

and new towns have been created in response to the exploitation of different resources — Prince George, Kitimat and Endako are good examples — but this trend has not altered the basic pattern of settlement.

This volume follows the traditional pattern that geographers have employed to discuss natural resources of a particular area. It discusses each resource in particular detail but provides little discussion or analysis of the issues involved in the management of natural resources or a wider perspective on how natural resources should be managed. Such an observation is not a criticism of the current volume, since it obviously was intended for a different purpose. Rather, it is more of a lament about the absence of such an approach by geographers and others who have tried to present an integrated approach to natural resources and their use. In this particular work the author provides a useful bibliography which can lead the reader beyond the overview into the actual problem of management.

Those who desire or expect a critical analysis of natural resources management will have to wait. This particular volume is a lucid and simple description of the use of natural resources in British Columbia and the Yukon — no more, no less.

University of Victoria

WILLIAM M. ROSS

Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, by Robin Fisher. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977. Pp. xvi, 250. Illustrations, maps, index, bibliography. \$18.00.

Professor Robin Fisher, who teaches history at Simon Fraser University, has produced a thoroughly documented and well-balanced study of European contact with aboriginal peoples in British Columbia from the time of first contact to the “triumph” of white settlement. In general this timely investigation confirms the thesis of writers such as Baker, Huttenback and Jordan who have concerned themselves with problems of white settlement in aboriginal tracts, and the thesis of Larrabee and others who have concerned themselves more specifically with relations at the time of contact between Amerindian cultures and European immigrants.

There are, of course, a number of distinctive contributions which mark this study as more than a confirmation of existing interpretations. Not that the confirmation of such views is without significance, but there is

much that is genuinely new and compelling in this well-articulated exposition. To begin with, the author sets in opposition to each other the uncritical acceptance by far too many historians of the thesis that the early fur trade undermined Indian society and the unduly optimistic view of many anthropologists that this aspect of contact was enriching for the native peoples. What the author is able to demonstrate is that much of the time the natives were virtually in command of the fur trade and that they very soon determined the exchange rates, the quality and type of European trade goods that were acceptable — in short, they fixed the price. Fisher correctly sees the fur traders (Europeans) as operating by and large within the context of the indigenous culture. This provides a striking parallel to the earlier French experience with the natives of the upper Great Lakes region. Contact is not necessarily equated with conflict. This too is a striking parallel to many aspects of the French contact with the natives of the *pays d'en haut*.

A second valuable contribution is the comparison made with the contact experiences of the Maoris of New Zealand, the aborigines of Australia and the natives of Polynesia. The facile hypothesis might be that if European-native relations were similar in South Africa, Australasia and British North America it was because in each case the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant intruders on native lands shared the same intellectual and spiritual baggage, not to say the same racist prejudices. The study makes it clear, however, that there was a diversity of views in both the white and native communities on the nature and consequences of contact, and also that individuals often held contradictory and mutually exclusive views. This point might have been pursued to indicate what the conceptual frameworks were which Europeans employed in attempting to understand the Pacific province and its first inhabitants.

The author documents a deterioration in race relations as commencing only after the arrival of white settlers. As in Rhodesia it is the arrival of Europeans, such as gold miners, which initiates a competition between native and new-arrival for the resources of the country. Then come the settlers, agriculturalists of some description, who are strongly motivated to dispossess the natives of the land which the latter consider to be their area of habitation and source of livelihood. It matters little whether Indians had concepts of property and nationhood similar to European proprietary and political concepts. What matters is that there is displacement and dispossession. Then come the missionaries and finally the government administrators who attempt to accelerate cultural change and undermine the traditional beliefs and lifestyle. Fisher argues that in British Columbia

the gold miners, the settlers, the missionaries and the administrators forced acceleration of the pace of cultural change and took the initiative out of Indian hands (p. 96). During the fur trade phase of contact, the Indians had been able to be selective about adaptation to European intrusion and had been able to maintain the social fabric of their own culture. But with settlement, this freedom was lost and culture change was directed from outside. In other words, following Linton's definition of directed acculturation, the Europeans began to interfere actively and purposefully with the native cultures. The coastal Haida and Kwakiutl, also many of the more isolated interior "tribes," were not affected as early as other groups by this contact pressure, but eventually all came to experience some deliberate and directed culture change.

For those Canadians who still believe that contacts between whites and Indians were always pacific on the northern side of the international border, the recital of violence that began with the miners will come as a shock. Those Canadians who still cling to the myth of the "natural improvidence" of the Indian will be surprised to learn that if some Indians did steal from Europeans at the time of the Fraser gold rush it was largely because many of them were on the verge of starvation as a direct result of the mining operations in the Fraser Canyon, the major fishing area for these natives, which seriously disrupted both the catching and drying of the major staple in native diet. From this point forward the tale becomes all too familiar to students of native history. As Indians began to acquire liquor in unsavoury mining towns like Yale, and as Indian women became prostitutes or the temporary wives of miners, drunkenness and prostitution established themselves as the dominant features of contact. Degradation and disease followed.

There is a sensitivity to the Indian point of view throughout this study. In dealing with settler and speculator land-hunger, for example, the author does not dwell unduly on the subsistence and occupational aspects of Indian claims. Rather he emphasizes that the Indians' relationship with the land had a spiritual dimension as well, and that land, "as well as sustaining life, was life" (p. 103). Thus, to deprive the Indian of his land was to remove from him the place of his ancestors and deprive him of a part of his identity. There were those who deplored the hunting/trapping/gathering economy of the natives and who thought they should take up agriculture. But those natives who did take up farming soon found themselves in competition with white settlers, and those who opted for a traditional economy found that the lands they required were also wanted by white settlers.

Whereas the settlers merely expected the Indians to make way for them, the missionaries came with a deliberate and conscious policy of subverting the traditional way of life and making it conform to their European Christian model. Missionaries, as aggressive purveyors of a new culture and world-view, were not only confident of the superiority of their own culture and the inferiority and degradation of native ways, but also were certain that conversion could only be assured by a total rejection on the part of the Indian proselyte of his old way of life and his acceptance of a total cultural change. Therefore it is understandable that they demanded a curb on native social practices, notably of the potlach. On the other hand, unlike the settler community, they were optimistic about the Indians' future and did not see the natives as a vanishing people. The missionaries were hopeful that the evils attendant upon contact between white and natives could be arrested and that by "Christianization and civilization" the natives could be uplifted and redeemed.

Some of the most critical pages of this study of cultural relations are those which deal with the third major acculturative agent at work among the B.C. Indians, namely the government officials responsible for Indian affairs. Sometimes they supported the efforts of the missionaries, we are told, but mostly they represent the demands of the settlers. Only very rarely did any official advocate the interests of the Indians. The outstanding exception to the latter rule was Governor James Douglas, who in 1859 inaugurated a land reservation policy whereby Indians were not only compensated for lands surrendered but whereby reserves were created in areas that settlers were beginning to colonize. His policy was opposed to the American pattern wherein natives were removed from their traditional homes and relocated in large amalgamated reserves; instead, Indians in B.C. were to be guaranteed occupancy of reserves which encompassed their villages and cultivated fields, their traditional or historic "homes." Predictably, nearly every aspect of Douglas' policy was altered after his retirement, and the author opines that the weakness of his policy was that it was too dependent on his own personal magnanimity and that it was never codified by the legislature (p. 156). The ensuing pages reveal that the policy-makers in the colonies were men deeply "involved in the society of settlers," as in other British territories around the globe in the late nineteenth century, from which one might conclude that both force of personality and force of parliamentary procedure would have worked against Indian interests in any case.

Another observation arises out of this comprehensive overview. Although there were many different cultures in the B.C. region, Europeans

tended to generalize about native peoples and to lump them all together. This was probably because of the common elements in the various cultures (division of labour, sex roles, responsibility to kin-group, lack of coercion, etc.) and the fact that when different groups behaved alike towards Europeans and their intrusion this served to increase the visible similarities between different Indian cultures. The visible differences from European culture, needless to add, aided the settlers, missionaries and officials to conclude that all Indians were in the same state of savagery.

The reader will find this an innovative work in an increasingly popular field of historical study. The author's balanced and objective analysis, his knowledge of the anthropological literature and historical sources, and his sympathy for and understanding of native cultures make this an important addition to socio-cultural history. The university publishers are also to be congratulated on the fine material and visual quality of the book.

University of Ottawa

CORNELIUS J. JAENEN

Victoria: Physical Environment and Development, edited by H. D. Foster.

Western Geographical Series, Volume 12. Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1976. Pp. xvii, 334; 98 figs., 6 plates, 25 tables.

Volume 12 in the Western Geographical Series has an attractive cover and interesting title. It may come as a surprise to the general reader that the objective of the book is to demonstrate the growing unity of purpose in geography (p. iv). The question must be asked "for whom is the book written?" The conclusion of this reviewer is that the book is aimed primarily at professional geographers and that the general reader will have difficulty in sustaining interest. Professional geographers, in turn, will be disappointed by the indifferent success achieved in demonstrating unity of purpose in geography.

The methodology that is used to substantiate the major thesis is (a) to select a region, namely the greater Victoria area, (b) to explore the interface between some of the physical and social systems in that region and (c) to declare that this material "should be of interest to physical and social scientist alike" (p. iv). The specific problems addressed are: (i) how did early settlers perceive the physical environment of Victoria? (ii) what is the present and potential use of Victoria's urban forest? (iii) what are the practical implications of the spatial variability of nocturnal temperatures on the Saanich Peninsula? (iv) what is the nature of the coastal