

focuses on Cook's third voyage. Culled largely from Beaglehole's authoritative *Life of Captain James Cook* and Cook's *Journals*, it does not pretend to originality, yet provides good clear anthropological analyses of the contact between Cook's crews and the various peoples of the Pacific in a straightforward account for the general reader.

The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley is based on the reminiscences of Frances Hornby Trevor Barkley, wife of Captain Charles William Barkley, discoverer of Barkley Sound. Essentially it concerns two trading voyages which she made as a young bride with her husband to northwest America in 1786-88 and to Kamchatka, Alaska and Hawaii in 1791-93. At first sight the intrinsic interest of the material gives promise of a fascinating account. Mrs. Barkley had a gift for accurate and vivid description; strong prejudices; and a vigorous, if uneducated, style. She provides detailed pictures of some aspects of life among the natives of Kamchatka and the Tlingit of Alaska. But unfortunately the sources are fragmentary and uneven and the author/editor, Ms. Hill, in endeavouring to fill out the narrative, does not master them adequately. Nor is her grasp of the historical setting at all certain. The result is an interesting but undigested and disjointed account, containing far too little about northwest America and far too much of the less-than-fascinating minutiae concerning the Barkley family.

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The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia, by Mary Ashworth. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979. Pp. iv, 238, *illus.* \$14.95 cloth, \$6.50 paper.

This is a timely book. It comes in the midst of a growing interest in the multicultural reality of Canadian society and an awareness that that reality is not always reflected in the public schools of the country. It comes in the face of a pressing concern among British Columbia educators about the high percentage of school children in this province for whom English is not their first language (some 40 per cent in the elementary schools of Vancouver, for example). It comes at a time when Canadian social historians are turning their attention to ethnic history with

more intensity than ever before.¹ For all these reasons this book attracts one's attention.

The Forces Which Shaped Them is not the work of a professional historian, but rather of a teacher educator concerned with the problems of minority group education because of her professional interest in teaching English as a second language (or, as we say in British Columbia, an "additional language"). Nonetheless, despite some shortcomings as a piece of historical writing, this book deserves a wide reading audience. As the publisher's blurb trumpets, it is "essential reading . . . for anyone concerned with the quality of education in B.C. today."

What makes *The Forces Which Shaped Them* so worthwhile is that the story it tells needs to be told and that it is told clearly in very readable English. Academics will scoff at the virtual absence of primary documentation (although Ashworth acknowledges the archivists who helped her), and at the numerous and lengthy quotations that sometimes go on for over a page. These very citations, however, often add an immediacy to the story and underline the sentiment of the time towards minority groups and their education. My own second-year students commented that these citations gave them an awareness of the extent of racial prejudice in this province.

The book deals with case studies of five minority groups in B.C. — native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Doukhobors and East Indians. Ashworth traces the history of popular attitudes and public policy in respect to the education of these groups. Generally speaking, public attitudes were hostile to all these groups. Public policy, on the other hand, differed from group to group. As elsewhere in Canada, native Indians were made the objects of Christianizing and civilizing missions spearheaded by various churches, both Protestant and Catholic. Education, or at least basic literacy, was deemed a "good thing" for them as long as it was conducted in segregated schools either on reserves or in nearby residential schools away from the "interference" of parents.

Chinese and Japanese, on the other hand, were often the object of outright racial discrimination. Although parents welcomed integration into B.C. society through the agency of the public school, white parents often objected to having their own children "mixing" with Oriental

¹ Donald Avery, "*Dangerous Foreigners*": *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1979); W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); various articles in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, forthcoming, 1981).

children. Obstacles to the latter's admission to public schools were continually thrown up and proposals for segregated schools or classes were made in the first two decades of this century, as in Victoria at Rock Bay and King's Road schools. Little wonder that Chinese and Japanese parents felt the need to establish their own language schools for which they were later condemned for being unpatriotic and, in the case of the Japanese, probably subversive.

The Doukhobors represent another type of state/minority group confrontation. Their education aims led them to refuse to send their children to the "godless," militaristic public schools. This open defiance of state authority resulted in a series of punitive acts against the Doukhobors and their children extending from 1914, just six years after their arrival in the West Kootenays, till 1959. These actions, among other things, involved forcibly removing their children from their parents and placing them with Children's Aid societies and in industrial schools, and even interning 170 of them in a sanatorium at New Denver in 1953. The justification offered for such violations of basic human rights is indicative of the state's determination to break the will of the Sons of Freedom. In 1929 the provincial Attorney-General confided: "If the Doukhobors behave themselves for a period they will get their children back. If they persist in disorderly habits they will lose more children until we have them all under training in institutions" (p. 148). Twenty-five years later Attorney-General Robert Bonner justified the confinement of the children at New Denver by asserting: "No exceptions can be made. I myself would be in trouble if I didn't send my children to school." The school superintendent, however, revealed another reason for the state's actions: "When the children leave [New Denver] after eight years, they'll no longer be Sons of Freedom. They'll be Canadians." Such conceptions of a Canadian seem far removed from a pluralistic notion of Canada. Moreover, one wonders why the British Columbia government felt obliged to treat the Sons of Freedom so harshly when the Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario governments found they could accommodate the educational desires of equally "difficult" religio-ethnic groups such as Hutterites, Mennonites and Amish. It is precisely this sort of interpretive question which Ashworth does not engage in. Nonetheless, the historical development of educational policies affecting the five groups is outlined in sufficient detail to make it clear that race and ethnic relations on Canada's west coast were less than harmonious and that British Columbia's commitment to multiculturalism has been of very recent origin and remains tenuous at best.

In many ways, *The Forces Which Shaped Them* lends strength to Peter Ward's thesis in *White Canada Forever* (Montreal, 1978) that racial prejudice, not economic strains, lay at the root of public attitudes towards orientals and non-whites in British Columbia. The story Ashworth tells reinforces Ward's conclusion that "before the mid-twentieth century, racial and cultural homogeneity was the touchstone for west coast whites; the character of the community which they envisioned was to be fixed by the dominant charter group — that of Anglo-Canadian British Columbians."

In her conclusion Ashworth is critical of the various agencies which did little or nothing to support the education of minority groups in the past. She singles out the government, especially the Ministry of Education, school boards, Parent-Teacher Associations, the B.C. Teachers' Federation (until recently), churches (especially in relation to Indian education in the past), and politicians in general, most of whom supported discriminatory legislation or remained silent. The overall record of these agencies is not a happy one. Even as late as 1977, when the BCTF came out with a slide-tape presentation on "Racism in B.C." for use in schools and teachers' meetings, the B.C. School Trustees' Association asked the Secretary of State's office to get rid of the show "because they felt it would probably exacerbate the problems of racism" (p. 205). In fact the show was banned by school boards in Surrey, Sannich and Langley.

Ashworth's book goes some way towards giving the reader a sense of how each ethnic group viewed itself and the education of its children. This is an important step beyond simply viewing ethnic minorities as passive recipients of the form of schooling stipulated by the educational bureaucrats and political legislators. Governmental and school board paternalism was evident everywhere, but how did the various ethnic groups accommodate to the imposition of value systems sanctioned by the dominant host society? The Chinese, Japanese and East Indians, Ashworth tells us, saw public education as an important means of social mobility and therefore struggled to obtain for their children equal access to the school system. Native Indians and Doukhobors, on the other hand, were either skeptical of or unalterably opposed to the public school and the value system that formed part of it. While some ethnic minorities were anxious to co-operate with government authorities for the sake of helping their children get ahead, others resisted the public school, which was seen as a mechanism for obliterating religio-ethnic (including linguistic) identity. Ashworth reveals the validity of examining each

ethnic group separately and avoiding the tendency of lumping together all non-Anglo-Celtic groups as a homogeneous bloc.

Secondly, her approach challenges, although probably not as much as it might, the traditional perspective of oppressor/victim which permits the victim no autonomy for independent action. Despite the determined effort of government, school board and church to make minority groups submissive, Ashworth shows how each ethnic group sought to accommodate itself to government pressures, to use schooling in its own interests, or, as in the case of Doukhobors and native Indians, to react against government measures through the schools. Some old world styles and ideas were undoubtedly discarded, but others were defiantly maintained, occasionally at great cost. The gains and losses had always to be calculated. The point is that the ethnic group's sense of autonomy was in operation even though constraints were set by the dominant society. Within the framework of the dominant culture alternative cultures were alive, sometimes accommodating themselves to, sometimes contending with, the dominant culture. Even when accommodating themselves to a situation they might not have been entirely pleased with, minority parents and children could turn that circumstance to their own use and often did. Our primary concern as historians of minority ethnic groups, then, should be to discover, as Sartre has commented, "not what 'one' has done to man, but what man does with what 'one' has done to him."

As Ashworth points out, ultimately a great deal of acculturation has taken place between the dominant society and the various ethnic groups she treats. The very groups whose assimilation was thought to be undesirable, even impossible — the Chinese, Japanese and East Indians — have in varying degrees absorbed the socio-cultural norms of B.C. society. They have entered the professions, they have moved into upper-middle class neighbourhoods, they have even intermarried. Although racism undoubtedly still exists in British Columbia — as recent radio hotline support in Vancouver for the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan would seem to verify — its remnants are a far cry from the situation four decades ago.

One final point: there is a commendable focus on children throughout this book. Its frontispiece is a quotation from the 1978 report of the Canadian Council on Children and Youth which begins: "It is the basic attitudes of our society towards its children which shape children's lives to a very significant degree and we fail all children when we let them go unexamined." We would do well to consider carefully this piece of common wisdom. For example, while most Canadians are now aware

of the evacuation of Japanese-Canadians from the west coast, how many have considered what became of the 5,500 who wound up in relocation centres? Or how neither the B.C. Department of Education nor the B.C. Security Commission would assume responsibility for the education of 1,000 high school age children in those centres? Or how in the "repatriation" of 4,000 Japanese-Canadians after World War II, one-third of them were Canadian-born children whose citizenship was thereby revoked? One of the important secondary themes of *Forces* is precisely to observe how a society's attitudes to its children reflect much deeper considerations.

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Raw Materials and Pacific Economic Integration, edited by Sir John Crawford and Saburo Okita. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978. Pp. 343, index, tables and charts.

To a Canadian reader, the most important aspect of this report on co-operative research is not in its contents, but that it was undertaken at all. In the decade 1964-74, Australian and Japanese trade links tightened at a rate that was worrisome to the governments of both countries. For example, while the value of all Australia's exported commodities to all countries increased four times, her exports to Japan increased seven times. This was the fruition of a quick turnaround; in the years just after the war Australia's trade had been chiefly with western Europe and North America. While Australia does not loom so large in the Japanese statistics, Japan has become very dependent, almost vulnerably so, on Australia for a few key commodities: coal, iron, bauxite and nickel, as well as for a few more traditional materials.

These figures disturb Australians to an extent surprising to Canadians, already inured to inextricable interdependence between our economy and that of the U.S. Australia has been accustomed to a degree of diversity in her trade that, combined with her oceanic isolation, left her sometimes lonely but largely master in her own house. Now she appears to be headed for increasingly intimate relationships with Japan, still remote by air but ready to move right in as developer, resource-owner or manager.

Japan's concern about her materials-supply vulnerability has been shown several times in her economic history, and was again experienced sharply during the 1970s, when she became a victim of the OPEC