story to help it make sense of reality—a story that translates into its world views, laws, and policies—Umeek argues that the Eurocentric theories of science and politics underpinning Canadian policy are just sub-narratives of another people’s story, namely, that of Europeans. The survival of the fittest mentality, Umeek argues, has permeated Canadian politics; armed with Social Darwinism, Canadians targeted indigenous peoples’ world views for extinction. By contrast, the Nuu-chah-nulth concept of Tsawalk, meaning “one,” posits that, while competition exists, life is intelligent and seeks collaboration. Living well involves finding balance between shifting polarities.

It is against this backdrop that Umeek articulates a lucid political call to action embodied in a concept
he calls Hahuulism. A synthesis of Nuu-chah-nulth and Western world views, Hahuulism is suggested as a constitutional order predicated on building equitable relationships between Canadians and indigenous nations and, just as important, between humans and the rest of Creation. To move beyond the colonizer-colonized relations that characterize Canada today, Umeek fleshes out protocols based in recognition (mutual respect and understanding), consent (behaviour that is mutually agreeable), continuity (shared harmony [all life is valuable]), and respect (truly understanding others) as ways to bring peoples together without naively positing that cultural differences will simply disappear. Indeed, the principles of Tsawalk recognize that such polarities will continue to exist but that, through these protocols, they can be managed.

The Principles of Tsawalk is both timely and timeless. It is timely in the sense that its underlying principles can be used to rethink how settler governments are, for example, ramming the Enbridge oil pipeline down the throats of indigenous nations on the BC coast. This is a survival-of-the-fittest approach, in which indigenous peoples continue to be dominated by Eurocentric market attitudes towards ecology. Clearly, Canadian policymakers have a lot to learn from this book.

The book is timeless not only because the principles of Tsawalk are part of a Nuu-chah-nulth way of being but also because settler disrespect for indigenous constitutional orders has only deepened since the early nineteenth century. In challenging the basis of the colonizer-colonized relationship, Umeek’s protocols of Hahuulism would have been analytically applicable two hundred years ago; they are applicable today (the federal government has, as recently as January 2012, recommitted itself to upholding the Indian Act); and they will be applicable over the next two hundred years (the Alberta oil sands demonstrates that colonialism in Canada will not end overnight). Thus, students of political science, environmental management, and Native studies engaged in critical thinking will find this book useful when rethinking relationships between peoples and places.

The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture
Daniel Francis

Chelsea Horton
University of British Columbia

Twenty years after its initial publication, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture remains a relevant read. Featuring a new preface and afterword, this second edition of Daniel Francis’s important popular history deserves the attention of audiences both fresh and familiar.

The argument is clear: “The Indian is the invention of the European” (20); “there is no such thing as a real Indian” (21). The Imaginary Indian tracks the stereotypes, noble and not, that white society has projected and imposed onto “Indians” from the mid-nineteenth century through today (the new afterword opens with a discussion of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics). Whether in writing, painting, film, advertising, performance, or policy,
Francis posits, “the Imaginary Indian” has said much more about white aims, assumptions, and anxieties than it has about actual indigenous peoples. When it first appeared in 1992, The Imaginary Indian was especially notable for its application of this argument to the Canadian context and for reaching a wide non-academic audience.

The book is organized thematically with a strong focus on English Canada and the west, including British Columbia. As Francis illustrates, this province has offered up some of Canada’s most resilient “Imaginary Indian” fodder, including the work of Emily Carr and Edward Curtis and that most supernatural symbol, the totem pole. With the exception of its new preface and afterword, this edition does not incorporate new sources. Readers, then, could effectively complement it with more recent literature like Paige Raibmon’s 2005 Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast, a study that simultaneously stresses indigenous agency in contexts including the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, discussed briefly by Francis (110), and puts a sharper point on the material and political implications of “Imaginary Indianness.”

Francis is well aware that, in his words, “Images have consequences in the real world: ideas have results” (207). He is especially eloquent in articulating how a persistent settler search for belonging in North America has contributed to land dispossession and ongoing cultural appropriation (203, 236). His discussion of “the official Indian,” however, comes late in the text, with the result that readers unfamiliar with Canadian colonial history could miss the close relationship between, say, missionaries, Indian affairs officials, and anthropologists (who receive fairly short shrift here) in the “museum scramble” on the Northwest Coast (117).

The Imaginary Indian is well written, and Francis’s use of the first person is effective in stimulating a sense of personal implication in this history, something that is all the more critical given the current climate in Canada, which Francis refers to as “New Assimilationism” (245). Francis concludes this edition, as he did the first, on an optimistic note: “The Imaginary Indian survives, but he/she is becoming increasingly unrecognizable as Canadians are being educated by their Aboriginal fellow citizens to a new understanding of White-Aboriginal relations and therefore to a new understanding of the history of the country” (250). Though I share his generally hopeful outlook, I believe we also need to ask: Is it fully the responsibility of indigenous peoples to do this educating? And just what will it take for settler society to really listen? Francis himself describes being regularly approached by readers who have not grasped his argument and still want to know what he thinks “the real Indian” is (6). As Paulette Regan recently argues (in Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada, 2010), decolonization demands a conscious process of “unsettling the settler within.” Considered in this spirit, this new edition of The Imaginary Indian clearly contributes to this pressing project.
Westward Bound: Sex, Violence, the Law, and the Making of a Settler Society
Lesley Erickson
Vancouver: ubc Press, 2011. 360 pp. $34.95 paper.

Chris Herbert
Grand Valley State University

Westward Bound is a work of remarkable scope and depth. Covering the period from 1886 to 1940, Lesley Erickson uses records from local courts, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the North-West Mounted Police to explore how the law functioned to shore up the Anglo-Canadian settler society of the Prairie provinces. Admirably, Erickson does not tell a simple story of top-down legal authorities creating a particular colonial order; instead, she details how various subordinated groups (women, Aboriginals, Eastern European immigrants, prostitutes, and farm labourers, among others) contested, resisted, and manipulated Anglo-Canadian assumptions of superiority. The result is a complex and nuanced picture of the meanings and repercussions of sex and violence in the Canadian west.

Each chapter in Westward Bound focuses on a particular type of crime or groups of related crimes. Chapter 2 explores the experiences of Aboriginals facing prosecution or regulation for a wide variety of crimes, including rape, incest, murder, drinking, and prostitution. Chapter 3 focuses on prostitutes and prostitution, while Chapter 4 looks at the relationship between immigrant farm labour, Anglo-Canadian farming families, and charges of seduction and rape. Emphasizing abortion, seduction, and assault, Chapter 5 deals with different understandings of urban and rural spaces. Chapter 6 analyzes how the legal system acted to shore up the patriarchal family in cases of incest, assault, and murder, while Chapter 7 examines the debate over female offenders and the death penalty.

To no one’s surprise, Erickson finds that the Canadian legal system on the Prairies acted to shape and strengthen a colonial social hierarchy that placed Anglo-Canadian men at the head of society and at the head of families. An Anglo-Canadian judiciary, police force, and Indian affairs bureaucracy used criminal trials as a stage to convey lessons about Anglo-Canadian society—lessons that stressed the prerogatives and power of Anglo-Canadians. But it is when Erickson explores how this process of using criminal trials as a way to enact an idealized social order actually functioned that she makes some of her most engaging and original contributions to the literature on the formation of colonial society, not only in Canada but globally.

Many readers will be surprised to discover that the biases of a Canadian legal system that sought to maintain colonial categories and national boundaries did not translate into across-the-board harsher sentences for socially marginal offenders. Instead, socially marginal offenders routinely received acquittals, reduced sentences, and fines in lieu of jail time. At the local level, the Canadian justice system on the Prairies was less concerned with meting out harsh punishment than it was with stabilizing a particular social hierarchy. Part of the ideology that underlay this social hierarchy assumed that socially marginal peoples such as immigrants, prostitutes, and Aboriginals were ignorant of the law,
mentally deficient, irrational, and/or the products of tainted upbringings. Defendants who went along with these stereotypes usually received lenient treatment from a legal system anxious to portray itself as benevolent and equitable, often in stark contrast to the perceived inequity of the American legal system. Erickson reveals how a wide range of offenders used prevailing stereotypes to secure lesser sentences or acquittals at the cost of strengthening the logic of colonialism. However, when offenders refused to conform to these stereotypes or when their alleged crimes challenged the social hierarchy, usually by victimizing middle-class Anglo-Canadians, then the Canadian legal system responded harshly. Though Erickson occasionally uses British Columbia as a point of comparison, her study, understandably, remains focused on the Prairies. It would be interesting to know how Erickson’s findings apply to the settler society west of the Rockies, and this fine book whets the appetite for such a study.

**Telling It to the Judge: Taking Native History to Court**
Arthur J. Ray

**Oral History on Trial: Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts**
Bruce Granville Miller

Neil Vallance
University of Victoria

_Telling It to the Judge_ and _Oral History on Trial_ tackle the problematic reception by Canadian courts of ethno-history and oral history presented by First Nations and their experts. However, Arthur Ray and Bruce Miller have chosen very different ways to present their material. The contrast is aptly demonstrated by the opening sentence of each book. Ray, the historian, tells a story: “In 1985 Calgary lawyer Ken Saroszik phoned me at the University of British Columbia and asked me if I would be willing to appear as an historical expert in a treaty rights case in Alberta (Regina v. Horseman 1986)” (3). Miller, the anthropologist, challenges the reader to think in new ways: “At one time, in conducting their legal affairs, the ancestors of the people who created English common law depended on the performance of actions that appealed to the human senses of touch, smell, hearing, and taste” (1). As a result, _Telling It To The Judge_ is informative and entertaining, while
Oral History On Trial is not such an easy read, but definitely worth the effort. In the process of recounting his adventures in the archives and in court, Ray introduces the reader to the arcane pleasures and frustrations of this rarefied world. The Regina v. Horsemans case marked his debut appearance as an expert witness. His historical report and testimony on behalf of the defendant First Nation were accepted by the trial judge (pleasure), but the Supreme Court of Canada reversed her decision on other grounds (frustration). The second chapter presents his version of the oft-told tale of the viciously adversarial Aboriginal title case, Delgamuukw v. Regina (1991). He then presents a detailed account of his extensive research on a number of Ontario fishing claims, none of which came to trial. This chapter provides an excellent primer for the aspiring researcher. Three chapters are devoted to his involvement in a series of ground-breaking Métis claims, beginning with Regina v. Powley (1998) and ending with Regina v. Hirsekorn and Jones (2010).

In each chapter Ray provides illuminating extracts from his frustrating courtroom exchanges with Crown counsel and judges. In the concluding chapter Ray ruminates on his role as “teacher,” attempting to educate a single “student,” the trial judge, in the unusual scholastic setting of the courtroom. He concludes that judges, bound by the manifold rules of court, make unpredictable if not downright contrary students. An excellent example of this is provided in Ray’s chapter on the case of Victor Buffalo v. Regina (2005). Ray and seven colleagues presented evidence that the Samson Cree did not understand Treaty 6 to include a cession of their territory to the Crown, while the two Crown experts, Thomas Flanagan and Alexander von Gernet, presented evidence to the contrary. The judge preferred the evidence of the Crown experts and rejected the claim. To Ray, this decision is inexplicable.

Bruce Miller’s book is also much concerned with a perceived bias of the courts towards the evidence of Crown experts. However, the problems experienced by First Nations with respect to the treatment of their ethno-history pale in comparison to the wall of resistance encountered in their attempts to have their oral history taken seriously by the courts. As thoroughly documented by Miller, judges do not seem to know what to make of oral history, especially when it comes to weighing it in the scale against more familiar forms of evidence. He discusses why this is so and offers possible remedies.

Miller’s first chapter provides useful background, mostly from an anthropological perspective. In Chapter 2 he contrasts the points of view of “tribal archivists” and “Crown researchers.” Chapter 3 features the response of Stó:lo “oral historian” Sonny McHalsie to the “problem of contamination” as raised by Crown experts (97). This is perhaps the best and most original section of the book. For example, McHalsie responded to the issue of “contamination from reading academic sources” as follows: “When I read Duff or Hill-Tout [each a well-known ethnographer], I’m not reading what he wrote, but what the person who told him said. I’m not in Duff’s mind, but that of the persons who told him” (97). In a neat turnabout, McHalsie goes on to highlight the problem of distortion on the part of academics. The central task undertaken by Chapter 4 involves a detailed dismemberment of a typical report prepared by star Crown expert Alexander von Gernet.
The final two chapters present various proposals for “the way forward,” but, according to Miller: “Ultimately, the strongest approach is to accept qualified oral historians as experts in their own right” (149). Miller acknowledges that this will require a much broader understanding, acceptance, and incorporation of indigenous law than the courts are at present prepared to consider. Miller’s work is important for the contribution it makes to the complex task of finding new ways for First Nations and the Canadian courts to work together.

In sum, Ray’s book is retrospective and Miller’s is prospective. Telling It to the Judge provides a rare first-hand account of the historical researcher’s lot and is a welcome introduction to the nitty-gritty of archival research, written in a style that should attract a wide audience. Oral History on Trial is more academic in style and will be of most interest to those already working in the field of Aboriginal rights litigation. Both authors are inspiring not only for their long-standing commitment to the search for justice on the part of First Nations in Canada but also for their courage in raising uncomfortable questions about the ability of the Canadian courts to see that justice is done.

Murder in the Chilcotin
Roy Innes
330 pp. $19.95 paper.

Sage Birchwater
Williams Lake

Author Roy Innes can be forgiven for his less than stellar accuracy in depicting the Cariboo Chilcotin in his recent crime novel, Murder in the Chilcotin. His storytelling prowess, captivating story line, and intriguing plot leave the reader at his mercy. You don’t want to put the book down. He cleverly waits to the very last pages to reveal whodunit – the butler with the poker or the maid with the candlestick.

Anyone with half an inkling of knowledge of the Cariboo Chilcotin, particularly Anahim Lake, will roll her or his eyes at some of the geographical, cultural, floral, faunal, and logistic gaffes in the setting for the novel. For instance, the distance between Anahim Lake and Williams Lake is 320 kilometres, not 150 kilometres; kids don’t ride to school between the two places daily, they go once a week and stay in boarding homes; there are no cedar-hemlock forests on the Chilcotin Plateau; there are no trees in the Anahim Lake area with one-metre diameter butts; and large machines called feller-bunchers cut down the forests on the Chilcotin Plateau, not teams of insolent fallers. Finally, the country west of the Fraser River is known as the Chilcotin, not the West Cariboo, unless, of course, you are a bureaucrat living in a cave somewhere in Ottawa or Victoria. There are other points that might enhance the authenticity of the novel, for example, helicopters that lose power don’t drop out of the sky with a bang; pilots can actually land quite safely by free-wheeling the rotor.

Factual errors aside, Innes delves into topical issues like Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside safe injection site with some sensitivity and clarity. He offers useful insights into the psychology of the drug addict, life on the street, and some of the root causes of the anger and racial unrest that exist between First Nations and non-
First Nations peoples. He also speaks with some clarity about the Chilcotin War, which is still a sensitive issue in the area. He speaks intelligently about Native injustice and the root causes of alienation felt by marginalized people. His comment on the pine beetle epidemic is current. I like the way he humanizes the characters within the RCMP hierarchy, from inspector, sergeant, to rookie auxiliary.

In his conclusions, told in the epilogue through the character of RCMP inspector Mark Coswell, Innes offers his take on how racial tensions might be improved in the Chilcotin. He links murder, violence, and Aboriginal hatred of white society to the injustices of the Chilcotin War of 1864. His hope that memories of the Chilcotin War will fade as the elders pass on is perhaps a bit naïve.

As a resident and observer of this region, I’d say First Nations anger stemming from the Chilcotin War is directed more at governments than at white guys. The incident of 1864 serves as a healthy reminder to the Tsilhqot’in that it is their prerogative to protect their land from outsiders, governments, and/or corporations that improperly encroach upon it.

While it is the prerogative of a fiction writer to use artistic licence and creativity in making up names for hotels, streets, towns, and even for tribal police detachments that don’t exist, it would behoove Innes to do more research on the places he uses for settings. With a few name changes Murder in the Chilcotin could easily be plunked down in Saskatchewan or Northern Ontario because the tone of this novel simply does not reflect the character of the Cariboo Chilcotin.

The Nature of Borders: Salmon, Boundaries, and Bandits on the Salish Sea
Lissa K. Wadewitz

Howard Stewart
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Lissa Wadewitz’s The Nature of Borders offers valuable insights into the shifting nature of boundaries on the Salish Sea and their significance for the Pacific salmon swimming through it. These fish traverse the sea on their way from the ocean, in which they have spent most of their adult lives, back to their freshwater spawning grounds. While she draws on material about fishing and (mis)management of all five Pacific salmon species from across the whole Salish Sea, Wadewitz mostly focuses on those Fraser River sockeye runs that pass through the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the southernmost reaches of the Strait of Georgia.

The book considers first the complex boundaries that Native people established on various reaches of the sea. These were not always successful – witness the incursion of Kwakw’aka’wakw speakers in search of rich fishing grounds at the north end of the sea in the first half of the nineteenth century. But, as a rule, First Nations people defined boundaries in marine and freshwater environments that succeeded in ensuring a “sustained yield” of salmon and other aquatic life. One may assume – as Arthur McEvoy (1986), Jay Taylor (1999), and others have suggested – that Native fisheries along the northeast shore of the Pacific were operating at close to “maximum sustained yields”; the rich and reliable
bounty of the sea sustained some of this continent’s largest Native populations and its richest cultural heritage. The boundaries they created around fishing grounds, and the rules of harvesting that went with them, were sophisticated and carefully crafted products of much trial and error – examples of the sort of robust common property management systems that the late, great Elinor Ostrom (2008) assured us are not so uncommon.

Wadewitz reminds us, as Richard Mackie (1997) earlier demonstrated, that, by the mid-nineteenth century, Fraser River salmon had already become a valuable international commodity in the hands of the Hudson’s Bay Company. However, this initial commodity trade depended on Native fisheries and, as Wadewitz points out, did little to upset Native boundaries on the sea. A modern “tragedy of the commons” would befall the sea’s rich salmon runs only with the arrival of an industrial Eurasian fishery in the final decades of the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, the price of tinned salmon on the London exchange had become a function of the size of that year’s Fraser River sockeye run, while fears were already mounting about the depletion of what had seemed like an endless bounty only a few years before.

Presumably in oblique reference to Cole Harris’s (2002) account of the creation of British Columbia’s Native reserve system in these years, Wadewitz speaks of a “Remaking of Native Space” on the sea. Native fishers were pushed onto tiny reserves and off many of the richest fishing grounds (unless they worked for the canneries). Native fish management boundaries were replaced by an “international border” that would eventually be agreed between the British and American empires, with help from the first emperor of modern Germany. Running up Haro Strait, then in a ragged zed across the south end of the Strait of Georgia to the mainland, it’s hard to imagine a boundary less connected to the habits of the salmonids traversing these waters or to the Native people who had organized their lives around them.

The geopolitical deliberations of those who drew the new border had little to do with fish. Even in Victoria, people at the time worried mostly about how they would defend “their inland sea” now that the Americans could mount their guns on Haro Strait. Yet, as Wadewitz demonstrates so ably in the second half of her book, these arbitrary new lines across the sea would make a significant contribution to settler (mis)management of the salmon.

By the time the settlers’ assault on salmon had reached high gear around the turn of the century, frequent complaints arose from both sides of the new line about how those on the other side of the border were, one way or another, taking an “unfair share” of this prolific bounty. It is sobering to consider that these complaints were sincere and serious. The plaintiffs were unselfconsciously immersed in a profligate and greedy assault on their newly discovered “natural resource”; in many years, hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of salmon were wasted. Accusations that fishers and canners on “the other side” were somehow “mismanaging” or “breaking the rules” look remarkably hypocritical from a twenty-first-century perspective – a lot like when today’s SUV-loving citizens of North America warn of the growing danger posed by China’s rapidly increasing greenhouse gas emissions.

The Kaiser’s new border through the ancient Salish Sea – much like different
types of international sanctions imposed today – inadvertently created rich new opportunities for people who knew how to manipulate them in their favour. These people included Wadewitz’s “Bandits on the Salish Sea” – people who could see the money to be made by slipping across a border in the night, dipping into the teeming flesh writhing about in one of the canners’ vast “salmon traps,” and then selling the purloined meat to yet another rich canner, who would be twice happy: he could keep his canning lines humming while beggaring the “foreign” competition.

Wadewitz’s story is a valuable example of the shifting nature but abiding power of the diverse boundaries we humans are constantly drawing, erasing, and redrawing throughout the biophysical environment. The environmental impacts of these lines can be especially grievous when those who draw them, or erase them, eschew any consideration of the same. Wadewitz finishes her story with a brief outline of the modest “two-steps-forward, one-step-back” style of progress achieved by “fisheries managers” on both sides of the line during the twentieth century. Though improvements have been made, the international boundary often still impedes effective management of this once prodigious resource, even as new challenges emerge. Open feedlots of Atlantic salmon, for example, share their diseases and parasites with struggling stocks of native Pacific salmon. Wild salmon stocks remain unprotected by the more impervious sorts of boundaries one might reasonably expect to see placed around industrial fish farms busy generating a steady stream of toxic waste.

REFERENCES


The Pathfinder: A.C. Anderson’s Journeys in the West

Nancy Marguerite Anderson

Ken Brealey
University of the Fraser Valley

Alexander Caulfield Anderson was born to British parents on a plantation in India in 1814, raised and schooled in England, and in 1831 arrived in Lachine, Lower Canada, where he was promptly hired on as a servant by the Hudson’s Bay Company. The following year he was on the Northwest Coast, and for the next fifty years he worked or served variously as explorer, fur trader, trailblazer, cartographer, customs agent, businessman, farmer, amateur historian, Indian reserve commissioner, and fisheries inspector,
the latter a position he held until two years before his death in 1884. Geographically, and during this period, Anderson negotiated the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Columbia Department—an expansive territory that reached from the Columbia River in the south, to the Peace River in the north, up the archipelago from Vancouver Island to Bella Coola in the west, and to the Rocky Mountains in the east.

Indeed, there are few landmark studies of the historical and/or geographical evolution of British Columbia that do not, at some point, mention Anderson or elements of his work, but Nancy Anderson, Alexander’s great-granddaughter, is the first to have devoted a separate work to his life and, in so doing, to have given us a more complete picture of both the man and his legacy, and the rapidly changing cross-cultural world in which he lived.

Part biography, part historical geography, and several years in the making, the book is clearly a labour of love on the author’s part and is written in the easy accessible style of popular historical authorship. There are thirty chapters telescoped into about two hundred pages of text, but the author weaves them together nicely, preserving the fluidity of the text while capturing the episodic character of Anderson’s life. It is well illustrated, mostly with select black-and-white historical photographs and sketches but also with eight full-colour plates showing thematic cartographic summaries of Anderson’s travels as trader and trailblazer between 1833 and 1848, reproductions of some of Anderson’s own field sketches, and portions of some of the fourteen maps of the cordillera that Anderson is known to have made between the late 1840s and through to the 1870s.

The book is well researched, the author’s having not only thoroughly mined the usual sources of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the British Columbia Archives but also having located and incorporated primary materials culled from public archives in Scotland and eastern Canada and private and family collections as far away as India, Australia, and Japan. The text is nicely sprinkled with quotes from Anderson’s own journals and letters, and it is thoroughly indexed.

I have only two criticisms, both minor. The first is that, while this is inevitably a consequence of this style of writing, it is mainly only direct quotes that are footnoted. The numerous other references are grouped separately in a bibliography but are not differentiated by page, the result being long sections in which factual claims from multiple sources are not directly sourced. This surely helps readability, but more consistent footnoting would help take readers more directly to the original sources. The second is that the author might have made a little more of Anderson’s cartographic oeuvre. She is right to highlight the importance of Anderson’s 1867 masterpiece, *Map of a Portion of the Colony of British Columbia*, as well as maps of his surveys of 1846 and 1848 and in the Peace River country in the 1870s, but other important maps, such as his 1858 *Map showing the different Routes of Communication with the Gold Region of Fraser’s River*, could have been included, especially as many of the features on some of them are referenced in the text.

Overall, however, Nancy Anderson has provided a much needed, long overdue, and highly enjoyable account of one of the more important nineteenth-century historical geographical agents on the Northwest Coast. The author shows that, like many fur traders, Anderson loved the spirit of adventure that drove his exploratory, trailblazing,
and map-making activities, even as he was less enamoured with the business and practical exigencies of the trade itself. As the Northwest Coast transitioned from a fur trade frontier into a place of commercial capital and settlement he shared with his contemporaries the promises of civilization, but his respect for indigenous peoples was not common to most, and it is one of the reasons he was chosen as the federal representative on the Joint Indian Reserve Commission in 1876. Indeed, it is in this sense that Anderson not only “found his path” across time and through space but also, from a political economy perspective, participated in indigenous, mercantile, commercial, and industrial capitalist modes of production. And, at the end, he was one of the agents who helped tie them all together. I am grateful that his great-granddaughter has finally told a story that long needed telling.

**Selling Canada: Three Propaganda Campaigns That Shaped the Nation**

Daniel Francis

Vancouver: Stanton Atkins and Dosil, 2011. 192 pp. Illus. $45.00 cloth.

**Doug Owram**

University of British Columbia

In his latest project, Daniel Francis takes on three publicity campaigns, running from the 1870s through to 1940: immigration to western Canada, the First World War, and the promotion of tourism from the 1880s to the Second World War. Each of these has occupied much academic and popular writing, so to put all three together, and to do so in a volume of fewer than two hundred pages, is risky.

To manage this, Francis relies mainly on works, both academic and popular, that precede this volume. The result is a generally clear synthesis; but there is not a great deal new in the text, nor, given the range of material, could much new be expected. What Francis does do is bring to the fore the actual visual materials that underpinned these campaigns. Posters, pamphlet covers, and photographs are superbly reproduced and displayed in this handsome volume. The author, publisher, and designers are to be congratulated.

There is a second challenge, however. It is not obvious that these three topics are linked in any meaningful way other than that they all led to the production of striking visual material. What ties promotion of western immigration at the turn of the century to the horrors and pressures of the First World War? Is commercially based tourism promotion really similar to the central role played by either immigration promotion or the life-and-death stakes surrounding the material of the Great War?

Francis tries to answer these questions by emphasizing two themes. The first is captured by his use of the term “propaganda.” Though the formal definition is neutral, the image of the word implies a highly biased or misleading use of materials. Francis builds on this, noting in more than one instance how materials were at best selective and often misleading. More often than not, he concludes, the efforts stopped short of outright lies but those who made them were happy to tell only “truths that were convenient” (60). The second theme is that, buried among these varied campaigns, hyperbolic materials, and half-truths, there is an emerging Canadian identity. It is
for this reason that the concluding chapter suddenly leaps forward from the interwar years to Expo ’67 before returning to what Francis concludes links the three campaigns: “Between the 1880s and 1930s, three great sales campaigns transformed the way Canadians thought about themselves and the way outsiders thought about Canada” (174).

It is a valiant effort, but, for two reasons, the attempt to put the three campaigns together is not completely successful. First, the scale of the material means that there is more than enough to cover even if the narrative remains tightly focused on propaganda. However, this is impossible in a popular history both because the campaigns have to be given historical context and because brief histories of western settlement, the First World War, and tourism are sprinkled throughout the narrative, further diluting the book’s main theme. This dilution isn’t helped by the fact that Francis cannot resist digressions. The discussion of interwar tourist promotion is suddenly derailed by the introduction of Edward McCourt’s 1963 book on travelling in Canada. The introduction of Expo ’67, mentioned above, seems to set the stage for the national identity theme to be defined, only to wander off to a commentary on French-English relations, separatism, and the War Measures Act.

The second, and most fundamental, reason that the attempt to fit these three campaigns together is not completely successful is that they are simply not compatible. Each had a different audience and a different tone. Maybe the immigration efforts of the pre-Great War era and the tourism campaign of the interwar years were linked in that they extolled the virtues of a rural, resource-rich, and empty Canada to an external audience; but the tone, audience, and purpose of war propaganda were so different that, much as he might try, Francis cannot convince this reader (at least) that these three campaigns belong in the same volume.

*A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War*  
Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw, editors  
$34.95 paper.

**Lisa Pasolli**  
*University of Victoria*  

When it comes to the history of women in wartime Canada, the Second World War has so far attracted the most attention from scholars. Perhaps surprisingly, given the otherwise abundant scholarship on Canada’s Great War, those interested in women’s and girls’ experiences during the First World War have had a more limited historiography upon which to draw. Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw’s edited collection, *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service*, brings together twelve new and recent articles that begin to address this scarcity.

Contained within are familiar and important questions about women and war: for example, the changing dimensions of women’s work is the focus of several chapters. But the collection also introduces readers to unique and innovative approaches to gender and conflict. As a case in point, one of the volume’s more intriguing
chapters features Amy Tector’s use of disability studies to explore the concern about “authoritative” women and “emasculated” men (303). Suzanne Evans’s exploration of women’s markers of grief is similarly fascinating. Tying all of these interdisciplinary articles together is Glassford and Shaw’s excellent introduction, which provides a thorough overview of the existing literature of women and the First World War and neatly weaves together the articles’ common themes.

The central question that runs throughout A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service is that of the war’s transformative effect. Did the war profoundly change women’s and girls’ places in their families, communities, and workplaces? How lasting were those changes? If there is any sort of consensus across the volume, it is that, despite dramatic changes in women’s lives, traditional gender norms were not significantly challenged. Furthermore, even women’s new and exceptional roles operated within the confines of acceptable femininity. The authors of this volume explore the adherence to domesticity and maternalism from the perspective of university women (Terry Wilde), voluntary nurses (Linda J. Quiney), young girls (Kristine Alexander), paid workers (Kori Street), indigenous women (Alison Norman), in poetry written by women (Lynn Kennedy and Vicki S. Hallett), and through the lens of social policy (Desmond Morton).

Yet transformation is a complex question. The volume’s best chapters are those that go beyond societal prescriptions about gender roles to examine women’s individual experiences. As Margot I. Duley states in her article about the Newfoundland Women’s Patriotic Association, women’s and girls’ experiences of war were both “paradoxical and profound” (70). Diaries, memoirs, and literary works reveal that transformation may have happened on a more personal level, even within the boundaries of gender norms. The poignant stories contained in Terry Bishop Stirling’s chapter on Newfoundland nurses demonstrates this well. Several chapters also remind us that transformation took on different dimensions across class, race, age, marital status, and region. Kori Street, for example, reveals the contrast between middle- and working-class women who took up wartime paid labour. For the former, war work was a temporary patriotic duty; for the latter, the war provided much-needed opportunities to support their families, and they feared the loss of those opportunities at war’s end.

Glassford and Shaw readily admit that their collection has conspicuous holes – most notably, the absence of any analysis of Quebec women or girls. Nevertheless, the volume (and the included bibliography) opens the door to the kinds of questions that need to be asked about women, girls, and gender during the First World War.

Canada’s Road to the Pacific War: Intelligence, Strategy, and the Far East Crisis
Timothy Wilford
Vancouver: ubc Press, 2012. 312 pp. $34.95 paper.

James Wood
University of Victoria

Canada’s Road to the Pacific War examines the role of intelligence in Canadian strategic planning during the year preceding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Drawing on archival
resources in Canada, Britain, and the United States, Timothy Wilford has retraced Canada’s steps towards the Pacific War, revealing the extent of intelligence that was available to Canadian planners in 1940-41. Through an effective analysis of these documents, many of them only recently declassified, Wilford has written a history that highlights the growing probability of war with Japan throughout 1941, while also explaining why the actual targets and timing of the Japanese offensive could not be accurately determined before it began.

Readers from British Columbia, the province most immediately affected by the Japanese threat, will find Wilford’s examination of this period to be of particular interest. Using a military and political framework that centres on RCMP and Royal Canadian Navy intelligence gathering, his discussion of preparations for the internment of Japanese Canadians shows how difficult it was for an elected government to achieve a balance between executive authority and public accountability in wartime. By focusing on the documentary evidence, Wilford demonstrates the depth of concern among government officials over possible Japanese attacks against BC fishing fleets and the threat of clandestine activities along the coast. His approach sheds new light on Canadian government investigations, some taking place as early as October 1940, into the registration, internment, and repatriation of Japanese Canadians. While Wilford clearly shows that decisions were being made in light of the available intelligence, he concludes that British Columbia’s Japanese community was “completely innocent” of any transgression and was “the object of intense anti-Asian racism” (204).

Canada’s Road to the Pacific War also addresses lingering controversies surrounding possible foreknowledge of the Japanese attack that brought the United States into the war. Of particular interest is Wilford’s discussion of an affidavit of Murton Seymour, released in 2001, contending that the British and the Americans had received convincing intelligence that Japan would attack Pearl Harbor in early December 1941 (154). In contrast to Wilford’s earlier work, which endorses this view, Canada’s Road to the Pacific War is cautious in its handling of a controversial issue. He clearly shows that sufficient intelligence existed in 1941 to predict a Japanese attack in early December, but he is careful to note that key evidence concerning the recognition and impact of this intelligence remains missing or is not yet available. Likewise, Wilford shows that active Canadian involvement in intelligence gathering allowed the country to be better prepared for the Pacific War than historians had previously thought (xii, 51). Carrying this argument over into a discussion of the decision to send a contingent to reinforce the British garrison at Hong Kong, however, leads the reader to question whether the Canadian government knowingly sent these soldiers to certain disaster.

Canada’s Road to the Pacific War raises awareness of the motivations behind military planning and political decision making during the final months before Canada’s war with Japan. Wilford’s research is methodically organized and offers effective transitions and summaries as well as rich documentation to provide an insightful explanation of Canada’s evolving wartime relationship with Britain and the United States. He shows the extent to which racism coloured the judgment of military and
government decision makers, both in underestimating Japanese military capabilities and in overestimating the threat posed by Japanese Canadians living in coastal British Columbia. Above all, Wilford gives us an intelligence-based understanding of the Mackenzie King government’s decisions to prepare for the internment of Japanese-Canadians, to support the trade embargo against Japan, to send Canadian soldiers to the ill-fated defence of Hong Kong, and to be the first Allied nation to declare war against Japan.

Raincoast Chronicles 21: West Coast Wrecks and Other Maritime Tales
Rick James

David Hill-Turner
Nanaimo Museum

Tales of shipwrecks along British Columbia’s coast have focused on adventure and tragedy since the fur trade era. With marine transportation occupying such an important role in our daily lives, it is remarkable that so few books have been written on the topic, especially since there are thousands of wrecks on the coast. In West Coast Wrecks, Rick James, a maritime historian and field archaeologist, has written a welcome addition to the bookshelves of wreck enthusiasts and marine historians. This book joins earlier books by veteran diver and shipwreck historian Fred Rogers – Shipwrecks of British Columbia (1973) and More Shipwrecks of British Columbia (1992) – in providing basic information about our submerged maritime heritage.

While he acknowledges the works of the popular Rogers, even to including a chapter about him, James devotes twenty original chapters to a variety of maritime disasters, adventures, and events. What is most poignant is the era of transition from sail to steam. Many of the proud ocean windjammers ended their days cut down as barges for transporting logs and coal. The tale of the majestic 100-metre (329-foot) four-masted steel barque Drumrock, wrecked in Smith Inlet in 1928 after less than a year’s service, is an example of how a peak technology sailing vessel was converted into the largest and most technically innovative log barge on the BC coast.

The story that captured my interest involved the two smallest boats described in the book, the Chinese junks Amoy (1922) and Tai Ping (1939), whose solitary Pacific adventures contrast with the routine voyages of the larger commercial ships and remind us that it was possible that the first maritime explorers and visitors came from Asia. The book also includes the Comox Logging Company’s breakwater at Royston, which was started in 1937 from a variety of naval ships, tug boats, and sailing vessels that now served a useful purpose far beyond their builders’ expectations.

Many of the stories in the book originated as research work that James authored for the Underwater Archaeology Society of British Columbia as part of its extensive series of regional shipwreck reports. While serious historians will find satisfaction in James’s research and writing, his target reader is the avocational historian. The book offers an extensive bibliography of published, unpublished, and personal correspondence. While
shipwreck books are often aimed at scuba divers, James also includes photos of these ships taken close-up from land. Finally, James reminds readers that wreck sites are protected under British Columbia's Heritage Conservation Act. While wrecks offer many temptations to souvenir hunters, it is illegal to remove anything from them without a permit.

As a chronological narrative, The Uchuck Years covers the who, when, and where of the company’s development in a thorough if sometimes rambling manner. Although not intended as a complete history of the island’s west coast, the book also chronicles the industrial and social changes of the people and companies that the Uchuck III serves, and, in the process, Young brings the region to life. What is remarkable, however, is the consummate detail that Young brings to the how and why of every aspect of the ship’s operations. He describes everything from the changing technologies of navigation and radio communication to the types and methods of launching lifeboats to the complex logistics of delivering freight to remote docks and floats. All his descriptions are based on an extensive local and maritime knowledge. His account of the ships’ repairs and refits provides considerable insight into the skills and processes of wooden shipbuilding and the problems that can arise. And where else will you find a page-long account of the brewing and serving of the crew’s coffee?

Apart from having many proofing errors, the book is well presented. Maps at the front are easily referred to and an excellent index provides quick access to the detailed information (including the coffee discussion). Black-and-white photographs enhance the text. Although books abound for the early coastal steamers and BC Ferries, only Rob Morris’s Coasters (Horsdal and Schubart, 1993) deals with the postwar fleet, including the last four coasters working in the 1990s, and the Aurora Explorer is featured in Brian Scott’s Marine Link: Exploring the Working BC Coast (Brian Scott Fine Art Ltd., 2009).

The Uchuck Years is sure to become an important source for anyone interested in British Columbia’s marine history,
both for specifics about the company’s operations and for its detailed and encyclopaedic description of life and activity aboard a working vessel on the BC coast during the last half of the twentieth century.

_Passing through Missing Pages:_
_The Intriguing Story of Annie Garland Foster_
Frances Welwood

_Duff Sutherland_
_Selkirk College_

_In the early 1990s, author Frances Welwood agreed to research the life of Annie Garland Foster for a Nelson Museum exhibition entitled “The Women of Nelson, 1880–1950.” An early woman graduate of the University of New Brunswick, Annie Garland Foster was the first woman elected to the Nelson city council in 1920. Impressed by her subject’s life and work and intrigued by her connection to a West Kootenay murder case, Welwood has gone on to write _Passing through Missing Pages_, an impressive full-length biography of Foster. In _Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen_ (2003), Jean Barman shows how two Pictou County, Nova Scotia, teachers, Annie and Jessie McQueen, came west after the 1886 completion of the transcontinental railway and were shaped by and helped shape the BC “frontier.” Although arriving in British Columbia in 1908, more than twenty years after the McQueen sisters, a similar case could be made for the significance of the life of Annie Garland Foster: she was influenced by and had some influence in the making of her society.

Annie Garland Foster led a long and varied life during which she took advantage of and was affected by the major historical events that transformed Canada from the late nineteenth century. Following graduation from UNB, Foster acquired a teaching certificate and trained as a nurse in the United States. Eventually worn down by the physical and emotional demands of nursing, Foster joined many Maritimers who were seeking work in western Canada; after 1905, she taught for several years in Saskatchewan and then moved on to a teaching position in Nelson, where she met and eventually married William Garland Foster, the editor of the _Nelson Daily News_. In 1915, William Garland Foster enlisted in the 54th Kootenay Battalion. He died after being wounded during heavy fighting near Cambrai in the last days of the war. Annie followed her husband to Britain, where she worked in military convalescent hospitals as a British Red Cross nurse until 1917.

The war and her tragic personal losses (she also suffered a miscarriage on the voyage home) appear to have shaped Foster’s interests and concerns for the remainder of her life. Now a widow and a veteran, Foster returned to the West Kootenay where she taught, ranched briefly on the rugged Pend-d’Oreille River, and became an activist in the Women’s Institute and Great War Veterans Association for improvements in child health and welfare and in veteran services. Foster publicly played down her commitment to advancing women’s political rights but was a vigorous and outspoken member of Nelson’s city council in 1920; she also ran unsuccessfully to be mayor of Nelson and as a candidate for the Provincial Party in the early 1920s.
Welwood suggests that Foster’s social and political activism led to her “third” career as a journalist and writer, which occupied the latter part of her life. Eventually settling in a White Rock cottage, Foster worked hard for many years to support herself by writing articles for Canadian newspapers and magazines, book reviews, and books, including the first published biography of Pauline Johnson.

Finally, and importantly, Welwood discovered that, for almost twenty years, Foster maintained a private lobbying campaign on behalf of a fellow veteran, Patrick Hanley. *Passing through Missing Pages* provides the human story behind a notorious West Kootenay murder case first mentioned briefly in Elsie G. Turnbull’s *Trail between Two Wars* (1980). In her survey, Turnbull describes Hanley’s shooting of Mildred Neilson in 1925 as the “callous” killing of a popular young nurse. We learn little about the case beyond the fact that Hanley also wounded himself in the incident and had to be treated in Rossland “because of feeling in Trail” (52). In *Passing Through Missing Pages*, Welwood reveals that Foster knew Hanley through her work as president of the Nelson Great War Veterans Association: he was the local association’s secretary. Like her husband, Hanley had served in the 54th Kootenay Battalion and been blown up by a shell. He survived but had ongoing pain from his wounds, which, according to his Trail business partner, contributed to a nervous breakdown after the war. Hanley claimed in his defence that he had not meant to kill Neilson, who had rejected his romantic advances. After a third trial, the jury found Hanley guilty of murder and the judge sentenced him to hang. Along with others, Foster mounted a campaign that led to Hanley’s sentence being commuted to life in prison. She continued her efforts on Hanley’s behalf, eventually helping to obtain his release from prison in 1945. Foster and Hanley married – by then she was seventy years old, he was fifty-seven – soon after his release and lived together in White Rock until their deaths in the mid-1970s. Welwood speculates that, after a lifetime of social action, Foster likely gained satisfaction in that she had surely helped this individual in his life.

*Passing through Missing Pages* is a carefully researched and written biography of a serious and productive life lived in interesting times. Annie Garland Foster deserves to be better known in British Columbia and beyond: this book will certainly help in that process.

**Yip Sang and the First Chinese Canadians**

Frances Hern


144 pp. $9.95 paper.

LiLYNN WAN

Dalhousie University

*Francis Hern’s Yip Sang and the First Chinese Canadians* is the biography of a prominent merchant in Vancouver’s Chinatown in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The story begins with Yip Sang’s arrival in British Columbia from San Francisco in 1881. Yip Sang supplied and managed Chinese railway labourers in the 1880s and established the Wing Sang Company in 1888, which he managed until his death in 1927. Hern contextualizes biographical sketches and memoirs with broader historical events, including the politics
of Confederation, political unrest in China, and the development of Canadian immigration policies in the twentieth century. As part of the Amazing Stories series published by Heritage House, this historical biography is geared towards “younger readers [and] new Canadians” (www.heritagehouse.ca). The target audience for this book makes the telling of these stories particularly important because the function of this type of history has as much to do with creating the present as it has to do with learning about the past.

Certain problematic aspects of this monograph are common to literature that is intended to introduce young Canadians to their history. Despite Hern’s clear efforts to integrate “Chinese Canadian” history with the conventional master narrative of Canadian history, her interpretation is often Eurocentric and written from a top-down perspective. For example, in telling the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, in this context, should focus on the experiences of the labourers, Hern primarily describes the politics of the railway in relation to Ottawa and Confederation, the economics of nation building, and the Pacific Scandal. More significant, however, is the fact that the racism that permeates this history is not adequately addressed. For example, in Chapter 5, which takes discrimination as its focus, Hern attributes the intense anti-Oriental attitudes that existed in Vancouver in the early twentieth century to the poverty and harsh living conditions from which many immigrant labourers suffered. What she neglects to explain is that this poverty was itself a result of a complex history of racism. In Hern’s account, racism is often simplified into isolated incidents of discrimination. This problem is further exemplified in Hern’s use of the term “Chinese Canadians,” a descriptor that has been the subject of criticism since the late 1980s. Even in her chapter on the “Second Canadian-Born Generation,” Hern continues to describe her subjects as “Chinese Canadians.” Such language reveals how deeply ideas about race persist: after three generations of permanent settlement, the ethnic prefix remains. Redefining early immigrants as something akin to historian Peter Li’s term “Chinese in Canada,” and their descendants as “Canadians,” better reflects contemporary understandings of the relationship between race, ethnicity, and citizenship, and it resonates more closely with the mindset of both “young” and “new” Canadians today.

**Dim Sum Stories: A Chinatown Childhood**

Larry Wong


**LiLynn Wan**

*Dalhousie University*

Vancouver’s Chinatown has been the subject of numerous notable academic studies, providing a focus that has proven to be essential to the Canadian historical narrative. In analyzing the history of Vancouver’s Chinatown, scholars have made groundbreaking theoretical and methodological contributions to the literature on such topics as race relations, racial discourse, immigration, urban geography, community development, citizenship, governance, crime, colonialism, gender relations, narcotics
legislation, identity politics, class relations, and economic development. Yet the task of reconstructing a past that has been obscured by racism and socio-economic marginalization can only be partially satisfied through academia. For those of us whose family histories have been lost to the tangible effects of colonialism – to the silences of our parents’ and grandparents’ generations, borne of the experiences of migration, opium, poverty, and shame – theory and methodology have their limits. Larry Wong’s *Dim Sum Stories* offers a warm and welcome literary meal to feed that hunger. This collection of short stories and memoirs provides an account of experiences that are specific to Wong’s childhood. At the same time, these stories tell us about the lives of multiple generations; of women and girls; of “children of immigrants”; and of Vancouverites (not just “Chinese”) who lived, worked, and shopped in Chinatown; and of the lives of the successful and those who were not so lucky.

Difference is key to the experiences of the characters brought to life in Wong’s collection. Wong’s father’s life story is one of success and survival. Like many of the early residents of Vancouver’s Chinatown, Wong Quon Ho’s experience extended between China and Canada. It included love and loss, raising children, and operating a business. Wong Quon Ho’s life is contrasted with that of his friend, F.P., whose story is one of a man who is ultimately consumed, both in body and mind, by the sojourner experience. Wong includes carefully written descriptions of his mother, Lee Shee, who came to Vancouver from Kowloon as Wong Quon Ho’s second wife; and of his sister, Jennie, who left Chinatown and married a “Caucasian” butcher in Ontario. These narratives provide an understanding of generational as well as gendered difference in the experiences of Chinese women in Canada. Likewise, through his descriptions of his own past, Wong defines himself as Canadian, in contrast to his father’s generation and the immigrant population who moved in and out of Chinatown throughout the twentieth century. Wong’s memoirs offer a commentary on the diversity and malleability of experiences of racial oppression and socio-economic marginalization. They are presented in a way that resonates for many, and, as such, this book gives substance to the scholarly narratives that have become so central to British Columbian and Canadian history.

*A Hard Man to Beat: The Story of Bill White, Labour Leader, Historian, Shipyard Worker, Raconteur*

Howard White


Mark Leier
Simon Fraser University

Selected as one of ten Vancouver books reprinted to celebrate the city’s 125th anniversary, *A Hard Man to Beat* is perhaps even more important now than it was when it was first published. Then, Bill White’s lively memoir of life on the left, from the 1930s to the 1950s, delivered personal insights into well-known events: the Ford strike, labour leaders and strikes, the ties between politicians and business
leaders, the role of the Communist Party, and the rise of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Since then, much of this has passed from common knowledge, and White’s book serves as a crash course in labour history.

But it is much more than that. In 1983, White’s warning that the world was entering a new depression seemed alarmist. It now seems prescient. White, who died in 2001, warned: “They call it the new conservatism, but it’s the same old conservatism to me … it’s the same broken record they’ve been playing for the forty years that I’ve listened to them” (242-43). We have since seen nearly thirty years of declining wages, worsening work conditions, and the dismantling of much of the social safety net, all made possible by the weakening of the labour movement by capital and the state.

As new movements look for new ways to fight back, White has much to offer. He outlines plainly and without abstraction concepts such as “hegemony,” “legitimation,” “social construction of history,” “bureaucracy,” and “relative autonomy of the state.” These are expressed vividly and as part of the common knowledge, common sense, and experience of workers rather than as the special province of academics.

White belonged to the Communist Party for several years, and his reflections on his experience in it are particularly useful. White neither whitewashes nor red-baits the party. He credits its bottom-up organizing and direct action for its successes in the 1930s and 1940s and notes that the “party line” was of little interest to rank-and-file members and most officers. He condemns conservative unionists for their cowardice and pillories the CCF for its top-down capture of the labour movement and its dream of political action – a dream that would prove as utopian as any dream of revolution. White is, however, highly critical of the machinations of the party elite, its growing separation from the shop floor, its tactical and strategic blunders, and the foibles of its leaders. Taken together, his analysis of the Communist Party is of more value than are those of its opponents (who insist it was nothing more than the Canadian arm of the Comintern) and those of its acolytes (who insist it never made a misstep).

New generations may also learn much from White’s experience as a trade unionist and leader of the Marine Workers and Boilermakers Union. He contrasts the shop steward movement of the 1930s and 1940s, built on militancy and direct contact with the rank and file, with the bureaucratized labour movement of the 1980s. White characterizes the contemporary movement as one in which “the typical union … has very little presence in the workplace.” Further: “Most fellas in a union today, they hardly know they’re in it.” White points out the dangers of collaboration, noting: “It’s bad enough not being able to tell the bosses from the labour leaders by looking at them but the worst of it is half the time you can’t tell when they talk either” (244-42). These observations are just as telling today.

The book offers some warnings to those who practise oral history. Bill White’s blunt, common-sense language is carefully preserved and represented by his collaborator, Howard White (no relation). It inspires confidence in Bill White’s accounts of events and people, much as does Orwell’s language. However, in both cases, the reader needs to look past the manipulation of language before coming to a judgment. Candour is not the same as accuracy,
and White has a few scores to settle. Howard White is careful to point out that this is Bill White’s story and interpretation; it is not fact-checked and corroborated. White engaged in a ten-year legal battle to win the closed shop, for example, but his version of the conclusion to the case is only one of three competing versions. And while White dismisses his opponent, Myron Kuzich, as the stooge of bosses who opposed the closed shop, Kuzich was an anti-Stalinist, anti-bureaucratic left-winger. Nor does White seem to appreciate the irony regarding the Kuzich case when he notes that “the closed shop had a lot to do with” the subsequent bureaucratization of the labour movement (241).

*A Hard Man to Beat* is part history, part adventure, part diagnosis, and part prescription. Pointed, cranky, lively, and authentic, it has lost none of its power to inform and entertain. It remains an excellent text for a range of history and labour relations courses, a useful primer for social activists, and an insightful read for the general public.


Ernest R. Forbes with an Introduction by Stephen Dutcher


Patricia E. Roy

University of Victoria

Why should *BC Studies* review the autobiography of E.R. “Ernie” Forbes, a leading historian of Maritime Canada? Because several years in Victoria helped him to confirm his ideas about the importance of regionalism in Canada. These ideas appear in his collected essays, *Challenging the Regional Stereotype* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989). This book, however, is a personal memoir originally written for the benefit of his children.

In 1966, Sydney Pettit of the University of Victoria was recruiting faculty to teach multiple sections of an introductory course in Canadian history. He asked Peter Waite, the head of the department at Dalhousie University, to recommend a suitable person. Ernie was then completing an MA thesis on Nova Scotia politics. He and his wife, Irene, were planning to celebrate with an extended holiday in Europe before returning to high school teaching. On Waite’s recommendation, Forbes was offered the job, sight unseen. He did not accept until Irene pointed out that they hadn’t seen the west coast and that they would be paid to go to Victoria. His first encounter with Victoria, a phone call to a Halifax moving company, was not promising. The company’s agent asked why anyone would want to go to a place where it rained all the time. Ernie does not mention that the rain seemed so endless in his first winter in Victoria that, as a son of the manse, he considered checking the Bible to see if Noah had provided instructions about building an ark! Nevertheless, Ernie liked Victoria, especially the Sooke Hills and the Malahat, which offered opportunities for him to hunt deer – and for cougars to hunt him.

His MA research had made Ernie aware of the Maritimes’ many grievances. In Victoria he learned that British Columbians also had a tradition of complaining of unfair treatment at the hands of the federal government. Alas, he never turned his
talents to what could be an interesting comparison. Nevertheless, his interest in regionalism increased. As part of the 1967 Centennial celebrations, the Canadian Historical Association sponsored a series of seminars on the theme of regionalism. At the Victoria session one of the senior scholars was George Rawlyk, whom Ernie had known at Dalhousie. Assigned the task of critiquing Rawlyk’s paper on the “paranoid style” in Nova Scotia politics, Ernie listed the “rational reasons” that Maritimers felt hard done by. Two Toronto graduate students, Viv Nelles and Michael Bliss, responded with anti-Maritime jokes. Ernie was soon off to Queen’s, where he wrote his thesis on Maritime rights, which became an acclaimed book. He happily returned to Victoria, but the University of New Brunswick soon offered him a position. Since parenthood made extended research trips to the Maritimes impractical, he realized that he must either change the focus of his research or return to the east. British Columbia’s loss was the Maritimes’ gain.

*Mulligan's Stew: My Life … So Far*

Terry David Mulligan


240 pp. $19.95 paper.

Vanessa Colantonio

Vancouver

Searching the Canadian literary pantry for a satisfying meal of rock-and-roll history can turn up very slim pickings indeed. Which is why BC veteran DJ, VJ, and actor Terry David Mulligan’s memoir of moving through the western Canadian and national rock music and entertainment industries hits the spot perfectly. In *Mulligan’s Stew* (named after the author’s current CKUA, Alberta, radio program) “*tdm*” recounts many fascinating stories of growing up in the BC interior and the Prairies, joining the RCMP in Alberta, and then making a radical career shift (by mid-1960s standards) into commercial radio broadcasting. From there, we follow Mulligan through the trials and tribulations, personal and professional, of moving through the mainstream and underground radio worlds of the late 1960s and early 1970s and into film and television acting before landing a pioneering position as host of CBC’s music video show *Good Rockin’ Tonite* in 1983. Mulligan then moved to a lengthy stint with Canada’s twenty-four-hour music station (back in the day) MuchMusic, his visage engraved on the minds of a generation (including mine). From Vancouver, Mulligan hosted the west coast program *Much West* for sixteen years.

Most fascinating, although all too brief, are the book’s descriptions of the Vancouver music scene of the late-1960s, including the early years of Kitsilano-based radio station CFUN, the Fourth Avenue scene in general, the bands, and some of the venues. What Mulligan does share, however, makes very enjoyable reading. Also enjoyable are his recollections of interviews with artists as diverse as Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, Frank Zappa, James Brown, David Bowie, Neil Young, Tom Cochrane, and Bryan Adams.

Yet *Mulligan’s Stew*, filled with entertaining and poignant tales of the author’s meetings with rock royalty (Canadian, American, and British), is also part-confessional: a bitter-sweet biography, peppered with loss and regret. Throughout his book Mulligan’s
narrative does not come across as melancholy so much as wistful and wizened, having enjoyed the fun times and learned from the difficult ones.

All of which makes Mulligan’s Stew a very gratifying dish of rock-and-roll Canadiana.

**All Roads Lead to Wells: Stories of the Hippie Days**  
Susan Safyan  

**David Stouck**  
Simon Fraser University

The growing literature about hippies demonstrates that the phenomenon was anything but uniform. Joy Inglis, in a privately printed book, describes one manifestation: a commune on Quadra Island that was established in 1968 by Antioch College art instructor Janet Jones to provide young men with a refuge from the Vietnam draft. Jones’s vision of a self-sustaining intentional arts community was steeped in the utopian idealism of the counterculture movement. The participants built an art centre and organized a farm where everyone worked. But Jones died suddenly in the fall of 1969, and while the farm continued for another thirteen years it was shadowed by her loss. In Inglis’s artful narrative the hippies tell their stories, each chapter set to music with popular lyrics from that era, but throughout we are made aware of the fleeting nature of that special time “back to the garden” by the book’s title: *Always Remember This*.

Susan Safyan’s *All Roads Lead to Wells*, by contrast, is not a nostalgic document but a bracing, life-affirming one, rich in the specific geography, history, and sociology of the Wells and Barkerville region. Safyan allies her method to that of Barry Broadfoot in *Ten Lost Years*, letting her informants speak for themselves. The music of the era is frequently referenced but there is no “lost garden” in Safyan’s narrative because no one could live from the land: at an elevation of 1,219 metres there are no guaranteed frost-free days. Instead, Wells’s hippies worked seasonally in the local parks at Barkerville and the Bowron Lakes, with highways and forestry, and in the town’s hotels and restaurants.

“Filthy Larry’s” leather shop, the first hippie establishment, became the model for social organization: small groups of three or four friends living together in the area’s abandoned buildings. Because the gold rush era’s forty-five hundred inhabitants had diminished to three hundred, there were many of these: miners’ shacks, little houses, log cabins. Some built their own unique dwellings: one used a car windshield for a living-room window, another built a pie-shaped tree house spanning five trees and moving with the wind. Few had electricity or running water; most had wood cook stoves for heat. Massive icicles grew in the corners; buildings caught fire.

Individuals emerge from Safyan’s narrative as admirably ingenious at coping with difficulties: spring floods, tormenting mosquitoes, forty below temperatures (“you wear all your clothes to bed”). Dinner might be stinging nettles and rice, electricity and water lines might be created by rank amateurs. But individualism was prized and every dog had a name.

Safyan’s expert editing of her informants’ memories highlights an essential fact about this hippie enclave: “living off the grid” depended on a
vigorouss communal life that often included local old-timers. There were social activities throughout the year: dredge pond skinny-dipping, costume parties, snowball tournaments, dinners with drums and dancing – all fuelled by “serious drinking” and mind-altering drugs. But, especially, it consisted of helping each other through the difficult times. Though there was division, there was a kind of active utopianism based on the ideal of community rather than on communal living. Some former hippies still live there; others return for visits.

Why is it important to preserve accounts of these communities? As Inglis says: “They had a profound and humanizing impact on North American culture. The revolutions in thought which animated these groups expanded into an ever larger general consciousness. It is still found wherever the hopes of freedom, peace, and equality are expressed today.” All Roads Lead to Wells is a vivid collection of stories from one such unique and fascinating community.

Stranger on a Strange Island: From Main Street to Mayne Island
Grant Buday

Howard Stewart
University of British Columbia

Grant Buday’s slim tome about his transition to life on Mayne Island in the new millennium is my favourite among the small pile of good books about life on the inland sea that I’ve reviewed for BC Studies recently. Yet it is also the one I would be least likely to buy. Luckily, reviewers get free copies of the books that they review (that and the fame that comes with the genre).

In a handful of well-crafted chapters, Buday has nailed much of what it feels like to move from the city to one of the quirky little islands nearby. His non-fiction snippets of life in the slow lane halfway between Vancouver and Victoria are as compelling and faithful as are those of lawyer-novelist-islander William Deverell. Buday also offers us a handful of black-and-white photos from his personal album that nicely complement his diary-cum-portrait of life on Mayne. His insights into his fellow islanders’ proclivity to take the law into their own hands remind us that the islands, like the sea around them, can appear somewhat lawless to newcomers until they begin to discern the complex local codes of conduct that replace the Crown’s writ. Sometimes, like when an islander jumps off a passing ferry to make sure he doesn’t miss the island softball game, the two codes clash.

But mostly islands like Mayne are peaceful places with competing standards of behaviour set by the many parallel groups who share their bucolic space. Sometimes the clannishness can feel like a bad dream return to high school. Until you remember that there weren’t really that many hobby farmers, eco-warriors, Buddhists, strident lesbians, or tedious old farts at high school. Thank God. Buday captures perfectly the island’s complex protocol for greetings. He doesn’t go far enough, though, in explaining why this subtle cacophony of signals has evolved. The vigour and style of greeting one receives depend, far more than Buday recognizes, on which of the
island's many subcultures one is seen to represent and how the greeter feels about those kind of people.

Peaceful, except when the boys fire up their chainsaws, which of course they seem to do at the drop of a hat, especially on those magically still fall days. Buday's musings about the inescapable need for even the greenest islander to eventually embrace the terrifying power and cranky soul of the chainsaw is one of the book's best bits.

Then, too soon, it is over, ending on an oddly tangential note about a whale-watching trip on the Strait of Juan de Fuca. This delightful little book somehow reminded me of William Kotzwinkle's great but obscure classic *The Fan Man*. I fear the obscurity of Buday's *Stranger on a Strange Island* will be assured mostly by its excessive brevity in relation to its price. The people most interested in it, like me, are the least likely to shell out over twenty bucks for a seventy-five-page book.

**Front Lines: Portraits of Caregivers in Northern British Columbia**

Sarah de Leeuw, photos by Tim Swanky

Smithers: Creekstone Press, 2011. 104 pp. Illus. $32.00 cloth.

**Pamela A. Ratner**

*University of British Columbia*

"I always seem to get inspiration and renewed vitality by contact with this great novel land of yours." So said Prime Minister Winston Churchill to Vice-President Richard Nixon in June 1954 at a British Embassy dinner in Washington, DC. Churchill, although describing the United States, could readily have said this about northern British Columbia had he had the opportunity to read the essays and see the photographs included in *Front Lines: Portraits of Caregivers in Northern British Columbia*. The impressions gained from an initial, cursory inspection of the book are of a dynamic, hardy, and diverse people committed to enjoying the physicality of the northern landscape. Close examination reveals the portraits to be accounts of healthcare professionals who work and live, with great passion, in British Columbia's north. They are about people who are unreservedly committed to the belief that human health and well-being are inextricably linked to the well-being of the earth.

Author Sarah de Leeuw's background in cultural historical geography and her roots in northern British Columbia are reflected in her pithy yet rich accounts of forty-four nurses, physicians, traditional healers, midwives, social workers, opticians, and pharmacists. These health professionals' noble work, complicated by a rugged geography, harsh climate, and the adverse effects of colonialism, racism, and poverty, is filled with problems and obstacles. Yet de Leeuw manages to convince the reader that these people have transcended the complications of providing health care in the north and have found happiness and a sense of well-being as they care for others. Indeed, the essays are not exclusively about their professional lives but, rather, are an attempt to relate and celebrate their lives, fully integrated, into their social and physical environments.

Tim Swanky's joyful photographs capture the healthcare providers outside of their professional work; they are

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seen playing musical instruments, swimming, cycling, dancing, fishing – engaged in life’s pursuits. By avoiding the fixed-pose image, Swanky has managed to represent his subjects bursting with exuberance and hope – he has captured their world of beauty and fun.

Holism is conceptualized by many health professionals as the consideration of the complete person – physically, psychologically, existentially, culturally, and socially. de Leeuw has succeeded in demonstrating that the healthcare providers she has profiled are sensitive to the idea of holism and know, in all of their expressed humility, that all aspects of their world influence their, and their patients’, health and well-being. These compelling, adroitly written essays and accompanying photographs situate these people squarely in the north, within healthcare service, and within their families and communities. Several of the accounts are of people who lived in other communities and countries and who worked in many different occupations before they settled in the north. Their stories are replete with searches for meaning – meaning that they clearly found when they chose to become healthcare providers and to put down roots in British Columbia’s north. These are people who know how to live in ways that matter. There are no glum profiles of overworked, stressed healthcare professionals struggling with resource shortages, poor coordination of services, and limited technological infrastructure. This somewhat unbalanced exposition may not tell the whole story; nonetheless, there are life lessons here for all of us.

**City Critters: Wildlife in the Urban Jungle**
Nicholas Read

Jennifer Bonnell
University of Guelph

This beautifully illustrated volume introduces readers young and old to the diversity of wild animals that share urban environments with us. Through entertaining anecdotes and compelling and often humorous narrative, Nicholas Read explains where these animals live, how they have adapted to life in the city, and how we can better coexist with them.

The book’s scope is unexpectedly broad, ranging from more familiar urban birds and mammals to chapters on marine mammals, fish and aquatic species, and reptiles and insects. Anecdotes and illustrations are drawn from cities big and small from across North America. Readers learn about the specialized habitats upon which these animals depend, such as the salt marshes and intertidal areas that are now present only in fragments in some cities.

But this is not simply a celebratory catalogue of animals in the city. Read takes care to document the challenges that occur with coexistence, including threats to pets and children, concerns about disease transfer between animals and humans, and the hazards of exotic pet ownership. He backs up his stories with solid scientific evidence.

Read’s account also shows how the presence of urban wildlife in North American cities has changed over time. While North American urban centres have always been home to rats and to
a selection of birds and other species, the growing presence of animals we typically associate with wilderness – coyotes, white-tailed deer, and, in some places, bears, cougars, and moose – is a relatively new phenomenon. Even in the oceans, the notion of an “urban whale” is becoming more common, given the pervasiveness of urban waterways that feed coastal cities like Vancouver. Other animals that were once commonly seen in cities, such as songbirds, have declined precipitously in recent years due to global changes such as habitat loss, pesticide use, and climate change (59).

In the reasons behind these changes lies Read’s main message: rapid habitat loss is threatening wild animals around the world. The way we live in North America – “in big houses on big lots with big roads to serve them” (5) – has eradicated habitat for some wild animals and forced others into smaller and smaller portions of undeveloped land. Many animals’ survival, Read argues, is contingent upon their ability to thrive in proximity to people. Adaptation to new conditions and tolerance for a variety of food sources are shared by the most successful urban wildlife – the raccoons, skunks, house sparrows, and squirrels with which we are so familiar. The book will find ready audiences among younger children, teens, and adults alike. A great resource for urban families seeking to learn more about the animals around them, City Critters also provides an excellent foundation for classroom studies in biology, geography, and environment.

“What makes skunk spray smell so bad?” (22). Insets on “Amazing animal adaptations” feature fascinating local anecdotes, such as the story of a colony of massive six-gill sharks breeding below the Seattle aquarium, in depths twenty times shallower than their typical breeding habitat (48).

Finally, the book offers some useful ideas for bettering human and animal relationships in cities. Simple rules, such as “Don’t Feed the Bears,” apply in cities, too. Other admonishments, from keeping cats indoors to improving garden habitats for wildlife, are delivered with a refreshing dose of humour.

Most refreshing in this book is the absence of the “save-the-animals” rhetoric so prevalent in children’s books and television programs, in which characters are celebrated for “rescuing” individual animals, often in exotic places. Here the emphasis is squarely on habitat. Read captivates readers with stories about the animals outside their doorsteps and the ways in which they can better work to give them the space they need.

Nowhere Else on Earth:
Standing Tall for the Great Bear Rainforest
Caitlyn Vernon

MARGARET (MAGGIE) LOW
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The Great Bear Rainforest, also known as the north and central coast of British Columbia, is one of the last intact temperate rainforests left in the world. This region has received much
attention since 1993, when a campaign under the Raincoast Conservation Society coined the name “Great Bear Rainforest” and began efforts to protect the ecologically rich rainforest valleys from logging. The environmental and land-use controversy was resolved somewhat in 2006 through innovative negotiations and compromise with the signing of the Great Bear Rainforest Agreements. The region is now the site of a controversial oil pipeline slated to run straight through this rainforest to the Pacific Ocean, where oil tankers will transport the bitumen from the Alberta tar sands to Asia. There is no better time to assess the social and ecological significance of this region. *Nowhere Else on Earth: Standing Tall for the Great Bear Rainforest*, carries on this conversation in a nuanced way.

This book is written for youth. Author and environmental activist Caitlyn Vernon uses simple language and explanations, vivid photographs, cartoons, “did-you-know” sections, and personal stories to teach the reader about the importance and beauty of the Great Bear Rainforest. Further, Vernon explains the reasons one might care about the people and ecology of this region and suggests ways to take action.

The author begins by describing the basics of the area: its geography, the people who live there, and the crucial ecological role played by the rainforest both locally and globally. In ten short and rich chapters, Vernon tells us about the First Nations peoples who have lived in the area for millennia. She then provides a description of the forest, plant, and wildlife ecology as well as the long history of natural resource extraction in the area. This is followed by an assessment of the contemporary threats to the region, including logging and oil and gas development, and what is at stake for people if it is heavily developed. She gives particular attention to the impacts of old-growth logging and the threats to the wild salmon populations that support the subsistence of many of the First Nations communities along the coast. In the final three chapters, Vernon tells the success story of the Great Bear Rainforest negotiations and the scale of change possible when action is taken and people work collaboratively. Vernon then assesses the ecological significance of the Great Bear Rainforest and situates it, as a major carbon sink, in the broader context of climate change. She argues that the health of this region and of the planet is directly affected by Western society’s dependence on oil. Finally, she uses her personal experiences, and those of people who live in the region, to urge youth to become involved in issues about which they care and ultimately to be part of a better future.

This book was written to fill a void in the current commentary about the Great Bear Rainforest. While much has been written about the governance and politics of the region – the negotiations, innovative environmental strategies, market campaigns, ecosystem-based management – little commentary has focused directly on the role of youth in its future. This emphasis makes *Nowhere Else on Earth* a unique and valuable contribution to juvenile literature, but it will also be welcomed by advocacy organizations, government agencies, and academic institutions. As the author of an academic study about the innovations of the Great Bear Rainforest negotiations, and as a visitor to the region, I can attest to the ways in which Vernon has portrayed its majesty, beauty, and significance. Geared towards a youth audience, this book does not provide an in-depth analysis of the political and economic
characteristics of the area; however, it does provide a clear understanding of the connections between the choices people make and the environment upon which they depend for life.

J. Keri Cronin

JENNY CLAYTON
University of Victoria

Contribution to the emerging and vibrant field of national park histories in Canada, J. Keri Cronin's Manufacturing National Park Nature: Photography, Ecology, and the Wilderness Industry of Jasper explores how photographs created for tourist consumption have depicted Jasper National Park in the century since the park’s establishment in 1907. Engaging with scholars of nature, culture, and power such as Bruce Braun and Tina Loo, Cronin examines the role that photography plays in shaping “how we think about and interact with our physical environments” (28). This study is also informed by an extensive reading of the literature on the history of parks, wildlife, landscape art, tourism, and photography. To explore the relationship between photography and the physical nature it represents, Cronin mainly employs published primary sources such as tourism brochures, postcards, films, park reports, newspaper articles, and reports by environmental organizations, in addition to photographs and government correspondence from archival collections. Organized thematically rather than chronologically, this book is divided into chapters dealing with wilderness, recreation, wildlife, and “fake nature.”

As Cronin asserts, photographic imagery is powerful due to its “ability to convince people that it records the truth” (17). She argues that photographic representations created for the touring public perpetuate an iconic “National Park Nature,” a particular “way of understanding place,” in which images tend to represent landscapes as pristine, animals as non-threatening and in harmony with humans, and recreation as having a minimal environmental impact. Repeatedly encountering these reassuring types of images, viewers do not need to confront the ecological degradation that has occurred in Jasper. Cronin shows how promotional photography of apparently untouched nature has helped entice visitors to the park to participate in outdoor leisure activities, while a range of manipulations of the natural environment took place to support these activities, such as stocking waterways with fish and maintaining permanent clear-cuts on mountainsides for downhill skiing, not to mention constructing an infrastructure of roads, accommodation, sewage, and garbage disposal.

A provocative central claim of this study is that, “for the most part[,] the representations of this landscape have changed very little” in the century since the park’s establishment and have continued to portray Jasper “as a safe and tranquil place, one that represent[s] the antithesis of social and political change and in which Nature exist[s] as a timeless entity” (20). While a compelling case could be made for the persistence of anti-modern portrayals
of national park landscapes over the twentieth century, this argument would be more convincing if it incorporated subtle shifts over time in promotional photography and engaged more fully with studies such as I.S. MacLaren's article on Jasper in the *Journal of Canadian Studies* (34, 3 [1999]) and Alan MacEachern's *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–1970* (2001). These studies demonstrate that what Canadians hope to see in national parks has changed over time to reflect cultural values and that the changing expectations of tourists have, in turn, shaped the design and management of parks.

Of the forty images printed here in black and white, nine have no date and at least twelve historic postcards are reproduced from the author's own collection. Using only images with dates would strengthen the potential for historical analysis, and a detailed discussion in the introduction outlining Cronin's methodology in terms of researching, acquiring, and selecting images would help to explain how representative are these photographic depictions.

*Manufacturing National Park Nature* develops diverse and useful critiques of how photographers, filmmakers, government, and the tourist industry have created a selective vision of parks that is careful not to disturb long-standing notions of wilderness, recreation, and wildlife, and how this vision threatens to override public awareness of environmental problems in parks. This study sets the stage for further investigations into the role of photography in national parks, for example, an exploration of how developments in photographic technology affected image-making or an analysis of the photograph albums of park visitors to find out how tourists consumed, experienced, or re-imagined “National Park Nature” when framing their own pictures.

*Only in Whistler: Tales of a Mountain Town*
Stephen Vogler

*Making Meaning Out of Mountains: The Political Ecology of Skiing*
Mark C.J. Stoddart

David A. Rossiter
Western Washington University

Mountains play important and complex roles in the lives of British Columbians. As sources of material wealth, barriers to travel and communication, and sites of physical and spiritual exertion and exploration, mountain landscapes have shaped and been shaped by the histories and human geographies of the province. While this relationship has been written about in the context of natural resource extraction and colonial resettlement, comparatively little attention has been paid to the ways in which mountain landscapes have been bound up with the

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production and promotion of recreation and tourism. In these two volumes, Stephen Vogler and Mark Stoddart, respectively, each with very different methods and styles, explore this aspect of mountain-society relationships in British Columbia through the prism of recreational skiing and the places that have been produced around it, particularly the resort municipality of Whistler.

Vogler's Only in Whistler is the long-time local resident’s colourful account of the transition of the ski resort from a small town of about five hundred year-round inhabitants (a mixture of “old school European Alpinists” and “snow-hippies”) in the mid-1970s to the international resort destination that it had become on the eve of hosting the 2010 Olympic Winter Games. Having moved to Whistler with his parents and siblings in the mid-1970s at the age of twelve, Vogler brings to his narrative the perspective of a person growing through adolescence and into adulthood; this is the same path of development that he traces for the town of Whistler itself. The result is a very personal account of both change and continuity in a place that is clearly dear to the author’s heart.

During his time working in Whistler as, variously, a dishwasher, musician, journalist, and author, Vogler amassed a wealth of anecdotes that shed light on the growth of a town and its changing surroundings and social milieu. Only in Whistler is written mainly around reminiscences elicited by the author during recent interviews with his large group of long-time friends and acquaintances in Whistler. The result is a series of vignettes that work backwards and forwards in time rather than a chronological account of the town’s development. As such, the ten chapters focus upon different aspects of life in Whistler, including: “squatting” in the 1970s, life and labour in bars and restaurants, the local music scene, skiing (of course!), and home-grown journalism. The picture that emerges offers readers a detailed glimpse, through crisp and witty prose, into the past and present of “the locals” Whistler, a place that is very different from the carefully constructed tourist Mecca that is portrayed for and sold to travellers and tourists arriving from Vancouver and beyond. In this way, Only in Whistler serves to provide a valuable, if selective, popular history of the growth of the town and its community.

Stoddart’s Making Meaning out of Mountains is a very different read. As the title indicates, the volume investigates the social production of skiing landscapes within the networks of early twenty-first-century consumer capitalism – both Whistler and the town of Nelson (and nearby ski resort Whitewater) in the Kootenay region of the province provide the setting as well as an opportunity for comparison. Written in a style peppered with terminology common within the critical social sciences and humanities, the book will likely find a receptive audience among graduate students and faculty members interested in analyses of society-environment relationships.

The study is based upon dozens of interviews with skiers as well as textual analysis and the author’s observations from the field, all filtered through ideas drawn from post-structuralist theory. The Introduction sets the stage by outlining the rising importance of the “attractive” economy of tourism in British Columbia as a complement to, and at times as a replacement for, long-standing extractive resource activities. This chapter also provides brief histories of the resorts at Whistler and Nelson,
a broad discussion of the networked corporate structure of the BC ski resort industry, and an overview of debates around wilderness experiences and environmental sustainability in the context of recreational skiing. From there, Stoddart goes on to explore four main themes: the ongoing construction of skiing landscapes by a range of social actors; skiing and related landscapes as hybrid “naturecultures;” politics, power, and relations between human and non-human nature; and the role of social difference along lines of class, gender, and race in producing skiing landscapes and attendant politics. The Conclusion identifies a series of implications that the study raises for consideration in an “ecopolitics of skiing, ” as “skiing involves flows of power among humans and non-humans, and it should be seen as part of our political ecology, where the purified boundaries between human politics and non-human nature break down” (177). Observing that “there is more to skiing than simply having fun in the snow,” Stoddart highlights ecological impacts and attendant discourses and networks, as well as social justice issues such as First Nations claims, as areas of contention that a political ecology approach helps to illuminate. The book ends with an Epilogue that addresses Whistler’s role as host of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, indicating that the experience reflects the themes addressed throughout the study.

Ultimately, these books succeed and stumble in different ways. Vogler provides a selective but intimate understanding of the history of a place that is very often regarded and experienced in a most transitory fashion. And yet one closes the cover feeling that, although Vogler’s Whistler has been revealed, a larger picture remains obscured. Conversely, Stoddart’s theoretical perspective provides an over-arching perspective on complex and confusing places and activities; however, the master weaving comes with a loss of detail and nuance. This reviewer would love to be a fly on the wall at a Whistler bar in which these two might cross paths and exchange notes. Perhaps something could be arranged?

\[2\] An obvious instance is the erroneous account of the merger of Blackcomb and Whistler mountains in 1996; Intrawest, already owner of Blackcomb, bought Whistler that year, not Blackcomb, as Stoddart claims (9).