60 BC STUDIES

took). But, if Mr. Lewis were familiar with Hearne's own story of his problems, he would hardly confuse that explorer's second journey with his first, to name another of his errors.

Grievous as these faults are, it is but fair to Miss Morantz and Mr. Lewis for readers to recall that a responsible editor would not allow contributors to expose themselves as they do in this volume. It is also fair to observe that from their footnotes these authors do appear to have done considerable work in the Company's unpublished archives, and that they are not the only contributors to this book who seem to suffer from the fault of undervaluing old published authorities after such a splendid collection of original MS documents as the Hudson's Bay Company's records has become available. Among other symptoms of this weakness, and of negligent editing, are the facts that in this book the name of that outstanding pioneer of fur trade history, Elliott Coues, editor of the journals of Alexander Henry the younger, is consistently misspelled "Cones," and that some authors are decidedly casual about giving page references for their quotations.

Finally, a serious book needs an index, but the value of this book is much damaged by the failure to provide one; and that is the more a pity because, as we have noted, some of the papers it contains are first-rate.

Victoria Richard Glover

The Salish People: The Local Contribution of Charles Hill-Tout; Volume I: The Thompson and The Okanagan; Volume II: The Squamish and The Lillooet; Volume III: The Mainland Halkomelem; Volume IV: The Sechelt and the South-Eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, edited with an introduction by Ralph Maud. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1978.

The ethnographic work of Charles Hill-Tout has long been familiar to specialists with access to libraries whose holdings included the professional journals and reports in which his work appeared. Now the wider public has easy access. It is an ironic but, for Hill-Tout, consistent twist of fate that some thirty years after death he stands to be more widely read than ever he was in his prime.

In 1892, at the age of 34, Hill-Tout moved to Vancouver with his young family, taking up a post as a schoolteacher. He had been headed

Book Reviews 61

for a career in the church and studied at Oxford where he came in touch with ideas and writings in the new fields of anthropology and human evolution. His formal studies were never completed, but this was less a handicap at that time than it would be now, for anthropology and modern linguistics were in their infancy and few students were well trained in these disciplines. Hill-Tout's interest in these subjects never failed, and upon arrival in British Columbia he launched immediately in pursuit of an avocation which became a central concern for the rest of his life — study of the history, languages and cultures of British Columbia Indians.

The period of his most intensive work was between 1894 and 1906 (Maud, IV: 21-24), when he made a series of short field trips from Vancouver to gather linguistic and ethnological data among speakers of seven distinct languages within the Salishan linguistic family. He also undertook pioneering excavations of coastal middens and burial mounds. Results of this work were set forth in several monographs and papers which form the core of the present series and contain descriptive data still of value to scholars and as readable and informative to the layman as when fresh from his pen.

In addition, Hill-Tout wrote two books: The Far West, The Home of the Salish and Dene, 1907; and Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution, 1925. Less ambitious, but equally imposing and probably of far greater impact upon readers, was a long series of brief pamphlets and newspaper articles published locally. In this writing and in his demand as a lecturer, Hill-Tout deserves to be remembered as a popularizer and interpreter of academic subjects for the public.

All these achievements were realized with only the slimmest kind of assistance from public sources or funds for research, enough merely to defray a portion of his research expenses. Still more remarkable and in stark contrast with what we have come to accept as the norm for conditions of scholarly work, Hill-Tout never enjoyed the prestige or security of a university or college appointment.

In preparing this edition Ralph Maud has done us all a service in making Hill-Tout's writing available and in providing additional belated recognition for a deserving pioneer British Columbia scholar and educator.

Having said this, it is with regret that I must report disappointment with the organization and presentation of this edition of Hill-Tout's work. Admittedly the editor was faced with a difficult task. Hill-Tout wrote a great deal on a wide range of topics, but aside from his two books

62 BC STUDIES

he did not attempt to integrate his work. Maud has chosen to focus this collection around Hill-Tout's important ethnographic studies, and *The Salish People* becomes a theme and title of this edition. However, the work as a whole remains an unintegrated collection, which is unfortunate, for there is considerable need for a readable and comprehensive account of the Salish Indians.

The core of each volume is a pair of ethnographic monographs on specific linguistic divisions of the Salish, and to these are added one or more brief papers, sometimes closely related to the monographs, other times not. Each volume has a brief introductory note by Ralph Maud, and the final volume also includes what he calls a "Bio-bibliography of Charles Hill-Tout." None of these notes attempts an overview of the Salish people and their place in Northwest Coast cultures, and only in the introduction to volume 3 does Maud attempt to introduce the specific division of the Salish to which it is addressed. This begins with what can best be described as a fanciful discussion of the relationship between Squamish and Halkomelem speakers, attributing to the Halkomelem a sort of psychic attachment to Fraser River territory, despite the fact, correctly observed a few lines later, that the Halkomelem also lived on Vancouver Island. This sort of nonsense is out of place in modern ethnology and will only mislead or confuse as an introduction to Halkomelem culture and history.

The series would have been improved immensely by inclusion in each volume of an introductory essay or outline sketching the relationships of Salish languages and culture to one another and to neighbouring Northwest Indians. This would have done honour to the ethnological perspective on the Northwest Coast which Hill-Tout did so much to advance.

Maud's introductory essays do provide welcome information on Hill-Tout's career and his fieldwork activities, but they do not tell us much about Salish culture and history as it has come to be understood since Hill-Tout's time.

This deficiency, a real one for beginning students of Northwest Coast studies, might have been partly relieved by adequate maps. But those provided are inexplicit, lacking in language or dialect boundaries, and untitled. A distinctive feature of the Salish is their division into a large series of groups with mutually unintelligible languages, many of these further divided into dialects. The most meaningful and consistent classifications of the Salish have turned out to be those of language rather than political or cultural units. In fact, none of the Salish were organized in political units larger than a village, and such terms as "nation" and

Book Reviews 63

"tribe" have little utility and no precision as classifications of traditional Salish societies. These are features of Salish culture which Hill-Tout discovered and reported. Like many others who followed after, however, Ralph Maud has not read Hill-Tout well enough and persists in referring to Salish *languages* as dialects, and in using the term "tribe" for a language group. All of this will tend to confuse the general reader for whom these features ought to be made clear in order to open to view the wonderful diversity within that larger unity which is the Salish people.

A similar lack of concern for ethnological detail is evident in Maud's method of rendering the many Salishan words which appear in Hill-Tout's writing. He used an orthography already applied to Northwest Coast languages by Franz Boas. This was later revised by Boas and his students and has given over, among scholars in the Northwest, to a relatively standardized version of the International Phonetic Alphabet, or to a further modified system such as that used by the Victoria-based British Columbia Indian Language Project in its excellent work of preservation. Variations of this last system, which may be rendered with a standard typewriter, have gained acceptance among a number of Salish Indian bands.

The earlier system of Boas and Hill-Tout is long outdated and, of course, hard to read. In an effort to ease the task for his readers Maud has, as he puts it, "normalized" Hill-Tout's spellings. In effect this has been an abandonment of the obsolete but workable orthography for Anglicized spelling which has no linguistic accuracy. It simplifies nothing, for the problem of pronouncing the Indian word still remains and the reader has no rules to guide him. A simpler and far better solution to the problem would have been to follow Hill-Tout exactly, inserting as part of a preface to each volume a copy of his key to pronunciation. This would have had the merit of preserving as faithfully as possible the sounds which Hill-Tout heard. It would have been consistent, and finally it would have enabled the diligent reader to arrive at his own pronunciation with some possibility of resemblance to the original.

Another regrettable editorial decision was deletion from Hill-Tout's ethnographic monographs of the linguistic sections. Admittedly there are difficulties with them, for they are complex and mainly of interest to specialists or native speakers. This omission will not handicap specialists because they have access to, and ought in any case to consult, the original publications. It will disappoint Indians. In fairness to Hill-Tout as well, and as further evidence of the quality of his scholarship, one of the

64 BC STUDIES

volumes at least should have included the linguistic material with the vocabularies and valuable lists of kinship terms.

Maud expresses the hope that these sections will be published separately, but that seems doubtful, given the costs and the restricted demand for such material alone. Furthermore, it misses the point that the general reader should see the whole range and strength of Hill-Tout's work. This lay as much in his willingness and ability to tackle the formidable, not to say wearisome, task of careful linguistic work as in preparing his easier-read accounts of social life and mythology. The reader who consults only this edition will not readily appreciate the labour which Hill-Tout devoted to his work.

An especially regrettable loss in these omissions are the myth segments in the original papers which were transcribed in Salish languages, with interlinear English translation followed by free English translation. In these one can follow the step-by-step process of careful translation from Indian to English. Translation is as much art as science and a source of unending challenge to the ethnographers who would be scientific in studying different cultures. The problem they and Hill-Tout faced was not merely translating from one language to another, but from one culture to another. Differences of conceptual categories of thought and experience beyond those of language were involved.

Most of the myths published by Hill-Tout (all of them in this edition) are given simply in free English translation. That is, they are put into English which is comfortable to an English speaker. The results are lively flowing texts — perhaps, as Maud suggests, among the most readable of all the extant English versions of Northwest Coast myths (Maud, Vol. II, p. 11). But the questions we must ask, if we are interested in the structure of cultural systems and in systematic comparison, is how much of the meaning of the original was lost and how much of the meaning of the translator and writer added.

We cannot now be certain of Hill-Tout's myth-collecting procedure for he left no notes and little explanation of his method. In this respect he erred as did many anthropologists of his day — Boas and his leading students being notable exceptions. However, it is likely that most of Hill-Tout's myths were recorded in English translation given by interpreters and then rewritten. There is no evidence to suggest that he recorded all of his material in transcription of the Salish languages. But it stands to Hill-Tout's credit that he was aware of the enormity of the problem of translation and that he provided even those few examples he did of the translation, not to say transformation, entailed in moving from Indian

Book Reviews 65

to English. Again, inclusion of one or two examples would have been welcome additions.

In Hill-Tout's writing there is a curious blend of empiricism and romantic speculation. One turns without warning from carefully recorded word lists and descriptions to outright conjecture about ethnic origins, migrations and linguistic connections spanning oceans and continents. He did not use his facts to test his ideas, nor did ideas spring from systematic assemblage and analysis of facts. This makes for entertaining but deceptive reading, deserving of greater scepticism than Maud invites.

Valuable as his ethnography is, there were also weaknesses in Hill-Tout's field methods. There is little doubt that his success may be largely attributed to the wealth of traditional knowledge extant when he did his research at the turn of the century. He would not have been as successful a few decades later, for he was overly dependent upon one or two informants in each group he worked among. There is no evidence, nor does he suggest, that he lived among the Indians, participating in community activities and the daily round of life. He made brief visits to a few selected and co-operative informants. This led him to miss important sources of information and to lose the chance of direct observation. He dismissed too casually the likelihood of finding additional information in villages where later anthropologists turned up a great deal. But we are indebted to Hill-Tout for what he did find and for the original and penetrating picture he put together of those difficult areas of study which were his main concerns: religious ideas, social organization and mythology.

In trying to make Hill-Tout's work more accessible Ralph Maud has succeeded. In selecting and editing the work to make it more palatable and to fit between the chosen covers, he has weakened Hill-Tout. This is regrettable, but in the end we gain. The Salish people will be better known for Maud's effort.

University of British Columbia

MICHAEL KEW

Along the No. 20 Line: Reminiscences of the Vancouver Waterfront, by Rolf Knight. Vancouver: New Star Books Ltd., 1980.

It is highly unlikely that this book will get much attention from B.C.'s Ministry of Tourism, nor will it be promoted by CHQM, "Vancouver's