74 BC STUDIES

meaning and whose triteness would have embarrassed Samuel Smiles? Very little, it seems. Mitchell, for example, claims that Bennett valued "loyalty" highly and that he often said: "If you expect loyalty, you must give loyalty." But to whom was Bennett loyal? Certainly not to his coalition colleagues, not to the Conservative Party, and not to Social Credit ideals. Mitchell suggests that personal loyalty was "important" to Bennett in discussing the Robert Sommers scandal. Yet one paragraph earlier (p. 253), Mitchell argues that Bennett's "incredible" escape from the Sommers scandal was accomplished through the deflection of "any criticism over the manner in which the case was handled in the direction of the attorney general." Loyalty, it would seem, took unusual forms. This is also true in the case of Bennett's ancestors and his heirs. He claimed he was of UEL background although he was not. W. A. C. seems to have been jealous of his son Bill Bennett's political success. He spent his sad last years being "extremely critical" of his son's government, surrounded by "cronies and a variety of hangers-on" but without friends whose intimacy he had never wanted or needed. Power was enough; seemingly it was all.

Mitchell does establish that Bennett was an able financial administrator and that he had extraordinary political intuition. He is not so convincing when he implicitly argues that the "rise" of British Columbia was largely a Bennett accomplishment. What Bennett's leadership did affect was the relationship of British Columbia politics, society and economy to the rest of Canada. In the 1940s the linkages between British Columbian business, political and bureaucratic élites and those on the other side of the Rockies were remarkably strong. In the following decades these linkages have become attenuated. Many factors, of course, influenced this development, but Bennett's tendency to stand outside and, indeed, distrust traditional elites and behaviour is certainly most important. Bennett's purposes are unclear; his influence is not.

University of Waterloo

John English

The Reins of Power: Governing British Columbia, by J. Terrence Morley, Norman J. Ruff, Neil A. Swainson, R. Jeremy Wilson and Walter D. Young. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983. Pp. x, 342.

It seemed a good idea at the time — to probe social democracy in power, to study the rapid turnover in government of the Social Credit

Book Reviews 75

and New Democratic parties and to try to fill the void in political knowledge about British Columbia. Of the last aim it is worth noting that up to the appearance of this book British Columbia shared with Alberta the dubious distinction of having its political institutions and processes among the least studied in Canada. And in that part of the B.C. Project's execution which has resulted in this multi-authored book, the idea deserves commendation, though not uniformly so since some parts of *The Reins of Power* are better than others. Yet the total enterprise — the analysis of a provincial political system's evolution through the decade of the 1970s — constitutes a major achievement, and if there are weaknesses they do not detract greatly from the accomplishment of producing the first major survey of B.C. politics. Like the preaching of Dr. Johnson's female divines, the wonder is not that it is done badly but that it is (or, in this case, has been) done at all.

There is an introductory chapter and eight substantive chapters; the titles of the latter are "The Legislature," "The Premier and the Cabinet," "Political Parties," "The Public Service," "Managing the Public Service," "Courts and Cops," "The Provincial-Municipal Relationship" and "British Columbia and Canadian Federalism." There are two appendices, one a table of "General Election Results, 1933-79" and the other a list of "Premiers and Cabinets, 1952-82," but no footnotes, though there are endnotes basically bibliographical in substance, and, in spite of the claim in the Preface to extensive data collection resulting from this research, minimal evidence of empirical data in the text. (The claim, on page 15, that there are only two provincial legislatures with fewer members than the B.C. House is, in fact, wrong: there are three, while Manitoba's was the same size in 1981 and New Brunswick's one member larger.) Each chapter is written by different authors or sets of authors, and while there is some repetition of facts and disparity in writing styles. the integrity of the book is not undermined by its multiple contributors. Skill in presentation partly accounts for this unity, but so too does the clarity of the project's framework: the tripartite division of the previous decade into Bennett, Barrett and Bennett periods and the requirement to provide, for the first time in most instances, institutional and political histories of the subjects being discussed.

In addition to some rich analyses of segments of the province's political system, strong unifying themes are present as well. Primary among these are the following: up to and through the W. A. C. Bennett years British Columbia was governed by a full-time ministry and a part-time opposition because the executive had necessarily to be strong to deal with

76 BC STUDIES

the province's huge area and scattered population, while the legislature was given few tools to perform the tasks of enforcing accountability that parliamentary bodies are supposed to perform; as a result, administrative innovation was more evident than political innovation, and this had the further consequence of delaying the development of a competitive party system, which once it appeared nearly half a century ago aligned itself along an axis of socialist versus anti-socialist sympathies; of equal lineage to these intra-provincial unities has been British Columbia's "permanent" agenda in its relationship with the federal government, one moulded less by the economic dominance of the province's natural resource industries than by the exceptional proportion of those resources which enter international and interprovincial trade and therefore make British Columbians unusually sensitive to federal government policies.

The identification of these themes is necessary before the import of developments in the 1970s can be fully appreciated. For, as the authors of *The Reins of Power* demonstrate, during that decade British Columbians witnessed a remarkable transformation to their province's politics. Illustrative of the changes was the evolution in leadership style under the three Premiers from one based initially on paternal authority through fraternal or collegial rule to technocratic management, while the public service, which began the decade remarkably careerist at its senior levels, grew over the next ten years, as the result of a proliferation of boards and committees, increasingly politicized. Legislative modernization arrived at the same time in the form of a regularized oral question period, a Public Accounts Committee chaired by a member of the opposition and more active standing committees, with the unanticipated result (and in contrast to other jurisdictions) of creating a stronger opposition than had existed before.

But these changes were only the most publicized tip of the political iceberg. Professors Swainson and Ruff in their excellent chapters on the public service, provincial-municipal relations and on British Columbia and Canadian federalism provide much more evidence of the changes which alternation between Social Credit and New Democratic governments wrought and, of equal or even more value, why these changes and not others occurred. For example, Professor Ruff notes that the NDP in British Columbia was far less concerned with planning in the sense of the old Saskatchewan CCF and more concerned with achieving specific policy objectives. As a result the Barrett government was both more conservative when it came to institutional reforms than Bill Bennett's was to be later (central agency reforms were a Bennett II experi-

Book Reviews 77

ment) and yet less rigid in the matter of jurisdictional questions with Ottawa than that of W. A. C. Bennett (which used federal-provincial confrontation to advantage).

There is much to praise in this book, particularly the broadened perspective it brings to the subject of provincial politics. One of the difficulties of studying another province's politics is to find information that does not concentrate on the legislature, political parties and elections, no matter how important these may be. All of that is here, but there is much more. It is a pity, though understandable, why interest groups are ignored except as they make tangential appearances. The inference to be drawn, however, is that interest group activity in British Columbia pervades and parallels party activity. Perhaps their study is another part of the B.C. Project's research plans. One can only hope so. As it is, *The Reins of Power* enlightens and instructs. One would be querulous to ask for more.

University of Saskatchewan

DAVID E. SMITH

Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast, edited by Roy L. Carlson. Burnaby, B.C.: Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University.

Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast is a collection of papers which, in their original form, were presented at a symposium entitled "The Prehistory of Northwest Coast Indian Art" at Simon Fraser University in 1976. The volume, like the symposium before it, is dedicated to Erna Gunther, and one of the papers, Wilson Duff's, is also dedicated to Viola Garfield.

The contributors to this volume are archaeologists and ethnologists, linked by shared experience and a common interest in Northwest Coast Indian art. In this volume all are looking at art in the context of traditional Northwest Coast culture and prehistory.

To understand the nature of the book it is important to have a sense of its organization. There is at the beginning a summary by Roy Carlson of current research in Northwest Coast prehistory, and this is followed by three papers: a discussion by Bill Holm of the formal characteristics of a series of pieces, moving from prehistoric to nineteenth century and discussing the characteristics of regional styles and the relationship between two-dimensional and sculptural forms; a paper by Wilson Duff, which encourages the reader to go beyond the consideration of North-