naïve on the meaning of "ownership" by co-op members, including their highly mediated relationship with shoreworkers, and is silent on the important category of crew members, not to mention significant differences between co-op trollers, gillnetters, and seiners in capital-labour relations.

Pinkerton's chapter on native people is well written, telling in a succinct way the history of native participation in the west coast fishery. It is especially strong on segmentation within the native community between licence holders and those excluded from licences and, of course, shoreworkers. Native shoreworkers (mostly women), Pinkerton notes, support the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union even at times over the protests of the Native Brotherhood. The piece is excellent at locating the natives in the fishery, within their communities, and vis-à-vis the state.

The final chapter in this part by Muszynski on shoreworkers is based upon a careful search of the *Fisherman* newspaper, documenting the union's struggle to overcome discrimination based on gender and ethnicity, focusing upon intra-union divisions between shoreworkers and fishers. She documents the shoreworkers' central place within the union's bargaining strength.

Part 3 on Community and Region is less substantial than the other sections. Pinkerton's chapter on communities is a case study of Tofino, a fishing centre, and Ahousaht, a native village, concerning changes in the impact of fishing on social life over time. Warriner's chapter on regionalism documents broad changes in the number and size of coastal communities, demonstrating a strong connection between vulnerable development in coastal locations and urban-based actions. The collection ends with a brief concluding statement by Marchak focusing on current events.

Overall, I would say *Uncommon Property* is a welcome and valuable resource book essential for anyone interested in the west coast fisheries. More than that, however, the key chapters by Guppy, Pinkerton, and Muszynski in Part 2 and one on the state by McMullan in Part 1 are classic articles in the field and deserve to be widely cited as insightful, original contributions to Canadian political economy.

Carleton University WALLACE CLEMENT

Three Dollar Dreams, by Lynne Bowen. Lantzville: Oolichan, 1987.

Lynne Bowen's second book on the Vancouver Island coalfield is, like the first, a halfway house between scholarly interpretation and "popular" local history. As a compendium of (much-needed) facts, stories, anecdotes,

and biography it will be invaluable to specialists and satisfying to the general reader. As an exercise in systematic social history, or as a contribution to the critique of political economy (although Marx would certainly approve of the title, which speaks to the cash nexus of the community) it falls, however, short of the mark. As such, it will inevitably draw the fire of some specialists, who may be particularly irked by the method of documentation. The author and/or the publisher decided to dispense with traditional footnotes in favour of a three-page summary of sources consulted, by chapter, linked with a twelve-page bibliography. The method works well enough for the secondary sources, but provides few clues to the actual use of the extensive primary documents and newspapers cited. The "local" prism can also distort as well as illuminate. The Laurierite miner-politician Ralph Smith is described as "the first socialist M.P. in Ottawa." Doubtless local Tories and many miners saw him in that light, but the issue is not clarified by the qualifying statement that "Smith's allegiance fluctuated between the Socialists and Liberals during his tenure." (Having published an article in 1985 designed to clear up long-standing and understandable confusion about the relationship between socialists and workers in the coalfields, I have of course a personal axe to grind.) Similarly, there is a grain of local truth behind Bowen's assertion that governmental hostility toward the Western Federation of Miners "led to its being outlawed in 1903." The coal owners and Mackenzie King wanted the miners to believe that their union was outlawed, and apparently the perception stuck in folkloric traditions Bowen draws so richly upon. But we are not aware of any relevant statute or court decisions on this point.

Typically these errors come on the heels of an evocatively detailed account of the long struggle for collective bargaining in the nineteenth-century coalfield that is the focus of the book. "Three dollar dreams" were, precisely, a $3.00-a-day union wage. Attention to the larger regional context would have put this figure into perspective. Coal mining was more dangerous in the 1880s than at any time before or after, but it was also more lucrative. Three dollars would be a basic demand in Lethbridge or Crow's Nest Pass a generation later, which shows that the miners, like King Coal himself, were moving backwards after the heyday of the Knights of Labor and its cousin on Vancouver Island, the Miners and Mine Labourers' Protective Association. In brief, academic labour history is at once positively challenged by, and has a few pithead grievances with, Ms. Bowen. Neo-Marxist sociologists of race and class could also learn a great deal from her empirical observations on the complexities of conflict

and accommodation between white and Chinese workers, while crying out for an organizing theory.

In the final analysis, Bowen is a traditional if non-conventional (in the best sense of the term, most of the time) historian concerned with the interplay of character and circumstance in interpreting the coalfield's greater or lesser personalities, from the "reigning capitalist of the province" in the 1880s, Robert Dunsmuir, to obscure proletarian figures like Tully Boyce, the Irish-American who led the union and labour party on the Island in the 1890s, paving the way for Ralph Smith, who ended *his* career as provincial Minister of Finance. This topic is obviously broad enough to encompass Bowen's special project of unearthing the human landscape beneath the rubble of de-industrialization and official neglect that has cursed the coalfield.

Though she does not spare the rod in dealing critically with the coal owners, Bowen does not spoil the subject with shrill, moralistic condemnation of the sort that has marred much of the leftish literature that touches on this vitally important class in nineteenth-century British Columbia. If there is a hero of the piece, it is Samuel Robins of the English-owned Nanaimo (Vancouver) Coal Company, who maintained a return-on-investment from his properties (which outproduced the scab-herding Dunsmuir family as late as 1891) without "crucifying" the working class. How this trick was actually turned remains a mystery, but Bowen's references to Robins' Christian charity are corroborated by recent research into more-or-less systematically generated data from the manuscript census and local directories in the 1890s. The coal company's oft-cited but unstudied policy of settling the "better class" of colliers on small agricultural plots may have been the key. At that level of industrialization, mining and petty production on the land were complementary, not conflicting, modes for *both* labour and capital. The English operators could enforce a sliding scale of wages without undue misery and strife, while *some* workers enjoyed a large measure of economic autonomy. This, it seems, was the notion that the Dunsmuir family could never countenance. Ironically, it was the Dunsmuirs who controlled all but a fraction of the actual land base of industrial Vancouver Island, and Bowen pays proper attention to the infamous E & N Land Grant of 1884, which, next to the love of money, was the root of all evil in the coalfield.

The coal owners deserve more attention, and Bowen appears to be moving in that direction. One hopes that she will not be drawn into merely elaborating that which we already know — the Scots-Canadians versus the English — and embellishing the thesis of generational nuances among the

Dunsmuirs (Robert, the elder, "went out of his way to treat his men fairly" on occasion, she believes, while James was a tidier but more tyrannical employer). All things considered, the nineteenth-century coal industry *looks* like a rare, working model of something like the staples theory of economic growth; why and how was this so? Members of the enlightened bourgeoisie who may pick up *Three Dollar Dreams* for a quick read will go away with a knowledge of their sophistication in matters of "industrial relations," but the coal owners of the nineteenth century yield to no one in such matters as successful turning to account of Canadian federalism: Bowen includes marvellous vignettes of the tryst between Dunsmuir and John A. Macdonald which signalled the rosy dawn of regional accumulation in the 1880s. The coal owners also possessed a finer sense of the value of commodities; Dunsmuir robbed the miners of their dust and slack and manufactured it into coke. Their maritime activities — industrial Vancouver Island had what Cape Breton nearly always lacked: a reliable fleet of ships — make us bow *our* heads in shame, and we clearly need to know more about mining-related arts and crafts of industry such as Dunsmuir's Albion Iron Works in Victoria. But why did neither the English nor the Dunsmuirs survive long past the *fin de siècle*? What was the fatal flaw that ensured that the miners' fight for "a three dollar dream" would some day bring lasting benefits to the whole of the working classes, with one exception — the coal miners themselves?

Simon Fraser University ALLEN SEAGER

Workers, Capital, and the State in British Columbia: Selected Papers, edited by Rennie Warburton and David Coburn. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. Pp. 288. $28.95.

Conventional wisdom has it that if class is an operative process anywhere in Canada it is in British Columbia. Not all conventional wisdoms are wrong, but few escape revisionist assault. In a 1980 article in *BC Studies*, Peter Ward decided to take on conventionality and argue that race, not class, was the fundamental cleavage in the social structure of the west coast. His article was a conceptual chaos, noteworthy for its capacity to misstate fundamental theoretical positions — such as that of Edward Thompson — and reconstruct and appropriate them for his own purposes. Useful as something of a straw man, the essay did serve notice that it was important for those aligned with the primacy of class to restate with rigour