

My point in all this is that reading the documents of the dominant group is not enough. We have newspapers and other publications in Chinese and Japanese, at least for the period from 1914 onward, and it is high time that someone with the appropriate linguistic and cultural skills use them to research the multicultural history of this province. Even within the realm of English-language materials, as the work of Takaki and Sandy Lydon has shown, there is much that can be learned about Asian perspectives. The purpose of doing that, as I see it, is not to answer the dominant group's version of B.C. ethnic history with an "ethnics'" version; it is to move towards a social history of B.C. in truly multicultural terms. We don't need "equal time" for a minority report. We do need an imaginative synthesis — one that does not assume as inevitable the historical dominance of the British group or write only from that perspective, or, on the contrary, sees only the perspectives of the dominated.

I have indulged myself in a kind of "state of the art" statement, paying less attention than in a conventional review to Pat Roy's book. Within its own terms that book stands as a solid piece of traditional historiography. My hope is that Roy and others can move beyond it to where I think the nub of the problem really is to be found. In this year of Meech, as we once again re-invent and re-justify Canada and the cultural variety within it, an approach that would stress political and cultural dominance seems to me particularly appropriate.

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The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game, edited by Dianne Newell. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989. Pp. xvii, 303. \$34.95 cloth.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. It gives the impression, at least to this reader, that the work is a general overview of the development of the salmon-canning industry of British Columbia. And the subtitle, "A Grown Man's Game," could suggest that the study will examine gender-related issues.

What Newell has in fact done is to cull from the extensive body of material left behind by one of the pioneers of the industry, Henry Doyle. Most of the book consists of extracts from the Doyle collection housed at the University of British Columbia and the University of Washington libraries. Each chapter contains an introduction by Newell, who provides

some background information and a thread that connects the various extracts and creates a picture of this man's involvement in the shaping of the B.C. salmon-canning industry in the period of its formation. In addition, Newell provides an appendix with tables that supplement with empirical data the growth of the provincial industry and compare it with other countries, particularly the United States, British Columbia's most immediate competitor, often over the same runs of fish. Finally, there is a glossary of terms which people unfamiliar with the industry may need defined.

Doyle was central in the formation of the B.C. Packers Association in 1902, an attempt to control the salmon-canning industry. The association acquired thirty-five canneries, twenty-seven on the Fraser River and twelve in the north, and in 1903 it produced 41 per cent of the provincial pack (Newell, 1989: 25). Doyle's family had been involved in the fishing-supply business in San Francisco. The firm of Henry Doyle & Co. established branch offices in Seattle, Astoria in Oregon, and Henry Doyle was sent to manage the branch office in Vancouver. Doyle was familiar with two earlier amalgamations that had resulted in the formation, in 1887, of the Columbia River Packers Association, and, in 1893, of the Alaska Packers Association. Doyle's knowledge and relative non-involvement in the B.C. canning industry made him appear to be an impartial outsider and thus an ideal candidate to persuade the various canners to sell their operations.

Having helped to create the B.C. Packers Association, Doyle encountered numerous difficulties with the directors and, in 1904, he resigned as general manager and director. In 1906 he "secretly attempted to interest a few investors outside the province . . . to create a new syndicate to take over control of both British Columbia Packers Association and Columbia River Packers Association" (Newell, 1989: 73). Unsuccessful, he engaged with other canners and managed several canneries.

One of the features of this industry, particularly in its early formation, was the relative ease of entry into salmon canning. While B.C. Packers had bought out a number of canners and employed several of them, others gradually became directly involved in the industry, once again competing with one another and whittling away the monopoly position of B.C. Packers. After leaving the company, Doyle himself became a significant competitor. Another related feature of the industry is its vulnerability to a fluctuating supply of fish, the raw resource, and boom and bust cycles in the larger economy further aggravated by intense competition over markets from other countries, especially from the Alaskan fishery.

Take-over attempts usually occur after a downward spiral, and after the economic depression following the First World War, in which Doyle himself lost control of his canneries, he attempted his last amalgamation. He approached the California Packing Corporation several times in the mid-1920s, offering to help it gain monopoly control of the industry. By this time, the dominant position exercised by B.C. Packers had been eroded, and Doyle felt that the time was ripe to effect another amalgamation and absorb at least 60 per cent of the operators. Doyle's correspondence during this period is fascinating. He provides extensive details on the major canners and their weak spots, suggesting ways of taking over their companies, either through direct purchase or by take-over bids on the stock exchange. Clearly, in his "business" approach, Doyle was a ruthless competitor who would stop at little in attempting to regain a dominant position in the industry. Aemilius Jarvis, responsible for acquiring the financial backing necessary for the amalgamation that resulted in B.C. Packers, and the company's vice-president, found himself in a Toronto jail, charged with bribery, theft, and conspiracy concerning his stock-and-bond business. After having failed to institute his own coup, Doyle approached Jarvis in 1928 when the position of general manager of B.C. Packers became vacant. He was not given the position. Newell's account ends here.

In her Preface, Newell notes that she has retained some of Doyle's writings on labour conditions. There was, however, very little of this and the little available was difficult to understand because Newell does not provide information on the racial (and racist) distinctions made use of by salmon canners in hiring labour and in organizing tasks in the canneries and adjacent operations like reduction plants and cold storage facilities. For example, the two royal commissions of 1885 and 1902 investigating, first, Chinese immigration and, then, both Chinese and Japanese immigration, provide a rich source of data on the canners' attitudes, including testimony from Doyle himself, towards the labour of Indian women and children, Chinese workers and Japanese fishers as distinguished from the "white labour" provided by fishers and men working, usually in managerial and recognized skilled positions, inside the plants.

The value of the book comes from its presentation of an "insider's" view of the industry and of that "insider's" attempts to become a dominant player. Particularly interesting is the web of relationships formed among the canners themselves. All were men, and the majority (with very few exceptions) were white — all of those who engaged in the industry for several generations were white men. Together they created an industry that was and is capitalist. Some, like Doyle, attempted to go further and

establish monopoly control. The history contained in the work that Newell has edited provides a snapshot of these relationships and Doyle's own place among his peers. It does not in any way present a picture from the point of view of the other important players: fishers, shoreworkers, contractors, union organizers, etc. It is therefore dangerous to present one man's account as if it were representative, for it renders invisible those who exercised far less control but who were equally crucial in the formation and development of the B.C. salmon-canning industry.

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"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years, by Lee Stewart.
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. Pp. 208; illus.
\$29.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

"It's Up to You" is the inaugural volume of a monograph series on Women and Universities published by the UBC Academic Women's Association. Its very existence testifies to that organization's vitality and commitment to the wider community of women beyond its own membership. The book traces the history of women at UBC from the early years of the twentieth century to just after the Second World War, and as it unfolds the story is a frustrating one. When UBC opened its doors, there was no debate over whether women would be admitted. That battle had been fought in other institutions across the country. As a result, the author has had to read between the lines, or in popular terminology read the "silence," in order to flesh out what officials thought of women entering the world of higher education. From the university's subsequent history, a reader would conclude that they did not give much positive thought at all to women. Until 1941 there were separate first-year English courses for women, taught by women but designed by men. Not until 1951 were women's residences available. At times, the university seemed to go out of its way to put obstacles in women's path. Men could share apartments off campus and thus lessen their rent, but women could not do so unless one of the women sharing was at least 25 years of age.

The book is, in many respects, an institutional study in that the focus is on the entry of women to the university and the establishment of programmes such as nursing and home economics that were specifically designed with women in mind. But although the author spends a great deal of time tracing the introduction of these programmes, she really does not