

ing in the next three years. Certainly unless there are drastic policy changes in the federal government's agenda, and unless there are drastic changes in the provincial government's agenda, nothing is going to change in this province" (p. 73).

On the surface, Ed John appears to be wrong. The New Democratic Party government has taken strong steps toward resolving the land issue, including recognizing the inherent right to self-government, establishing a land claims commission, and working with the federal government to establish a framework for formal negotiations. But Ed John may yet be proven right, if only because the basic transformations remain political and legal; there is little evidence that the province has yet to come to terms with the lingering uncertainty and, in some quarters, hostility to the idea of settling aboriginal land claims. Until such efforts are successfully made, John's unhappy forecast remains a salutary reminder that change on such fundamental issues comes slowly, if at all.

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The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, The Unknown Reformer, by Irene Howard. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992. xvii, 352 pp. Illus. \$35.95 cloth.

Helena Gutteridge (1879-1960), known to specialists as a significant but somewhat enigmatic figure in the history of the provincial labour movement, is a challenging persona. She left no personal papers and her long career as a political activist seems to have generated but fragmentary biographical data. A more scholarly investigator than Irene Howard, a respected popular historian, would have quickly rejected Gutteridge as a candidate for a full-length biography. As the author candidly admits, "none of my research brought me close to Helena herself" (xv). That said, Howard's book is remarkably successful in teasing out a life on the left from a variety of scattered sources. On the slim shelf of working class biography in British Columbia, the *Unknown Reformer* compares very favourably with such classics as Dorothy Steeves' *The Compassionate Rebel: E. E. Winch and the Growth of Socialism in Western Canada* (1960).

Howard is refreshingly unapologetic in justifying the study of reformers or reform, noting that key issues for which Gutteridge

struggled, including political equality for women, were in fact achieved: “her life’s work [is] our legacy” (4). More contentious questions present themselves in the body of the text. Gutteridge was or became a socialist feminist with a definite vision of the “Co-operative Commonwealth.” As others of her generation, reform was not an end in itself but a means that justified and shaped the end. All this is amply documented, if untheorized in conventional academic fashion. Gutteridge’s story emphasizes the role of the secondary leadership of the CCF, and puts new flesh on the bones of the famous party/movement dichotomy. Gutteridge was typically active in contentious extraparliamentary activities in the 1930s, but never directly challenged the party hierarchy which she aimed instead to penetrate. More importantly, Gutteridge’s biography seems to be at odds with traditional oppositions in the history of reform: between socialism and social purity, the working and middle classes, and, not least, between men and women activists.

The defining moment in Gutteridge’s political career was undoubtedly her election to Vancouver city council in 1937 — the first and (at that time) only woman alderman in the provincial metropolis. Howard cites a number of backhanded compliments she received from fellow CCF-ers but regrettably fails to contextualize the Vancouver party’s characteristic ambivalence on the woman question. For example, while CCF publicity in 1937 noted the fact that “the committee feels that realization of the need for a women representative is growing here” an editorial in *The Federationist* underlined the point that “the CCF did not put up Miss Gutteridge because she is a woman.”

Gutteridge was an obviously exceptional character whose role can still be examined in the context of certain categories of historical experience, beginning with a mixed legacy of class and nationality. Gutteridge was a product of the British working-class diaspora and reflected many of the ‘peculiarities of the English.’ Long before she became a socialist Gutteridge had absorbed notions of the rights of free-born English women through the suffrage and free-thought movements. Dedicated to self-improvement — long lost relatives remember a ‘hoity-toity’ working girl in London’s Chelsea district — Gutteridge learned the tailor’s trade and emigrated in 1911. Like many other British immigrants, however, she was unable to parlay her skills into regular and remunerative employment. Acquiring — most likely through equally characteristic Masonic connections — a position within the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council, she became a minor functionary of the city’s fledgling union bureaucracy. Gut-

teridge in this context was an unmistakable moderate. She doughtily defended craft unionism in its hour of need in 1919, and as delegated spokesperson at the National Industrial Conference in Ottawa, simply demanded the inclusion of working women in its proposed tripartite scheme. Among other things, Gutteridge was a 'tenacious' supporter of oriental exclusion — the only plank on the reformist platform that Howard chooses to criticize, or rather, moralize against in a tediously presentist way (p.113). Gutteridge's or the CCF's later policy in favour of civil rights for British Columbia's Asians is predictably unexplained. (Having won the major battles over immigration by the 1920s, the leaders of the British-Canadian working class were free, in the 1930s, to articulate the liberal-assimilationist side of their racialist but less clearly 'racist' views.) Finally, it is revealing to learn that Gutteridge was "a monarchist at heart and warmed to the humanity of the King and Queen" during the 1939 Royal Tour (p. 215). Unfairly tarred with the brush of anti-war impossibilism Gutteridge was nonetheless defeated in the 1939 elections. Ironically, she spent most of the Second World War years as a welfare officer and advocate for interned Japanese Canadians.

If the Gutteridge story is embedded in the larger history of the British-Canadian working-class, it is likewise structured by the experience of 'women alone' in Canadian society, ca. 1900-45. One might even go so far as to say that Gutteridge's 'failure' in the private sphere explains her whole public career. Howard fruitfully speculates about the causes of Helena's prolonged spinsterhood and unsuccessful marriage, suggesting a number of important linkages. The younger Gutteridge had been influenced by the separatist and/or anti-sexual tendencies of English feminism and partly as a result of its ambiguous ideology the mature Gutteridge was neither unfree nor unrepressed. She eventually did reach towards a conventional domestic relationship, and as a result virtually disappeared from the public scene during the 1920s, moving to a small farm near Mount Lehman in the central Fraser Valley with her husband, a returned soldier and ex-craft worker named Oliver Fearn. (Gutteridge did find a political audience in this period at the community level: radical tendencies in what were effectively Vancouver's outer suburbs remain to be investigated.) However, neither Fearn's nor Gutteridge's intentions regarding their marriage are entirely clear: it formally ended when 'Ollie' launched an uncontested suit for annulment on grounds of non-consummation. Gutteridge in any case was not destined to the maternal role although it goes without saying that Gutteridge the agitator used the rhetoric of

maternal feminism: "Now is the time for Sir Richard [McBride] to protect the homes and the children. . . . Give work to the fathers [and the] mothers will not [neglect them]" (p. 108).

Returning to Vancouver at the onset of the Great Depression, Gutteridge was soon enmeshed in another quasi-familial situation: the urban intelligentsia of the CCF. Howard's depiction of its peculiar subculture, with one foot in Bohemia and the other in the Puritan Republic, is remarkably original and well worth reading: CCF saints Angus and Grace (Woodsworth) McInnis emerge as dominant and not especially amiable figures. If the Vancouver left seemed to empower a number of strong women, this part of the movement was also structured by "strong male attachments" (p. 157). Gutteridge found comradeship and emotional support in the CCF's 'political family,' but lacking male attachments and/or a place in the parliamentary firmament she remained something of a poor relative. Gutteridge's last job, in the 1940s, was on a cannery assembly line. Social democracy assured her a public pension, but nothing more. The unknown reformer died in 1960, as Howard gently puts it, "without any fuss [and] without causing any undue trouble for her friends."

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The Bella Coola Indians, by T. F. McIlwraith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948; re-issued 1992. Introduction by John Barker. Two volumes. Vol. 1: ix, 672 pp.; Vol. 2: liv, 763 pp. Maps, photos. \$60.00 paper; \$125.00 cloth.

In the history of Canadian anthropology, T. F. McIlwraith's *The Bella Coola Indians* occupies a place similar to that of H. A. Innis's *The Fur Trade in Canada* in Canadian historical writing. Although McIlwraith's classic remained unpublished until 1948, eighteen years after the first edition of *The Fur Trade*, both were written by men who, following service in World War I, became dominant figures in the social sciences at the University of Toronto from the 1920s to the 1960s. Each was a meticulous researcher (the economic historian trained at Chicago, the anthropologist at Cambridge) and an influential teacher. But there were also striking differences. Innis was interested in the impact of Europe on North America, McIlwraith in the pre-contact history of the Northwest Coast. Where native people