

BOOK REVIEWS

*The Real Thing:
The Natural History of
Ian McTaggart Cowan*
Briony Penn

Victoria: Rocky Mountain Books,
2015. 558 pp. \$30.00 paper.

*Ian McTaggart-Cowan: The
Legacy of a Pioneering Biologist,
Educator and Conservationist*

Ronald D. Jakimchuk, R.
Wayne Campbell, and Dennis
A. Demarchi

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing,
2015. 416 pp. \$49.95 cloth.

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IAN MCTAGGART-COWAN (1910–2010) was a BC scientist, conservationist, and educator whose influence extended to over three hundred authored and co-authored publications on a wide range of animal species and the supervision of over ninety graduate students, many of whom went on to hold leadership positions in academic science and

government wildlife management. From his early years as a collecting biologist for the Royal British Columbia Museum to his years as professor and (later) head of the zoology program at UBC, and the popularity of his wildlife television series in the 1950s and 1960s, Cowan shaped the profession of wildlife ecology and the development of conservationist thought in the country's most biodiverse province.

Two books, both published in 2015, pay tribute to the tremendous reach of this man and to the rich life of family, friends, and colleagues he cultivated in Vancouver and (later) Victoria. Ronald D. Jakimchuk, R. Wayne Campbell, and Dennis A. Demarchi's *Ian McTaggart-Cowan: The Legacy of a Pioneering Biologist, Educator and Conservationist* is a celebration of Cowan and the "golden age" of conservation biology that he helped to usher in. Richly illustrated with over three hundred images documenting Cowan's life and the animal species he studied, the collection is divided into three parts: (1) Life and Career, a biographical overview of Cowan's experiences and contributions; (2) Memories, a compendium of recollections from Cowan's former students and colleagues; and (3) Legacy, a catalogue of Cowan's awards, publications, and,

especially valuable, the student theses and dissertations he supervised over his lifetime, each accompanied by a summary of its principal findings. A series of attractive maps further documents the breadth of Cowan's legacy, illustrating the locations and animal species upon which Cowan and his students focused their field research.

Briony Penn's *The Real Thing: The Natural History of Ian McTaggart Cowan* is as much a biography of Cowan as a tribute to the BC landscapes and animal species that fascinated him, many of them since lost to a century of destructive development. This detailed and highly engaging exploration of Cowan's life, and the places and species that shaped his career and his thinking as a scientist, captures the wonder that Cowan felt for the natural world as well as his lifelong "insatiable appetite" for local knowledge (80). For Cowan, the act of collecting and describing animal specimens crystallized recollections of particular places and experiences, and Penn uses this principle of "collecting as biography" to frame her work. Images from Cowan's extensive specimen collections appear in sidebars throughout the book, evoking the marginalia of his field journals. Similarly, a table of species (rather than a list of dissertations) appears in the Appendix as a legacy not so much to Cowan's influence as to the declining biodiversity of the province over his lifetime.

Both books follow similar signposts in highlighting key events in Cowan's life, but their purpose and format diverge considerably. Jakimchuk et al.'s *Ian McTaggart-Cowan*, intended as a centenary birthday gift with contributions from family, friends, and colleagues (sadly, McTaggart-Cowan died two months short of his one hundredth birthday), presents a skilfully assembled compilation of biographical documents, reminiscences, and anecdotes

celebrating Cowan's life and influence. Biographical narrative from the authors is punctuated with at times lengthy excerpts from Cowan's field journals, publications, and his many speeches; the transcript of a talk Cowan gave to the BC Wildlife Federation in May 1969, for example, spans nine pages (64-75).

Penn's narrative is, in contrast, more detailed and more probing in its interpretation. Where Jakimchuk et al. collate the recollections of others, Penn adds Cowan's own reflections upon his life, captured over five years of personal interviews. In exploring Cowan's "Natural History" Penn has two meanings in mind: (1) Cowan's work, the legacy of his research and contributions to our understanding of British Columbia's natural history, and, more playfully (2) a "natural history" of the man himself – that is to say, a correlation between key moments in his life with the animal species and places that captivated him (and defined him) during those periods. Commenting on the significance of Vaseux Lake in the south Okanagan region to the Cowans, who returned to the area "all their married lives," for example, Penn uses the relationship between Vaseux Lake and the disturbance-averse Canyon Wrens, which returned to nest there each year, to illustrate the strength and resilience that Cowan's wife Joyce provided over their sixty-six-year marriage (217).

Both books attribute Cowan's influence, and his success, to a combination of his training as a scientist and his early experience as a self-taught hunter and naturalist. For Penn, this hybrid quality in Cowan is significant enough to form the title of her book: Cowan was valued by his mentors and peers as "the real thing": not simply a "made-in-college" biologist (114) but "one of the best shots in BC" (104), a standing that garnered him respect

from trappers in the remote BC interior as well as from the leading scientists of his generation. In this, he owed much to his mentor, H.M. Laing, the subject of Richard Mackie's *Hunter-Naturalist*. Penn carefully documents the shift in Cowan's thinking and practice from "collecting naturalist" to conservation-minded scientist, and it is here that her contribution to the existing literature on the history of wildlife management and conservationist thought in Canada really stands out. She shows how Cowan, drawn to hunt to meet the subsistence needs of his family in 1910s Vancouver, was neither the elite imperial hunter of Greg Gillespie's *Hunting for Empire* nor, in his later years, the technocratic wildlife manager of Tina Loo's *States of Nature*; rather, his deep and intimate understanding of BC environments and the species they support, and the strong conservationist values he upheld throughout his life, mark him as something quite different. By taking up Cowan and his life's work, Penn provides new insights into this important period of transition in ecological knowledge and practice between the early twentieth-century collector-naturalists and the state-employed wildlife managers who would come to dominate the postwar period.

In both books, Cowan's skill as a "legendary" networker over time and space (Penn, 104) emerges as a factor in his success. Penn in particular, to borrow one of her ecological metaphors, achieves a convincing biography of the man and his ecosystem: the colleagues and conditions that nurtured his success. Her work provides considerable insight into the values, philosophies, and contributions of Cowan's fellow scientists and naturalists, many of them lesser-known names in Canada and British Columbia but who nonetheless made considerable contributions to ecological knowledge

in the province. The significance of Cowan's network is especially apparent in Penn's examination of decades of secret correspondence between Cowan and members of "the B" (Brotherhood of Venery), an underground network of conservation-minded professionals in Canada and the United States who supported each other through changing political regimes. These largely (but not exclusively) male scientists and naturalists were among Cowan's closest professional confidantes and included such giants in the field as US conservationist Aldo Leopold and Canadian parks commissioner J.B. Harkin.

Both books provide fascinating glimpses not only into Cowan's life but also into the province's changing environments over the twentieth century and the growth of professional wildlife science in the same period. While Jakimchuk et al.'s compilation will be cherished as both a keepsake by those closest to Cowan and an important source book on the early years of wildlife ecology, Penn's elegantly written and insightful biography will engage a wide range of readers, from BC naturalists and wildlife professionals to students of biology, environmental studies, and the history of science.

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*The Power of Feasts:
From Prehistory to Present*

Brian Hayden

New York: Cambridge University
Press, 2014. 435 pp. \$42.95 paper.

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IN *The Power of Feasts*, Hayden, an SFU archaeologist, provides a “theoretical synthesis” of the history of feasting, explains the theory of its influence on human societies over time, and argues that feasting contributed to socio-cultural and political complexity. He also offers direction for further research and considers how feasting is represented in the material record.

Hayden’s argument, defined in Chapter 1, is that feasting provides insight into social and political structures; context for prestige technologies, monumental projects, small-scale warfare, and political centralization; and an explanation for domestication, gender roles, and identity. Using “paleo-political ecology” he examines “how surplus ... [is] used to promote the self-interests of the producers and manipulators of surpluses” (7) – people he calls “aggrandizers.” According to this theory, aggrandizers push societal norms for self-gain. Left unchecked among early hunter-gatherers, aggrandizers created, through feasting, “transegalitarian” societies in which private property and social stratification appeared.

The remaining eight chapters discuss the origins and acts of feasting among complex hunter-gatherers, horticulturalists, pastoralists, and early states and empires. The first of these chapters (and the only one written by another author, Suzanne Villeneuve) situates the origin of feasting among our

primate ancestors whose food-sharing behaviour, she argues, laid the foundation for human feasting. Subsequent chapters discuss feasting and its role in shaping the complexity associated with each mode of subsistence, while Chapter 5 considers the role feasting may have played in domestication. Throughout, Hayden offers numerous ethnographic examples and suggests an archaeological context that exposes feasting and domestication in the material record.

Chapters 4 and 5 are of particular interest. In Chapter 4, Hayden uses the contact-era potlatch to exemplify feasting among complex hunter-gatherers, an example used throughout to argue that feasting was the impetus for increasing socio-cultural complexity. Generalizing for the Northwest Coast, he describes different feasts and potlatches and examines associated economic arrangements such as tribute, loans, and debt. He also discusses hosts, guests, gift giving, secret societies, timing, and rank and status. He then provides examples of feasting among other complex hunter-gatherers and flags the presence of food production among them and Northwest Coast peoples, a topic visited again in Chapter 5, where rhizome and clam gardens are discussed. This information is timely given the recent interest these cultivation technologies have generated among other researchers. Finally, Hayden considers how complex hunter-gatherer feasting is recognized in the material record.

One critique of Hayden’s feasting theory is that relational ontology, a current anthropological theory promoted by the works of Descola, Viveiros de Castro, Bird-David, Ingold, and others, is not considered. In the relational world, human qualities exist in non-human entities that have agency and intentionality. This is a key concept among those peoples considered in

Hayden's book and, I would argue, is important when studying the intentions and actions behind feasting. Hayden presents feasts as economic and social tools that were "promotional" and were used to "advertise" status (85). Here "aggrandizers" invoke spirits (63) to create favourable emotional states among guests, and they elevate ancestors to "promote compliance" (168) and to mask ambition (71), knowing that "fear of the dead could be a powerful tool in promoting aggrandizer agendas" and easily manipulated "to serve one's wishes" (170). This approach situates the relational world as a fabrication used to seize and legitimize power. It does not recognize relational world agency or how it affects one's lived experience.

Overall, Hayden makes a compelling argument for a feasting theory that is valuable in larger ethnographic and archaeological discussion. His ideas on how to acknowledge feasting in the material record are useful. While the argument that feasts were the primary impetus behind socio-cultural complexity is persuasive, the reality is probably more complex. Nevertheless, this is a must-read for anyone interested in surplus technologies, feasting, and how feasting may have contributed to socio-cultural and political complexity.



*At the Hearth of the Crossed
Races: A French-Indian
Community in Nineteenth-
Century Oregon, 1812-1859*

Melinda Marie Jetté

Corvallis: Oregon State University
Press, 2015. 360 pp. \$22.95 paper.

*Great Lakes Creoles: A French-
Indian Community on the
Northern Borderlands, Prairie
du Chien, 1750-1860*

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy

New York: Cambridge University
Press, 2014. 326 pp. \$34.99 paper.

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THE INCLINATION to characterize the fur trade as an English-speaking enterprise is, very fortunately, behind us. The determination to perceive the economy as grab-and-dash has also, for the most part, disappeared from view. Two new histories with quite different geographical bases attest that these long-standing perspectives are not only gone but are being replaced by thoughtful new interpretations of distinctive ways of life consequent upon the fur trade. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy takes us to Wisconsin, Melinda Marie Jetté to Oregon. That both sites are in the United States does not detract from their relevance for British Columbian and, more generally, Canadian historians.

Consequent upon the fur trade moving westward across North America, the community growing up at Prairie du Chien, along the much-travelled

Mississippi River, predated by two-thirds of a century its counterpart of French Prairie located south of the large Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Vancouver. The two sites shared a common history in French speakers, who formed the bulk of fur trade employees generally and who entered into relationships with local Indigenous women that might well bind them over their lifetimes to where, or near to where, they worked. The families that resulted for a brief moment in time thrived and even acquired land legally before being squeezed out by incoming English speakers. By virtue of the breathing space afforded by land ownership, Murphy explains, "they gained both physical legitimacy and an important economic resource that would help them to weather the enormous demographic, economic, and political changes that would take place" (12). Murphy and Jetté each attend at length to the creative ways in which families grappled with change.

One of the key decisions for Jetté and Murphy was how to name their subjects. Each consciously rejected "Métis" as inappropriate to the times and places under consideration. Astutely reminding us on her very first page of the long-time "stereotype of the happy-go-lucky French Canadian voyageur" (1), Jetté opts for the straightforward "French-Indian" (9) to describe families. For her part, Murphy turns to a French term that, historically, was variously applied in differing geographical contexts: "The word Creole best reflects the idea that people of many backgrounds created a culture with roots in several cultures, but also with elements unique to itself" (18). Explaining her choice, she describes how "in communities in which many people were of mixed ancestry but where cultural elements such as French language and Christianity were prevalent and unifying characteristics, the term Creole became

both more inclusive as to ancestry while also retaining the sense that the people had been born *in the region*" (18, emphasis in original).

That these two books are attractive, appealing, and engaging, and have helpful maps and tables as well as appealing illustrations, cannot be allowed to detract from the complexities of the research that had to be undertaken to get to this point. Almost all the couples under consideration were illiterate, leaving it to priests (when they finally arrived) to record births, marriages, and deaths, and to mostly English-speaking passersby to note snippets of family stories (not necessarily favourably). Jetté's and Murphy's respective research encompasses, in the latter's words, "a significant amount of genealogical reconstruction in order to understand both kinship networks and the cultural influences people brought to this community" (11-12). Both authors have painstakingly crafted family stories, one of these, very interestingly, being Jetté's own (xv-xviii).

The possibility represented by Prairie du Chien, French Prairie, and other such enclaves for ongoing, amiable, everyday Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations was not only lost on the ground but also, for the most part, from view. It is for this reason, and also for the high quality of the scholarship and fluid writing styles, that the ways of life Murphy and Jetté describe, and how they found out about them, make for compelling reading whether on their own or side by side. These are books to buy and to savour.

*Canadian Pacific:
The Golden Age of Travel*
Barry Lane

Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions,
2015. 200 pp. \$45.00 cloth.

HEATHER LONGWORTH SJOBLUM
Fort St. John North Peace Museum

THE CANADIAN Pacific Railway's travel literature boasts marvellous scenery, adventure, and extravagance. "You shall see mighty rivers, vast forest, boundless plains, stupendous mountains and wonders innumerable, and you shall see all in comfort, nay in luxury," enthused a railway brochure in 1893 (58). In *Canadian Pacific: The Golden Age of Travel*, Barry Lane considers the company's history from the building of the transcontinental railway through to the development of hotels and mountain tourism to the creation of shipping and cruise lines. Lane traces the growth, decline, and legacy of this global travel network from the 1880s to the present.

Lane sets out to assemble a history of Canadian Pacific that tells the story of the railway, ships, hotels, and tourism "in a visual fashion that makes Canadian Pacific's achievements accessible to a general audience" (7). In this he is successful. Though this format does not allow him to go into great depth regarding many aspects of Canadian Pacific's history, he includes a surprising amount of detail in few words. Canadian Pacific ran a complete and unrivalled transportation system with first-class ships on the Atlantic and Pacific linked by a rapid continental express, with chateau-style hotels and late Victorian Gothic railway stations that stand as reminders that the company spanned, and in a corporate sense united, the young nation.

The book is beautifully illustrated with an impressive collection of photographs, settlement and travel posters, sketches, and artwork from archives, personal collections, and museums around the world. These illustrations show the development of Canadian Pacific's infrastructure and the methods the company used to market itself to the British Empire and the world.

Canadian Pacific's services and decisions weren't perfect, and this book is far from a whitewash of this corporate behemoth. For example, Lane recognizes the problems the company encountered due to its decision to build a line through avalanche country. He includes the artist Edward Roper's account of his 1887 journey, when the train encountered a snowstorm, rockslide, and forest fire, all of which were at odds with the company's premature promise of seeing everything in comfort and safety. He acknowledges Canadian Pacific's class divisions on immigrant ships and the overcrowding and hygiene problems associated with third-class quarters. He shows that Canadian Pacific's construction, and its ignition of forest fires from locomotive smokestacks, worked against the best interests of the First Nations along its main line.

Though national and global in scope, *Canadian Pacific* provides an overview of the company's extensive transportation network in British Columbia. Lane considers the construction and operation in mountains and canyons, the employment of Chinese labour, the principal hotels and railway stations, and shipping and cruises between Vancouver (the "Terminal City") and Asia. He shows how Canadian Pacific successfully cultivated a world-renowned reputation through elegant hotels, luxury railcars, and the promotion of mountain scenery. One of the company's most successful campaigns involved branding itself as the

“All Red Line,” enabling British subjects to circle the world without leaving the British Empire (which, traditionally, was shown in red or pink on British maps).

Canadian Pacific is a treasure trove of primary sources, such as posters and photographs, all of which Lane sets in the context of early rail and steamship tourism in Canada. This book is a wonderful and accessible visual introduction to what was the world’s greatest transportation system.

*Liberal Hearts and Coronets:
The Lives and Times of Ishbel
Marjoribanks Gordon and John
Campbell Gordon, the Aberdeens*

Veronica Strong-Boag

Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 2015. 384 pp. \$32.95 paper.

CAROLYN MACHARDY
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AT THE OUTSET of her latest book, Veronica Strong-Boag announces: “Lords and ladies are rarely in fashion for critical scholars or democratic activists. This is unfortunate” (3). Thankfully, she decided to take on Ishbel and John Gordon, the Aberdeens, and her meticulously researched and engagingly written study serves as a timely reminder that not only is there still much work to be done by scholars of both Canadian and late British imperial history but also that the Aberdeens, “this atypical lord and lady [are] worth recollecting” (16). We, of course, are interested in the Aberdeens in British Columbia and Canada: in the early 1890s they purchased two properties in the Okanagan Valley – Guisachan in what is now Kelowna and

the Coldstream Ranch in Vernon – in the hopes of developing fruit farming in the region, and their near-mythic status pops up in regional histories of both places. Within a few years of these purchases, John Gordon served as governor general of Canada under four prime ministers from 1893 to 1898, while Ishbel threw herself into important causes such as the National Council of Women in Canada (she was its founding president) and the Victorian Order of Nurses.

However, Canada is only part of the Aberdeens’ lives and times – though an important one, as the author notes, as it served as a model for their second Irish viceroyalty. By the time of Ishbel’s death in 1939, the Aberdeens were “quickly fading emblems of a bygone age of socially responsible aristocrats who aimed to channel a liberal faith into a somewhat better deal for ordinary people in Britain and around the world and secure social betterment without resort to revolution” (199). Prior to that, however, as Strong-Boag makes clear, they had their hands on many of the issues of the day, from enlightened landlordism on the Haddo Estates in northeast Scotland to urban renewal, from evangelical Christianity to global feminism. And they supported welfare monarchism, responsible imperialism, and Home Rule for Ireland.

Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, has received much attention – for her transnational career, for her involvement with the women’s movements of her time, for the books she wrote and those she wrote with her husband, and for the posthumous publication of her Canadian journals – but John, Lord Aberdeen, has met with scholarly indifference. This is a shame, as Strong-Boag demonstrates. Reading him through contemporary lenses of masculinity and gender studies, class and race, and changing ideas about marriage

and family, she positions him in terms of hegemonic masculinities and the myth of the “mighty Scot.” Lord Aberdeen was dogged throughout much of his life by doubts about his masculinity, rumours that he was cuckolded by their close friend Henry Drummond, an idea that Strong-Boag firmly rejects. John Gordon emerges from this study as a man who, upon assuming the family title on the deaths of his father and two older brothers, conscientiously worked with his wife on the many political and social causes that had brought them together in the first place. Qualms about his brand of masculinity had disappeared by the time of their golden wedding anniversary in 1927: domestic males no longer caused ripples, and misgivings were replaced by admiration for their long and happy marriage. Ishbel, for her part, was the fifth child and second “dutiful” daughter of a wealthy family that had long erased its involvement in the opium trade in China from its family mythology. She brought considerable financial resources with her when she married into the Aberdeens, and, of the two, she attracted more controversy, some no doubt occasioned by being a social activist in a paternalistic society. However, as Strong-Boag writes, both husband and wife “could be contaminated by privilege,” and “they, perhaps especially Ishbel, could be insensitive when matters did not go their way” (238).

Strong-Boag’s research on the Aberdeens is exhaustive and her assessment of them even-handed. They may not be a fashionable topic for our postcolonial twenty-first century, but it would have been a shame had Strong-Boag succumbed to academe’s frontier police regarding what is in and what is not: this is history, its many strands being deftly intertwined with critical biography, and it is very, very good.

*Vancouver Is Ashes:
The Great Fire of 1886*
Lisa Anne Smith

Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2014.
227 pp. \$21.95 paper.

*Hobohemia and the Crucifixion
Machine: Rival Images of a New
World in 1930s Vancouver*
Todd McCallum

Edmonton: Athabasca University
Press, 2014. xi, 319 pp. \$29.95 paper.

JOHN DOUGLAS BELSHAW
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HERE WE HAVE two books about crises in the history of Vancouver. They nevertheless cry out to be called chalk and cheese because they strike such a different balance between narrative form and theoretical density. Each could stand to learn a little from the other.

Smith by now may be called an accomplished historian of early Vancouver. She has – and shares – an almost tactile understanding of nineteenth-century Gastown. She is alert to the sounds and smells as well as the chilly water in the harbour and the mud that clogs the streets after a rain. There are many accounts extant of the Great Fire, the cleansing moment that prepared Granville for its emergence as a Canadian city linked to the eastern provinces via the Canadian Pacific Railway. None provides so excellent and unsettling a blow-by-blow narrative as does this one. Writers of historical non-fiction pay attention: the first 120 pages are exciting and terrifying and a model of how to describe a brief historic

event in an utterly compelling fashion. Smith does first-rate work threading together scraps of singed evidence into individual tales and then binding them into a singular civic experience. Midway through the book, however, she changes gears. Uninterpreted primary materials are presented, and, for twenty pages, the thrill is pretty much gone. Then, mercifully, many of the actors who were last observed fleeing for their lives are brought back onstage and Smith reminds us that many of the folks who survived 1886 (spoiler alert: some did not) went on to play other roles in the city's history. What they had in common was this one afternoon of hell (I know that sounds clichéd, but that's the phrase for it).

The book concludes with an afterword on cities and fires. It is here that the project could have been hit a couple of times with the theory stick. The history of fire is, yes, a hot topic, and much of the best literature provides a variety of challenging perspectives. Smith is content to reference a litany of urban fires, pointing to the multitude of causes involved. She might have done more. Notions of "property damage" are, for example, tied directly to ideologies of individualism and capitalism; the scorching of Vancouver occurred in a historic context of industrialization, the building of a commercial town, and ideals of democratic legitimacy. It is no accident that the most holy relics of the Great Fire are Hastings Mill, which survived it; a staged photograph of a tree stump that housed a real estate agent; and another photograph, also by Harry Devine, of the canvas tent that became "City Hall." Industrial forces tied to the business of clear-cutting the downtown peninsula for profit and to make way for the CPR are directly implicated in the fire, and yet there's little here that offers any explanatory historical vision.

Finding explanatory models is not, however, a problem in McCallum's *Hobohemia*. There are probably too many, or, at the very least, some are ladled on too thick. McCallum is, in fact, so versed in theory as to be playful. For theoreticians, this can be exciting; for those of us who regard Foucault and Adorno as distractions if they don't actually do some heavy lifting, it can be frustrating. So, too, is McCallum's prose style, which can run to overlong sentences and fanciful word creations like "capitalogic" and, of course, "Hobohemia."

The outlines of the story are familiar. The Crash of 1929 was followed by convulsions in Vancouver as seasonal unemployment collided with crisis-level joblessness. Thousands of men hopped on board boxcars heading west to the mild Terminal City winters. Civic officials were the first level of government to be tasked with dealing with demands and protests. These are charted with remarkable precision and attention to detail. Like the Great Fire, the Great Depression in Vancouver has been described many times but never with such a masterful mustering of sources. Also, the respectful way in which McCallum approaches the literature is entirely laudable. Too many scholarly works begin from the premise that everything that has gone before needs to be exposed as fundamentally wrong, a task that is crowned by a new, revised interpretation that finally sets the record straight. McCallum presents an alternative viewpoint rather than a cage match.

He does, however, have his combatants. Fordism is the straw man he seeks to knock down; Hobohemia is the positive vision held by the unemployed, the left, and some of their allies of a civil society in which the surplus labour produced by capitalism would, in bad times, be kept fed and housed. Notions of a deserving

poor managed closely by Fordist (i.e., systematic and bureaucratic – explicitly soulless) machinery are countered by a nascent social movement (Hobohemia) that demands the recognition of individual circumstances, basic equalities, and a sense of equity.

Setting aside, for the moment, the position taken by the unemployed, there's an opportune comparison to be made with Lisa Pasolli's 2015 book, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*. Pasolli explores the arguments for and against daycare strategies in British Columbia (mostly Vancouver) in the twentieth century. What she finds is an incredibly pliable sense on the part of elites (and subordinate groups as well) with regard to entitlement. In other words, this wasn't an issue isolated to the Relief Office: it was – and it remains – a fundamental element of any conversation about the redistribution of wealth. But does it have anything to do with Fordism? One comes away with a sense that McCallum himself is quietly undecided. Even though his loyalties to the unemployed are never in doubt, McCallum has to concede the narrow radius within which the actors could turn: "Mass need in Vancouver meant mass administration, the reliance on the management methods of modern businesses. This new managerial style was designed to assuage the financial concerns of governments while also providing a sound basis for the investigatory and disciplinary aspects of relief provision" (246). Why, then, should we buy into the critique of Fordism? Being more efficient in handling a massified problem seems, well, responsible. Surely it is better than being overwhelmed and useless? The communists in Vancouver advocated for a union wage paid in cash to everyone who was unemployed: as much as they (rightly) despised the corrupt and sometimes brutal civic regime, they presumably

envisioned a lean civic administration that efficiently delivered these more generous cash sums to thousands of recipients.

This book contains challenging ideas built on superb archival research; it offers up fresh perspectives, and it contains a historical tale worth reading. Too much theory and no small measure of romanticism about the hobo ethos, however, subtract from, rather than add to, the whole.

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*Conrad Kain:
Letters from a Wandering
Mountain Guide, 1906-1933*

Zac Robinson, editor

Edmonton: University of Alberta
Press, 2014. 468 pp. \$34.95 paper.

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FEW FIGURES IN the history of western Canadian mountaineering are held in such high regard as Conrad Kain. Arriving in Banff in 1909 to work for the young Alpine Club of Canada (ACC), Kain came from an impoverished Austrian village where he had laboured sporadically in local quarries and developed a facility for guiding tourist expeditions in the Austrian Alps. While he was not formally trained in the manner of the Swiss guides brought to the Canadian Rockies by the Canadian Pacific Railway, Kain's reputation in Europe was such that the

acc's leader, A.O. Wheeler, agreed to take him on as a guide on the basis of a recommendation from a wealthy client. Kain would go on to be one of the key guides at early ACC summer climbing camps, most famously leading four parties to the summit of Mount Robson over a two-week span in the summer of 1924. He would also accompany Wheeler in his surveying work along the Continental Divide, contributing to the demarcation of the border between Alberta and British Columbia. In the mid-1920s, Kain married and settled on a small farm in Wilmer, British Columbia; from this base he continued to guide, hunt, and climb until his death in 1934.

The story of this remarkable man was the subject of an autobiography produced by one of Kain's close clients, American ophthalmologist J. Monroe Thorington, in 1935. *Where the Clouds Can Go* consists of selected correspondence written by Kain to Amelie Malek (an Austrian client whom he had met, and with whom he had struck up a deep friendship, prior to his departure for Canada) combined with other writings by Kain and additional narrative by Thorington. With updated editions in 1979 and 2009, *Clouds* has been the reading public's main route to knowledge of this fascinating character – until now. With the present volume, historian and mountain studies specialist Zac Robinson provides an annotated edition of the full trove of 144 letters sent by Kain to Malek over parts of four decades. Itself a fascinating story, described in the Introduction and Epilogue, the uncovering of the original correspondence provides Robinson the opportunity to present Kain's story in a more unvarnished manner than is found in Thorington's treatment.

As with *Clouds*, this volume traces Kain's journey from Austria to Canada, with travels to mountainous New

Zealand highlighted along the way. Divided into four periods, covering Kain's time guiding in Europe (1906–09), his early years in Canada (1909–12), his travels to New Zealand and back to Europe (1912–16), and the last chapter of his life in British Columbia (1920–33), the presentation makes for easy cross-referencing with the narrative in *Clouds*. Through deft annotation, Robinson not only positions Kain's life within the history of Canadian mountaineering but also locates Kain within the currents of immigration, class, and environmental politics that came together in the first decades of the twentieth century in the mountain landscapes of Alberta and British Columbia. The effect is to reward readers of both Robinson's volume and *Clouds* with a more complex and nuanced portrait of a man, his time, and his place(s) than could be gleaned from a reading of Thorington's volume alone. As such, Robinson provides a welcome reminder of the utility of biography in helping to make sense of the past.

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- Kain, Conrad. 2009. *Where the Clouds Can Go*. Edited with additional chapters by J. M. Thorington. Surrey: Rocky Mountain Books.



*Watershed Moments:
A Pictorial History of
Courtenay and District*

Christine Dickinson, Deborah
Griffiths, Judy Hagen, and
Catherine Siba

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing,
2015. 208 pp. \$34.95 cloth.

DAN HINMAN-SMITH
North Island College

THOSE WHO would wish to time-travel to the Comox Valley of the First World War era need only walk the streets of contemporary Courtenay's downtown core. There they will encounter numerous large publicly displayed photographs put up as part of a collaboration between the city and the local museum in celebration of the centennial of Courtenay's January 1915 municipal incorporation. Thirteen two-metre-square images line the fence by the intersection of Fifth Street and England Avenue, now concealing a vacant lot that, for some seven decades, was home to the Palace Movie Theatre. Wall-mural-sized photographs of the Palace Livery Feed and Sales Stable and of the turn-of-the-century business district decorate the outside of the Courtenay and District Museum and the Florence Filberg Centre. Even the garbage containers on Fifth and Sixth streets have been refitted with images that pay homage to the same locales a century earlier. The museum and city alike are to be congratulated for this splendid project in public history.

Watershed Moments: A Pictorial History of Courtenay and District was also inspired by the centennial. It draws upon the same rich archive at the Courtenay and District Museum and Paleontology Centre that serves as the base for the street display.

Indeed, the book's cover photo of a 1913 horse race at the Courtenay Fair is the very one featured in life-size form on the wall of today's Lewis Recreation Centre, near the original heart of the old town on the east side of the Courtenay River. Two museum employees, Executive Director Deborah Griffiths and Curator of Social History Catherine Siba, have teamed with local historians Judy Hagen and Christine Dickinson. They have embedded the images within a text that provides a brief history of the Comox Valley, from the late eighteenth century through to the end of the Second World War. Some primary documents and biographical vignettes are interspersed throughout as a way to draw the reader into a more personal connection with the material presented and with the local past. But it is the photographs themselves that are most noteworthy and, in particular, the remarkable series of turn-of-the-century glass plate negatives documenting Comox Valley life taken by Kye Bay farmer, miller, and logger Walter Gage. The last image in the book makes the break to colour technology and offers a glimpse of an earlier centennial as Chief Andy Frank and Margaret Frank of the K'omoks First Nation wave from a convertible in a 1967 parade.

Centennials provide ritual opportunities not just for public commemoration but also for discussions of the meaning of the past. In the case of *Watershed Moments*, the centennial moment is perhaps not fully realized. Courtenay has long had an uncertain identity, the result of such factors as the complex relationships between it and the surrounding communities; between river, ocean, and highway; and between settlers and First Nations. The authors of this volume are not unaware of these complexities and use the Comox Valley watershed as a metaphor to include materials not just on Courtenay but also

on Comox, Cumberland, Forbidden Plateau, Merville, Royston, and Union Bay. This may, however, be attempting too much for a relatively slender volume, especially since the authors seem somewhat undecided as to the role that analytical explanation should play in this book. Alternative approaches might have seen a narrowing of focus to the history of Courtenay alone; to the history of Courtenay, or to Courtenay and District, on each side of 1915; or to the life and photographs of Walter Gage, if sufficient materials are available to support such a study. *Watershed Moments* is nonetheless a worthwhile addition to the small library of Comox Valley history, and the stunning images it contains may well inspire local residents to become more deeply immersed in their past.

*From Slave Girls to Salvation:
Gender, Race, and Victoria's
Chinese Rescue Home*

Shelley D. Ikebuchi

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015. 264 pp.
\$95.00 cloth.

*A Cowherd in Paradise: From
China to Canada*

May Q. Wong

Victoria: Brindle & Glass Publishing, 2015. 256 pp. \$24.95 paper.

LILYNN WAN

Halifax

THE HISTORY of the Chinese in British Columbia tends to focus on the lives of men, who formed the vast majority of settlers and sojourners from China in the nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries. Yet their experiences were inescapably intertwined with those of the mothers, wives, and daughters who stayed in China as well as with the few Chinese women who lived in Canada. Shelley Ikebuchi's *From Slave Girls to Salvation* and May Wong's *A Cowherd in Paradise* suggest how women played a central role in this history. Taken together, these two very different works demonstrate the complexity and diversity of women's historical experiences and cast new light on the early history of the Chinese in Canada. Ikebuchi's monograph is a rigorous academic study of the Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, while Wong's book is a work of creative non-fiction. *From Slave Girls to Salvation* sets out to investigate the collective and multi-faceted experience of the four hundred or so women who spent time in the Chinese Rescue Home, while *A Cowherd in Paradise* follows one family's experience. As their titles indicate, both books address a persistent and formulaic trope in Canadian immigration narratives that is characterized by the dual stories of an "old" life that is left behind for a "new" and better life. But where Wong's story reinforces the celebratory narrative of immigration, Ikebuchi's findings challenge this convention.

Written from a postcolonial and feminist perspective, *From Slave Girls to Salvation* examines the reform efforts of the Methodist Women's Missionary Society through Victoria's Chinese Rescue Home. Ikebuchi's analysis is primarily concerned with the white women who managed the Home as well as the physical space of the Home itself. It is not, she concedes, a history of the women of colour who lived there. The book covers four main events: the transfer of management of the Home to the Methodist Women's Missionary

society in 1887-88; the construction of a new Home building in 1908; two related court cases pertaining to the Home that occurred between 1886 and 1888; and four habeas corpus cases in which the Home was involved between 1893 and 1900 and that were used to claim child custody.

Reformers established the Home in 1886 to “rescue” Chinese women from prostitution, teach them domestic skills and Christian values, and transform them into wives, domestic servants, and missionaries. Much of Ikebuchi’s analysis rests on her interpretation of “domesticity” and the centrality of this concept to gender roles and racial identities. Here, “domesticity” refers not only to the familial home and private sphere but also (and at the same time) to the nation, where “domestic,” in contrast to “foreign,” implies belonging and citizenship. Ikebuchi situates the Home as a space where the domestic and the public/foreign came together in often contradictory ways. The Home was a residence as well as an institution. It was located in Canada, but it housed bodies that were perceived to be foreign to the nation. The women who ran the Home promoted Christian values of family and sisterhood, but they also maintained Victorian notions of the immutability of racial difference. Because of this ambiguity, Home women were able to challenge gender and racial norms. Through the Home, white women’s moral authority was extended beyond the private sphere, while women of colour were able to claim better treatment within marriages and opportunities for work and education.

From Slave Girls to Salvation reads much like a dissertation. It is often theoretically dense and sometimes lacking in historical context and a sense of chronological narrative. Regardless, in this case study, Ikebuchi has done a commendable job of highlighting

the intersectionality of gender, race, and religion. Considering the virulent anti-Asian sentiment, racism, and exclusionary practices and policies that were predominant in British Columbia during this period, the Home was exceptional in its emphasis on cross-racial contact and in its efforts to protect, care for, and assimilate non-white women. Even more striking is the notion of racial inclusion that comes out of this analysis. Discussion about immigration remains controversial and still elicits racialized responses from the government, the media, and the Canadian public. Problematizing racial inclusion, as Ikebuchi does, offers a way to better understand some of these contemporary issues. While Ikebuchi’s work does not give a voice to the Chinese women who came to British Columbia in the early years of settlement, it does provide a clear sense of the challenges and limitations that inevitably shaped their lives.

Ikebuchi’s silence on the lived experiences of Chinese women is the result of a lack of archival sources, a long-standing problem with histories of marginalized peoples. Still, voices of Chinese women do emerge when small claims to privilege, attained through literacy and/or advancement in social class, allow. In *A Cowherd in Paradise*, May Wong provides one such voice with her intimate reading of her own family history, which she derives from personal interviews and memoirs. Wong’s novel follows the life of her parents through the course of the twentieth century, focusing primarily on their period of separation from the 1920s until the 1950s and the equally long process of reconciliation that followed. The story ends in 2007, with the fulfillment of a lifelong, multigenerational dream that the family be united in Canada – almost twenty-five years after her father’s death. The BC content in this book is minimal.

Her grandfather spent most of his life working in Canada in the late nineteenth century, but Wong has little more than this to offer regarding his experiences as a “Gold Mountain Man.” His son, Wong’s father, worked in the fishing and logging industry in British Columbia in the 1920s, but the stories in this novel are primarily set in Montreal, where he settled in the 1930s. Nonetheless, Wong’s rich account of the lives of the wives, daughters, and mothers of Gold Mountain Men has something to contribute to a part of British Columbia’s history that is often neglected because it did not occur on Canadian soil. *A Cowherd in Paradise* provides an honest and sustained description of the experiences of “Chinese Canadian” women like her mother and grandmother, whose lives occupied two disparate worlds. As this story demonstrates, women, even in their absence, were one driving motivation that brought Chinese men to Canada and kept them working here despite racism and prejudice.

The story of a family kept apart because of racist immigration policies, *A Cowherd in Paradise* ends with the victory of citizenship. In her account, Wong’s family “overcame” racial discrimination to achieve success as Canadians. In contrast, Ikebuchi’s more subtle reading shows that, in order to find acceptance within the Canadian nation, Chinese, Japanese, and mixed-race women were detained, trained, and re-educated in ways that reproduced and reinforced racial hierarchies. Still, *A Cowherd in Paradise* is not strictly a story of the triumph of immigration: it also tells of exclusion, separation, and prejudice. In the same way, *From Slave Girls to Salvation* affirms white privilege, but it is also about a space where cross-racial contact was encouraged and benefited both white women and women of colour. In both these works we find a

more realistic interpretation of Canadian immigration history than what is offered by the duality of old life versus new life, and both books acknowledge the diverse experiences of Chinese women as well as the challenges of inclusion within a fundamentally racialized nation.

Canadian State Trials, Volume 4

Barry Wright, Eric Tucker, and Susan Binnie, editors

Toronto: University of Toronto Press (Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History), 2015.
544 pp. \$80.00 cloth.

SCOTT EATON

Simon Fraser University

THE FOURTH volume of the Osgoode Society’s *Canadian State Trials* is a critical analysis of the powers, both theoretical and practical, of Canada’s judiciary and political executive, and how Canadian state officials used such powers to react to real and perceived security risks in the years between the First World War and the Second World War. The book’s twelve chapters present well-researched scholarship on a number of pivotal Canadian legal cases and reveal much about the state’s inventive and heavy-handed approach to repressing both the individuals and the groups it perceived as threats to its supremacy. Bodhan Kordan, for instance, convincingly argues that state legislation – such as the “15 August 1914 Proclamation Respecting Immigrants of German or Austro-Hungarian Nationality” and Order-in-Council PC 2721 (the War Measures Act) – though framed around a false ethnic dichotomy and enacted to intern enemy aliens during

the First World War, also worked as an expedient solution to dealing with the country's foreign-born destitute. Peter McDermott's observation that "the use of forced labour [within internment camps] was certainly not in accord with imperial policy, and not within the spirit of the Hague Convention" (89) substantiates Kordan's point, and Jonathan Swainger confirms that, in sedition cases, the courts were willing to protect individual rights to hold socialist views but were ultimately worried about the effect that socialist *agitation* might have on class relations.

For all of its strengths, the collection is not wholly representative of Canada's diverse populace. While the book's Foreword claims that "all regions of the country are covered," this is perhaps misleading: no chapter explores Yukon or the Northwest Territories. Furthermore, while there is a strong focus on the relationship between Canada's judicial processes and the country's radicals, as well as ethnic and religious minorities, there is no such analysis regarding the country's Aboriginal, black, or – with the exception of Andrée Lévesque's consideration of the trial of Jeanne Corbin – female populations. Recent studies evaluating these relationships do exist: Barrington Walker's *Race on Trial: Black Defendants in Ontario's Criminal Courts, 1858-1958* (2010) and Shelley Gavigan's *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men: Criminal Law on the Aboriginal Plains, 1870-1905* (2012) are two pertinent examples. Accordingly, the decision not to include such research is disappointing.

On another note, most of the chapters employ a top-down analysis and largely ignore the agency of the repressed. There are a few exceptions. David Frank offers some analysis as to why J.B. McLachlan – the infamous communist and Cape Breton labour leader – appeared so

reserved during his trial, and John McLaren offers an exceptional analysis of Doukhobor leader Peter Petrovich Veregin's resistance to state attempts to deport him from Canada. Still, as McLaren himself admits, although Veregin was an undesirable minority, his large personal fortune made his case something of an anomaly. The tactics and actions of repressed Canadians in this collection are revealed in passing glances rather than in a protracted gaze that would add to the broader historiography.

Still, Volume 4 of *Canadian State Trials* is a superb structural analysis of how Canada's courts were, and can be, used as state instruments of tyranny. It presents a number of fascinating and valuable questions, such as: "Are the political executive and the judiciary *truly* separate branches of government?" and "What rhetoric does the state employ in justifying the curtailing of civil liberties?" and "How do courtroom rules and processes advantage or disadvantage different categories of Canadians?" This book will be useful to scholars of history, political science, and legal studies. And, in the wake of Bill C-51, it might also generate provocative discussions regarding impending actions of the federal government's Department of Public Safety. Readers, however, may feel that important voices have regrettably been silenced.



*Maritime Command Pacific:
The Royal Canadian Navy's
West Coast Fleet in the Early
Cold War*

David Zimmerman

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.
206 pp. \$95.00 cloth.

JAN DRENT
Victoria

THIS WELCOME new study concerns the operations of Canada's west coast fleet in the two decades after the Second World War. Soon after 1945, defence policy came to be dominated by Canada's contributions to NATO force planning, with a heavy focus on preparations to defend Western Europe in a crisis. The roles and missions of forces on the Pacific were overshadowed in this Atlantic-centric planning climate. David Zimmerman sets out to demonstrate that the Pacific Fleet – termed the "Yacht Squadron" by the east coast navy – was in fact busy training under national and alliance plans to maintain a high standard of operational readiness between 1945 and 1965. He also shows that planning with the United States for regional defence, which had its origins in the Second World War, resulted in close and sustained operational relationships with American forces on the Pacific coast.

Zimmerman's background as a seasoned military historian and faculty member at the University of Victoria makes this an authoritative study. *Maritime Command Pacific* is based on an extensive study of operational records in Library and Archives Canada. Zimmerman has also drawn on the small body of academic studies, some by his own graduate students, that examines various aspects of the postwar

Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). This book concerns operational activity over two decades; it does not attempt to cover the oceanographic and other research conducted by defence scientists on the west coast, the economic impact of maintaining the RCN on the west coast, or the social and economic impacts of the naval and civilian support communities on Greater Victoria. It does trace how naval personnel shortages over the years preoccupied senior officers who devised measures to overcome them.

Largely chronological, the narrative follows operations and defence planning changes through official correspondence. Zimmerman shines light on three little-known episodes. The first was the demand placed on local staff as demobilization shrank the wartime RCN by 83 percent in under a year. The second was the presence of Japanese mines along British Columbia's long and largely uninhabited coast from 1945 until the early 1950s. These anti-ship mines had broken from their moorings in the western Pacific and were carried east by ocean currents – indeed, they were precursors to the debris that arrived after the Fukushima disaster in 2011. These drifting mines would be an unwelcome problem in the immediate postwar years, necessitating regular mine patrols to follow up on reports from fishers and others. A handful of mines was destroyed by naval teams; the last event, in 1952 southeast of Prince Rupert, resulted in the death of the demolitions officer and the wounding of a petty officer. Zimmerman's third striking item of fresh information concerns how west coast destroyer escorts and frigates were deployed during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962.

Grounded in official reports, this volume inevitably reflects contemporary institutional thinking. Zimmerman meticulously records successive exercises and the evolution of joint defence plans

with the United States – for example, the emergence of what is known as “strategic ASW” (antisubmarine warfare) to counter Soviet missile-carrying submarines that could target North America. Zimmerman covers a range of issues, contemporary concerns, and oversights – for example, in June 1962, the frigate HMCS *Stettler* sailed hurriedly to investigate a Soviet trawler, rumoured to be on an electronic intelligence-gathering mission, operating near a US submarine exercising off Cape Flattery. Embarrassingly, *Stettler* was deployed without a camera and crew members were asked to take photos, which proved unsatisfactory.

Maritime Command Pacific was initiated as part of the baseline research to support a future official history of the RCN between 1945 and 1965. It is one of a series of studies in Canadian military history published by UBC Press in conjunction with the Canadian War Museum. Rich in detail, this is an authoritative account of the operations undertaken by west coast warships (and to a lesser extent by RCAF Maritime Patrol aircraft) in these years. While the text covers operations on the west coast, it also serves as a useful description of how Canada’s maritime forces operate in peacetime. A useful list of abbreviations enables the reader to decode the book’s many contemporary acronyms. The illustrations are well chosen and there is a useful and clear map of the Canadian area of responsibility under allied plans. The text is supported by good endnotes and a helpful description of relevant academic work. While the narrative ends in 1965, a final chapter sketches developments up to 2014. This is a nicely produced book, but the shocking price – ninety-five dollars for a slim 165-page narrative – might mean that it finds its way only into better academic libraries.

*Wake-Up Call: Tales from a
Frontier Doctor*

Sterling Haynes

Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin Press, 2010.
160 pp. \$19.95 paper.

*The Doc’s Side: Tales of a
Sunshine Coast Doctor*

Eric J. Paetkau

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing,
2011. 224 pp. \$19.95 paper.

*House Calls by Float Plane:
Stories of a West Coast Doctor*

Alan Swan

Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing,
2013. 224 pp. \$24.95 paper.

MEGAN J. DAVIES

York University

THE SMALL STACK of books reviewed here are all doctors’ memoirs of practices centred primarily in remote or rural regions of British Columbia in the 1960s through the 1970s. Clearly, they are not academic works, but are they of use to the medical historian or to the BC historian? And what value are they as pieces of public history?

Shared themes regarding rural and remote medicine will be appreciated by those with scholarly or experiential knowledge of health delivery in such locations, particularly in earlier times, when communication was limited. Each author describes the challenges of reaching the injured or ill, the difficulties of transporting the very sick to hospital, and the recourse to improvisation when the appropriate medicine or equipment was unavailable. They recount the fluidity

of professional roles as rural doctor becomes dentist and then veterinarian. Stories of catastrophic injury are also common. In *House Calls by Float Plane*, Alan Swan intertwaves horrific details of the 1956 death of two loggers working with defective equipment on a steep slope near Jervis Inlet with memories of his logging party antics with one of the deceased men and a description of the emotional intensity of his packed memorial service. I cannot think of a better illustration of what a good local history can deliver than that passage (53-56).

These books recount medical practice in the early years of Medicare, enacted by three men who were educated in post-Second World War urban medical institutions but who worked in locales where medical conditions fell far short of what their training had led them to understand was required. One amusing story from Sterling Haynes's book relates how an iron lung was sent to the Cariboo region's tiny Alexis Creek Hospital by English philanthropist Lord Nuffield. The town had no electricity, and so the machine became a handy repository for misplaced mittens, boots, and long underwear (57-58). Motifs of backwoods masculinity and the "good woman" (nurse, mother, teacher) are indelibly imprinted on the pages of these books, though we catch only glimpses of their often-truncated lives and the emotional and logistical obstacles faced by local women.

These topics should make each of these books an interesting read, but Haynes's *Wake-Up Call*, which covers the Cariboo, Kamloops, and Vancouver, along with some non-BC locales, is poorly written and ill-conceived. Indeed, it is the kind of quickly composed lay history that relies on stereotypes and gives such books a bad reputation. I cannot recommend it. However, Swan and Paetkau are talented storytellers, and because they shared

a congenial Sunshine Coast practice through key decades of change, their books stand as good popular histories that are also fascinating to read as a pair. For instance, both men describe their promising practice model, which allowed them to spend every fifth year upgrading their skills, a move that simultaneously fostered a higher level of local professional expertise and allowed for a break from the rigours of rural medicine. Given Swan's evident difficulties managing the emotional stress of work – which is sensitively covered in both books, and which is another feature of practising medicine in remote regions – these five-year breaks seem a particularly sensible way of balancing the hardships of rural medical practice.

As a BC health historian with an interest in remote regions, I appreciated how the conjoined narratives of the two doctors allowed the reader to understand the local and the particular as part of broad socio-economic shifts that coastal areas faced in these postwar decades. For example, the difficult mid-1960s political decision to abandon the old Columbia Coast Mission Hospital at Garden Bay, which had been built and sustained by local citizens for thirty-five years, for a modern hospital forty-five kilometres south in Sechelt, was both a response to higher medical expectations and a reflection of a shifting settler population and the vanishing world of logging camp life and up-coast communities. Paetkau's chapter on the complex finances of running a remote medical practice in the early 1960s would be useful reading for any medical historian or health policy analyst interested in physicians and the transition to Medicare. This is a rare and important missive from the front lines of medical change.

While I am critical of Haynes's effort, I consider Paetkau's and Swan's books to be engaging reading for the general

public and valuable volumes of local history. However, there is an important “public” element of remote regions of the province that is either misrepresented or absent in these three books: Indigenous peoples. As a keen knitter, I noticed that Swan, in his well-illustrated volume, works his way through a couple of generations of Cowichan sweaters, yet I searched in vain for stories about the First Nations citizens of the many Indigenous communities with whom he worked. Recounting his first arrival on the Sunshine Coast in 1959, Paetkau mentions driving past St. Augustine’s Indian Residential School; he tells us that he received twenty-five dollars from the federal government for delivering a First Nations baby and that the Sechelt Band donated eleven acres of land for the new hospital in 1961. But I could find only *one* reference to a specific Indigenous person in his narrative. Haynes’s liberal use of the word “Indian” is particularly egregious in 2016. Despite the plethora of character sketches littered throughout these books, Indigenous peoples are rarely given individual identities or personal characteristics; instead, they are presented as entities with a collective character – stoic, untrustworthy, indifferent parents or neglected children (*Wake-Up Call*); wise grandmothers, intuitive, unsophisticated, uneducated, stoic, generous, kind (*House Calls*); poor money managers (*The Doc’s Side*).

Ours is a storied world, and when the doctors of the Sunshine Coast and some of their books’ male characters met each week for lunch post-retirement, as depicted in a delightful image in *The Doc’s Side* (169), their retrospective conversations would have given meaning and order to their working lives. But when Swan’s and Paetkau’s life stories became books, they also became public history, and the casual racism they exhibit is now open to a wide readership and public

scrutiny. For me, reviewing these two interesting books became a reflection on how we might, and must in the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, craft local histories that do not privilege the perspectives of certain residents and obscure and “other” discordant or different narratives. My second-year university lecture on Indigenous health includes a tale of cross-cultural collaboration shared by an old friend, RN Moira Coady, whose youthful face shines out from page 171 of Swan’s narrative of his work in Telegraph Creek and other northern BC communities in the late 1970s. Before Coady came to the coast, she worked in Snowdrift (now Lutselk’e), Northwest Territories. New to the challenges of northern nursing, and faced with a complicated birth in the middle of an April snowstorm, Coady used the nursing station oven as an incubator and called on the community for assistance: baby and mother were saved with help from “an old lady whose parka was covered in blood [she had been skinning an animal], who put down the cigarette she was smoking and started to puff into the baby” (personal communication, Moira Coady, 2005).

This is a classic tale of medical improvisation in a remote locale, and students love the “baby-in-the-oven” piece, but I tell it because this oral history disrupts established narratives about medical knowledge and professional practice. We need to be doing the same with BC local histories, revisiting and revising our stories to add new meanings, holding memories that no longer make sense up to the light and looking at them without flinching, accepting the kind of non-linear chaotic narratives that leave local heroes and stereotypes in the dust, and always building towards a history that is not just about our past but also about our present and our future. And “our” needs to encompass everyone.

*The Literary Storefront:
The Glory Years – Vancouver's
Literary Centre, 1978–1985*

Trevor Carolan

Salt Spring Island: Mother Tongue
Publishing, 2015. 252 pp. \$29.95
paper.

NICHOLAS BRADLEY
University of Victoria

FEW BOOKSTORES figure prominently in modern literary history. Shakespeare and Company in Paris, once frequented by Joyce, Stein, Fitzgerald, and Hemingway, and City Lights in San Francisco, made famous by Ginsberg and Kerouac, are shrines for bookish pilgrims. But Vancouver's Literary Storefront, established in imitation of such venerable stores, was in its heyday relatively obscure, and, unlike Munro's Books of Victoria, which shares in the glory reflected by Alice Munro's Nobel Prize, today it exists only in memory. In *The Literary Storefront* Trevor Carolan recounts the short history of what he terms "Vancouver's first grassroots literary centre" (12), its "bohemian consular centre" (13), and "a society of friends" (13): the Storefront was significant not for commercial reasons but as a venue for literary performance, administration, and carousal. Founded by the young poet Mona Fertig, it operated from 1978 until 1985 and was first located at 131 Water Street in Gastown. As the book's numerous photographs show, Vancouver before Expo '86 was a different world, a smaller and less cosmopolitan city than it is now. In her Foreword, Jean Barman observes that, in Vancouver during the early twentieth century, "to be 'literary' was to head elsewhere or, for the select few, almost

wholly men, who were admitted into its ranks, to acquiesce to the closed world of the University of British Columbia" (8). A perceived division between UBC and "Downtown" persisted for decades. As an undistinguished author in Vancouver, Al Purdy found the campus at Point Grey culturally and geographically remote; he imagined Earle Birney, poet and professor of English, to be sequestered in academe, as though Acadia Camp might be mistaken for the Bodleian.

An essentially anecdotal work, *The Literary Storefront* draws on writers' correspondence and interviews conducted by Carolan, who notes that his "book of oral history and archival research" (11) is intended to "serve as a necessary archival document for students of BC's literary history" (12). The volume is impressively detailed: Carolan, it seems, mentions every writer to have passed through Vancouver in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Many of their names will be familiar to specialists in Canadian literature, yet most of them have never graced the pages of *The New Yorker*. Margaret Atwood, Margaret Laurence, and Michael Ondaatje appear, but Carolan focuses on unsung characters, Fertig foremost among them. *The Literary Storefront* thus suggests not only the diversity of Canadian literature but also the inherent difficulty of narrating the past comprehensively. At times Carolan is distinctly sanguine, describing the Storefront's milieu, for instance, as a kind of Canadian North Beach: "Working-class, shake and shimmy, down at heel, creative and cheap, the Gastown-Downtown Eastside district was a natural magnet for the young and artistic with a dream, and for outsiders of every social hue" (18). And on occasion authors are portrayed in somewhat simple terms. Birney, who in 1978 gave one of the first readings at the Storefront, is "the

dean of Canadian poetry” (56), Purdy is “a huge colloquial worker poet with a voice to wake the dead” (93), Robin Skelton is a “celebrated poet-witch” (75). But Carolan’s enthusiasm propels the narrative. A champion of the local literary sphere, he has produced with *The Literary Storefront*, as he did with *Making Waves: Reading BC and Pacific Northwest Literature* (2010), an important addition to the record of the province’s literary culture. A certain wistfulness accompanies his verve; it is hard to leaf through *The Literary Storefront* without experiencing nostalgia for a time before Amazon. Carolan demonstrates that one version of the writing life has disappeared, and his book is all the more valuable for its evocation of another time and another city.

*Around the World on Minimum
Wage: An Account of a
Pilgrimage I Once Made to
Tibet by Mistake*
Andrew Struthers

Vancouver: New Star Books, 2014.
304 pp. \$24.00 paper.

HOWARD STEWART
Denman Island

ANDREW STRUTHERS self-identifies as “L’Étranger” of the “F___ book™” age and I’m prepared to believe him, though I’m not sure how Camus might see it. For that matter, what would Camus make of F___ book™? Struthers, however, nails it: F___book™ is a “virtual panopticon,” a perfect prison where no one escapes the jailer’s scrutiny. Unlike Jeremy Bentham’s vision, however, today’s inmates keep watch over each other,

ensuring that all feel observed, even when they’re not. But I digress, and this little nugget is where Struthers ends his book. I mention it only as an example of the eclectic trove of valuable jewels strewn along the reader’s path, a head-spinning kaleidoscope of similes and other (often mind-bending) images throughout the book. So many, in fact, that the author should never have managed to get away with it. But somehow, he has, *haut la main*, even if he has surely become *persona non grata* in Wales.

It took me a long time to get into this book. Not because it isn’t engaging – it was one of the most rewarding reads I have had in a long time. I just couldn’t see the *BC Studies* connection. Struthers begins mostly with his in-laws and others on Tofino’s Chesterman Beach, and I suppose that’s why *BC Studies* was interested. The promised journey around the world eventually takes us to Struthers’s native Britain, then Japan, where he and his Guinevere teach English (for much better than minimum wage) and on through China to the Tibet, Nepal, and India of the 1980s. But long before he got on the plane, I was hooked on his manic stream of the sublime – the sublimely ridiculous and much that lies strewn somewhere between the two (especially the delightful graphics) – which eludes classification.

What genre does *Around the World* fit into? None that I can think of. It is something of a hybrid spawned of *Gulliver’s Travels*; William Kotwinkle’s classic, *The Fan Man*; and *National Lampoon* magazine. One reason that it took me so long to review – I missed my *BC Studies* deadline for the first time – was that reading this book was like being force-fed kilos of *Schwartzwaelder Kirschtorte*. And the fare gets richer when Struthers comes ashore in the mysterious east, in search of coverings for the Great

Wall of his mind, first among the giant babies of Japan, a place “as matriarchal as a barbershop quartet,” then among the seamy feudal Buddhists of Tibet, where the air is “thinner than a Welshman’s smile” and old men gape at him when he speaks, “as if they’d seen a talking horse.” Finally, there are the hashish-driven excesses of his descent down the south face of the Himalayas, where he is almost carried away by the bloody flux. Part of the challenge in trying to digest this tome is Struthers’s endless, seemingly effortless, cryptic erudition. Matthias Rust, the young German amateur pilot, who landed his little plane in Red Square is “as despondent as [Goethe’s] Young Werther,” as inept and lacking in sense as Wilson (Woodrow, I think). Such flourishes – I can’t even remember how we got sidetracked to Matthias Rust in Moscow – probably help explain why it took Struthers thirty years to get it all down. We’re lucky he persevered, as *Around the World on Minimum Wage* is bound to be an important contribution to this genre, once defined.

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A Sense of Place: Art at Vancouver International Airport

Robin Laurence

Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishers,
 2015. 128 pp. \$24.95 paper.

MARIA TIPPETT

Cambridge University

IN 1958, DURING the postwar building boom, the federal government decided to devote 1 percent of airport construction costs to artwork. Within a few years the facades and foyers of airports from Gander, Newfoundland, to Vancouver were enlivened with bas-reliefs and free-standing sculptures; with paintings and murals. Vancouver-born sculptor Robert Murray and painter Jack Shadbolt were among the artists who received commissions. But there was a problem: their largely abstract work had a mixed reception. In fact, Robert Murray’s sculpture *Cumbria* (1966–67) caused such public dissent that it had to be removed from Vancouver’s airport; it is now on display at UBC.

In the early 1990s, Canada’s airports experienced another building boom and airport management structure changed. Private airport authorities rather than the Department of Transport were now responsible for running the country’s airports – and commissioning works of art. And this is where Robin Laurence begins her story in *A Sense of Place: Art at Vancouver International Airport*.

In 1992, the newly established Vancouver Airport Authority (VAA) announced that it had a mission: to celebrate the natural beauty and the cultural heritage of the province through the work of largely First Nations artists. The decision to acquire Native, rather than non-Native, modernist works averted public criticism; it also allowed

the VAA to acquire an outstanding collection that will always be on public view rather than hidden in the vaults of an art gallery.

The VAA built its collection of Native art in various ways. Most of it was commissioned directly from artists who produced their work for specific locations in the airport. Other pieces, like Nuu-chah-nulth artist Joe David's two *Welcome Figures*, which had greeted visitors to British Columbia's pavilion at Expo '86, were taken out of storage at the Museum of Vancouver and installed in the International Terminal Building. The VAA's most famous piece, Bill Reid's six-ton *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* – also known as *The Black Canoe* (1996) – was originally commissioned for the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC. Four years after the casting of this work, Reid oversaw the casting of a second version for the Vancouver International Airport. Renamed *The Jade Canoe*, the VAA paid Reid a handsome \$3 million for the sculpture.

Robin Laurence is not interested in the intricacies of how works were commissioned or even how the artists made them. What she does do – and does splendidly – is celebrate a small number of works in the collection. I came away from *A Sense of Place* in full admiration of the range of work that has been commissioned: from paddles, to spindle whorls, to canoes, to masks, to the silver-coloured fish that make up the three giant herring balls. I was fascinated to see how Haida-Métis artist Don Yeomans interwove European – the Celtic Knot – and Asian-Chinese characters-motifs into his red cedar totem pole *Celebrating Flight* (2007). And how five Coast Salish women – Krista Point, Robyn Sparrow, Debra Sparrow, Gina Grant, and Helen Callbreath – designed, and then wove, sheep's wool into four-metre-long hangings.

I also left what is essentially a coffee-table book wanting to know so much more. Had working on such a large scale been difficult and what impact has it had on the artists' subsequent work? What were the challenges of putting Indigenous works of art into a sterile airport terminal? And can we really appreciate these works out of context? I think that Robin Laurence has convinced us that the answer to this question is a resounding yes!

Vancouver Vanishes: Narratives of Demolition and Revival

Caroline Adderson, editor

Vancouver: Anvil Press, 2015.
160 pp. \$32.95 paper.

RHODRI WINDSOR LISCOMBE
University of British Columbia

THE COVER AND larger-format pages of this handsomely produced book are drear images of demolition in the older inner suburbs of Vancouver. An array of these is pictured on the back cover, rather in the manner of a high school yearbook of graduates, while inside are images of their demise and suggestions of the former civic scenery and social pattern of Vancouver as a provincial town as opposed to as a nascent world city. These photographs register perhaps more strongly than those showing erstwhile interior and owner. Interspersed with engaging accounts, historical and experiential, the contents constitute a fabric of loss and a nostalgia for an apparently more gracious and now lost urbanscape and society. The narrative is compelling for those who have lived in Vancouver since before the advent of Expo '86. That spectacle came into being on the skirts

of the Thatcher-Reagan deregulation of global enterprise and hastened the transformation of Terminal City into a compounding suburb of the Asias. Crumpets and tea, as it were, having been displaced by a spicy menu of profit and excess nicely manifested by accelerating downtown density and oversized house construction, much of it not regularly occupied.

The book is thus a valedictory for a passing way of living in a particular place. These fated, and generally quite ordinary, houses are commemorated here in the life-narrative of the authors and in editor Caroline Adderson's dismay at their rampant destruction. She began her resistance through the more immediate discourse of social media. Some of its immediacy carries into her opening chapter, prefaced by Michael Kluckner's astute Introduction, which probes, among the causes of rapid redevelopment, the victims featured in his *Vanishing Vancouver* (2012). Adderson begins the narratology of once affordable Vancouver domesticity with the happier fate of two simplified Tudor-styled houses that escaped demolition through relocation. A sympathetic building contractor, prepared to accept more ergonomic than boastful living quarters, enabled their generally more sustainable renovation in a new but not far distant site. Our animation of the inert material artefacts of our existence is indicated by their being colloquially dubbed "the Dorothies." The anthropomorphic tenor of residence, whether of specific domicile or local scene, unites the variety of contributions: from the more historical chapters by John Atkin (justly celebrated for his tours of the city's many districts) on Vancouver's growth or Eve Lazarus's paean to potential heritage lost through the pressure (sometimes criminal, as in the case of the Englesea Lodge on the fringe of Stanley Park) to poems by

Evelyn Lau and Bren Summers on the unremarked or private pathos entangled in the redevelopment of neighbourhood. John Mackie, Kerry Gold, Elise and Stephen Partridge, together with photographs by Tracey Ayton, and by Adderson in two other contributions, unsentimentally evoke the lost lives of both houses and occupants.

Yet, when this reviewer was preparing an exhibition for the Canadian Centre for Architecture on a less popular era of built heritage – namely, post-1945 modernism – a different viewpoint was voiced in perambulatory conversation along Burrard Street. While pondering the onset of rapid downtown reconstruction, as outlined by Atkin in this book, architect Ned Pratt averred to his peer Moshe Safdie: "All architecture is demolition!" This stands as an intriguing comment by a victim of the volatility of capital, which, as much as aesthetics or ideology, fashions the architecture – and absence thereof – moulding our everyday environs. For architecture and its overweight cousin, mere development, is as temporally as it is socially constituted. It is an outcome of contemporary regimes of investment and ownership and profit that, except in Indigenous culture, imbue real estate. Here it might be noted that Donald Gutstein casts a particularly lucid and prescient light on an earlier phase in the city's development industry in *Vancouver Ltd.* (1975) and that, in 2012, I contributed two studies of advertising, commodification, and modernist urbanism in Vancouver. In our time, real estate is a performance of status, secular faith in the future, and seething discontent. In Vancouver, the latter currently revolves around issues of absentee ownership, money laundering, and tax evasion – somewhat unfairly only directed against wealthy Mainland Chinese purchasers (most nationalities,

including the United States and Russia, are represented).

There is, too, a deeper timeliness, or timefulness, about architecture. Even suburban tract housing makes a play at time's conquest. However shoddy those houses – including the modest Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation house types devised for returning veterans, which are among the carnage illustrated in *Vancouver Vanishes* – they sought to accommodate and persist across at least a generation. These were instruments of the policy, building practice, and the usual attitude of their times – when a family of between four and six did not require thousands of square feet or innumerable lavatory facilities to survive the daily round. Even those utilitarian domiciles denoted the conceptualizing of time's dominion through construction, and the edifices of High-style architecture have ever embodied claims, religious and dynastic, to defy time's depredation and human hubris.

Does such preceding speculation about the mental and material combat of decay (architectural *Thanatos*) relate to the disappearance of housing stock in the middle-class enclaves of a burgeoning metropolis? Yes; and not just locally or regionally. And here the critical purview of *Vancouver Vanishes* could be faulted as being too parochial, a feature of much architectural history as well as current ideation of heritage policy. The main iconographic motifs of the majority of demolished houses featured here derive from the Tudor Gothic Revival and Arts and Crafts idioms of late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Thus, the nostalgia coursing through the pages of *Vancouver Vanishes* is for an earlier phase in the eradication, or alienation, of an established environment. Despite the village cosiness of the Arts and Crafts especially – a concoction of

Norman Shaw, C.F.A. Voysey, William Morris, Edwin Lutyens, and landscapist Gertrude Jekyll – this earlier phase is as indelibly stamped with Imperialist triumphalism as the admixture of Ancient with Baroque Classicism (Wrenaissance) in, for example, the Prairie provincial legislatures. Those Crafts and Classical architectonic languages of alienation and imposition transformed the landscape of Canada, particularly at Terminal City, quite as much as has the more recent influx of offshore wealth. The earlier phase of building settler Vancouver was traumatic for First Nations communities and for the environment. The impact on individual lives and their domicile around the current Stanley Park is the sad refrain of Jean Barman's *Stanley Park's Secret* (2005). The flow of money, people, and ideas was formerly westward by railway to Terminus Vancouver; now, and for the foreseeable future, it originates eastward. Consequently, the poignancy of places of past living lost, documented in *Vancouver Vanishes*, belongs in a larger topography of conflicted cultural economy.

Time's passing nonetheless imposes a duty upon each generation to account for change. While history, as an analytic of occurrence, seldom attains greater precision than the reflections of uncut gemstones, its methods enable understanding of change. Adderson begins that process of comprehending the single constituents of multiple and radical reconfiguration of Vancouver with an engaging, indeed touching, narration of her dismay at the demolition of often perfectly habitable and generally well-landscaped homes. That weave of melancholy and cogency distinguishes each contribution to *Vancouver Vanishes* and adds dimension to the more traditionally framed histories of architecture building in western Canada by scholars like Donald Luxton

(2007) and Harold Kalman et al. (2012). Their writings, while reflecting the sentiment of loss coursing through Kluckner's Introduction, are evocative but not sentimental. For, despite the above comments about architectural style in relation to political reality, the many forlorn piles of rubble in this book and our daily observation reveal profound matters of policy, particularly with respect to the broader structure of social justice. Moreover, *Vancouver Vanishes* confirms the relevance of the experiential dimension in assembling a stable historical construct. The lives of houses, to paraphrase the title of Adderson's closing chapter, recount not only the experience of inhabitants but also the larger architecture of the times.

One last Parthian shot about the underlying issue of how we understand and enact heritage. This book underscores the orphan nature of heritage in Canada and its tendency still to hierarchize particular period production. The movement was begun in Canada by two architects, Ramsay Traquair at McGill and Eric Arthur at the University of Toronto, who favoured and thankfully helped preserve the regional colonial architecture of settler society. Arthur went on to encourage greater respect for modernist design, the often-sorry fate of which merits inclusion in *Vancouver Vanishes*. However, instead of irritating contestation about what is to be conserved to commemorate our evolving built patrimony, let this book stand as testimony to the depressing disinterest in all levels of government in Canada to heritage action, not mere heritage rhetoric. The architectural past, as much as the aging population, needs dedicated funding if it is to remain part of quotidian experience and enjoyment.

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*Spirits of the Rockies:
Reasserting an Indigenous
Presence in Banff National Park*
Courtney Mason

Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 2014. 195 pp. \$27.95 paper.

JONATHAN CLAPPERTON
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THE HISTORY of Indigenous peoples and parks – notably the former's exclusion from the latter – is a field of study that has blossomed over the past two decades. Courtney Mason's *Spirits of the Rockies: Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park* adds to this literature by focusing specifically on the Banff-Bow Valley region. The book's title is slightly misleading because the work is primarily about

reasserting a specifically Nakoda (Stoney) history in the region; other, neighbouring Indigenous communities receive passing reference but are not extensively considered. Mason's intent is to restore Nakoda history to the dominant discourse of Banff National Park, from which it was often either excised entirely or severely truncated and emplotted within a settler colonial narrative, and to allow a more historically accurate narrative that includes Nakoda perspectives. Drawing heavily upon post-structuralist theorists, especially Foucault, and on postcolonial theory – frameworks that focus on power as a productive force rather than just as a repressive mechanism – Mason argues that popular and academic histories of Banff National Park have largely failed to recognize the previous and ongoing Indigenous presence in the Banff-Bow Valley region.

Mason's book consists of six chapters plus an introduction and a foreword. Chapters 2 through 6 are meant to centre "on the experiences of Nakoda peoples in their interactions with the colonial bureaucracy and later with tourism industries" (145-46). The analysis proceeds chronologically, beginning in Chapter 2 with Nakoda experiences in the second half of the nineteenth century, notably Treaty 7, before moving, in Chapter 3, to the creation of Rocky Mountains (Banff) National Park and the gradual curtailment of Nakoda activity beyond their reserves. Chapter 4 turns to the emergence of the tourist economy in the region and Nakoda participation therein, while Chapter 5 focuses specifically on Banff Indian Days.

While Mason writes that, in Chapter 1, he "establish[es] the theoretical lens that shape[s] [his] interpretations of local history and colonial contexts," (10) subsequent chapters are also infused with sophisticated theoretical discussions and

examples of similar historical processes and events regarding Indigenous peoples elsewhere. Engaging with a rich body of scholarship, Mason situates Nakoda experience within the broader North American context of Indigenous peoples and colonialism, tourism, and conservation and, at the same time, assesses the applicability of theoretical insights offered by Foucault and others to Aboriginal history. However, I would have liked, in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, to see more Nakoda (or other Indigenous) voices, drawn either from the interviews Mason conducted or from the archival records that he consulted. A similar point is raised in the book's Foreword by Rolland Rollinmud (Chiniki Nation) and Ian Getty (research director with the Stoney Nakoda Nation), who note that the application of theory interrupts the narrative flow (xii).

One of *Spirits of the Rockies'* contributions, and perhaps the most useful aspect of the book for those who study British Columbia – which forms the western boundary of Banff National Park – is that it is a product of long-term collaboration with the Nakoda. Mason's Introduction describes the process of building and maintaining relationships with the Nakoda community, and his Conclusion includes a thoughtful reflection on the implications of a Euro-Canadian male writing Aboriginal history. He also provides some Nakoda responses to this topic. Further, the Appendix describes how certain knowledge gained through personal interviews was excluded from the book in order to protect culturally and politically sensitive information. I resoundingly endorse Mason's call for academics working with Indigenous communities to establish collaborative relationships and to privilege their perspectives.

*Indigenous Women, Work, and
History, 1940-1980*

Mary Jane Logan McCallum

Winnipeg: University of Manitoba
Press, 2014. 336 pp. \$27.95 paper.

CAROL WILLIAMS

University of Lethbridge

HISTORIAN Patrick Wolfe has foregrounded the contradictory condition of Indigenous labour within Euro-American settlement by arguing that mythic narratives of settler diligence coexisted with a heavy reliance on colonized Indigenous labour. As he observes in “The Settler Complex,” settler schemes avoided revealing their “reliance on a population [they were] simultaneously seeking to eliminate.” Wolfe convincingly suggests that “Natives” were deemed unsuitable to settlement schemes even when they “remained in their own country.” Consequently, market reliance on Indigenous labour was backed by state imperatives to territorially dispossess or remove the people from their land at the same time as constructing Indian workers as “lazy, dishonest, and unreliable” (2). Once removed from their territory, Indians were reconceived by the state, and its bureaucracies, as good or suitable workers.

The *removal* of Indigenous people – whether from their own territory or into occupationally organized residential schools or, by the 1950s, into restrictive urban employment programs – grounds the concrete research that Mary Jane McCallum unfolds in her outstanding monograph, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940-1980*. McCallum deftly reveals a sequence of federal schemes and policies implemented to mobilize women’s labour. In these

decades, aggressive reform modalities endeavoured to “uplift” Indigenous workers from perceived deprivation and the absence of economic opportunity on reserves.

McCallum considers the reform and re-education doctrines and programs that targeted Indigenous women and argues that historians cannot underestimate the state’s impact on the condition and histories of Indigenous labour from 1940 to the 1980s, with “aboriginal women’s lives inescapably involved in modern labour that was highly regulated by the Canadian nation-state” (239). Following Wolfe, she shows that economic policy depended on Indigenous children being placed into residential schools and other educational schemes whose curricula aimed to recruit and confine women to occupations demanded by government and private markets.

Yet women, as McCallum counters, were not passive in the face of such imperatives. Training in feminine-specific occupations, including hairdressing, afforded self-sufficiency and sovereign-modern identities; and professional advocacy organizations emerged, such as the Aboriginal Nurses Association of Canada (ANAC, formed in 1975 from the Registered Nurses of Canadian Indian Ancestry, or RNCIA). Members of ANAC become “keen critics” of state-operated and “racist discriminatory health services,” including the federal Community Health Representatives Program, analyzed in Chapter 3 (228).

McCallum’s book is extraordinary in detail, breadth, and depth. Chapter 1, for example, examines domestic labour as a basic prerequisite of the assimilation of Indigenous women. In domestic capacities, women laboured in “federally-run, segregated Indian schools and hospitals and the homes of the non-local and mostly itinerant workforce of church and government officials” (23).

They also served in hotels and tourist resorts, non-Indian hospitals, and elder care facilities (24), while the “Ottawa Experiment” placed residential school students in private households, including those of prominent women such as Senator Cairine Wilson (49-50).

By the late 1950s, a widening range of bureaucrats participated in “broad efforts of surveillance of Native Labour” (65). Indian placement and relocation programs were transparently assimilative, with bureaucrats estimating that “permanent employment would facilitate Indian integration – and thus also equality within – Canadian society” (66). The Placement Program of 1957, supervised by Indian agents, Indian Health Services, missionaries, and school staff, was “the first organized national labour program and it sought to place First Nations people in permanent positions in urban areas” (67).

All four chapters are grounded in regional and federal sources that allow a critical intersection of topics such as Indigenous sovereignty, labour, empire, settler colonialism, gender, history, education, and assimilation. Yet the book is rooted in real events and showcases the organizational structures and federal labour programs experienced by Indigenous workers. As such it will be of interest to health practitioners and students of labour history, transnational women’s history, Canadian history, and Indigenous studies. In her concluding chapter, “The Wages of Whiteness and the Indigenous Historian,” McCallum discusses labour disparities in Canadian university history departments, reflects on the professional status and glaring absence of Indigenous historians in academia, and proposes a critical revision of historiographical methods and pedagogy in Indigenous and Canadian history.

While McCallum’s study is geographically specific to Manitoba and Ontario, the research is relevant to all provinces and regions because, as she reminds us, bureaucratic schemes to capture Indigenous women’s labour were governed by national agencies. McCallum is not preoccupied with any “single set of records” (14) but sustains her focus on anglophone women who were registered Indians. Some of the records deployed are from what Wolfe calls “settler-conceived bureaucracies” that generated “a colonial system of identification that aimed to integrate, segregate, and penalize aboriginal people” (14). Nonetheless women, many of whom self-identified as Indians, “eluded, avoided and/or resisted this system” (14). But McCallum is not overly reliant on government and health service records, many of which are inaccessible due to restrictions of confidentiality, and chooses instead to collaborate with leading professionals from public health and nursing associations who granted full access to records and offered rich qualitative data through a telling of their own experiences.

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*Maps and Memes: Redrawing
Culture, Place and Identity in
Indigenous Communities*

Gwilym Lucas Eades

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's
University Press, 2015. 264 pp. \$34.95 paper.

DANIEL CLAYTON

University of St Andrews

IN THIS INNOVATIVE and important book, Gwilym Eades, a geographer from Terrace, undertakes a kaleidoscopic investigation of the significance of maps, cartography, contemporary geo-coding technologies (GIS, GPS, and Google Earth), and questions of spatial cognition in understanding the challenges facing Indigenous cultures in northern Canada today. The originality of the book lies in the author's multifaceted approach to maps and what he terms "place-memes" as "holistic device[s] for preserving information about place through time, and [that] may be made up of multiple representations, including maps" (xix). The concept of "meme" comes from anthropology and evolutionary biology, and connotes both a store of cultural information and a vehicle for transmitting cultural ideas, symbols, and practices. Eades brings a spatial dimension to the concept, and the maps he has in mind can be linguistic or spatial, drawn or spoken, textual or visual, preserved or transient, quotidian or generational, represented or performed, and disembodied or embodied. Connections between map and meme can be rendered on paper or in stories or on computer screens, involve positive and negative feedback loops or topographic (locational) and topological (relational) understandings of place and identity. Place-memes can operate as modes of capture (expression)

and mimesis (copying) as well as inscription and wayfaring, and can be characterized as colonial or counter-colonial, traumatic or therapeutic, and identity-breaking or community-restoring.

The importance of the book lies in Eades's sophisticated and ultimately hopeful analysis of the intersections, tensions, and dissimilarities between different Indigenous and non-Indigenous maps and memes. Maps are not simply written off as tools of colonial power and white domination in Canada. Eades shows how they can also work as weapons of resistance and as a means of cultural rejuvenation. Drawing insights from anthropology, geography, history, social psychology, and cognitive science, *Maps and Memes* enriches understanding of how links within Indigenous cultures between place, time, community, and well-being are created, transmitted, damaged, and lost in spatial and cartographic terms.

The book is comprised of nine chapters and includes thirty black-and-white illustrations (maps, models, and photographs). It is part conceptual rumination on the significance of land, territory, and place names to Indigenous people, part critique of cartography as a colonizing device, and part applied and participatory geography that seeks to reposition mapping as a tool of Indigenous empowerment. Theoretical considerations and technical exegesis are prominent in Chapter 2 ("Place-Memes"), Chapter 5 ("Counter-Mapping Colonization"), Chapter 6 ("The Evolution of Critical Cartographic Inscription"), and Chapter 9 ("Towards an Indigenous Geoweb"). Critical examination of maps as tools of colonization and ways of gauging the vulnerability of Indigenous lifeworlds comes to the fore in Chapter 3 ("Cree Ethnogeography") and Chapter 4 ("Canada, Cartography, and Indigenous

peoples”). But in all of the chapters, and particularly in Chapter 1 (“The Long Walk”), Chapter 7 (“Commemorative Toponymies of Trauma”), and Chapter 8 (“Meme Maps”), Eades also chronicles his involvement with Indigenous mapping and naming projects in northern British Columbia and especially in northern Quebec. Eades notes that the moral and political aim of his research is to boost “recognition, rights and respect for indigenous goals and aspirations” (22). This aim is expedited brilliantly in the sections of the book that are devoted to Wemindji on the eastern shore of James Bay, where the author undertook fieldwork in 2008 and 2010 and immersed himself in various Indigenous mapping projects and problems: landscape visualization projects that seek to strengthen community bonds; the development of GIS and GPS initiatives that aim to preserve and rekindle Indigenous relationships to land and oral tradition; and “toponymies” of Indigenous suicide that can be correlated with “the urbanization of indigenous life-worlds . . . and [the] move away from land-based life” (154).

Maps and Memes traverses issues that reach far beyond Indigenous life in Wemindji and will interest Canadian government policy-makers and Indigenous community groups much farther afield. However, the book has a decidedly academic tone that will put some readers off. In places, I found the theory dense and overly techy, and the analysis somewhat wandering and repetitive. The different parts of the book perhaps do not add up to (or make for) a neat or entirely fluent whole. Even so, Eades’s way of “engaging subjects with their geography” (201) is stimulating throughout, and *Maps and Memes* is an impressive achievement that will foster debate in a range of contexts and subject

areas and furnish practical tools and important questions for future research.

*Blockades or Breakthroughs?
Aboriginal Peoples Confront the
Canadian State*

Yale D. Belanger and P.
Whitney Lackenbauer, editors

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-
Queen’s University Press, 2014. 488
pp. \$32.95 paper.

SARAH NICKEL
University of Saskatchewan

CANADA IS NO stranger to Aboriginal direct action: “Oka, Ipperwash, Caledonia. Blockades, masked warriors, police snipers” (3). Citing this excerpt from the 2006 report of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples to introduce the collection *Blockades or Breakthroughs?*, Yale Belanger and Whitney Lackenbauer highlight the powerful imagery of land-based protest, Aboriginal militancy, and state intervention. Confrontations such as Oka, Ipperwash, and Caledonia are well established within the Canadian imaginary, but, as the editors of this important book argue, they have been overly simplified through media reports and scholarship that pigeonhole Aboriginal blockades and occupations under “umbrella terms such as ‘protest’ and ‘activism’” (14) that promote one-dimensional narratives. This collection successfully establishes the multivocal and politically formidable nature of blockades and occupations, in the process adding much needed depth to histories of Aboriginal direct action and

stimulating meaningful conversation.

Structured around a chronological comparative case-study approach, *Blockades or Breakthroughs?* contains eleven chapters outlining Canadian Aboriginal direct action campaigns, beginning with the Point Pelee dispute in 1922 (John Sandlos) and ending with the Caledonia conflict in 2006 (Timothy Winegard). These chapters offer fresh insights into both well-known and under-analyzed events. For instance, along with the expected case studies of Oka, Ipperwash, Gustafsen Lake, Burnt Church, and Caledonia, the collection also includes chapters on Haida resistance to logging on Lyell Island in Haida Gwaii, Innu opposition to low-level flying in Labrador, and the Bay of Quinte dispute. Taken together, the chapters collected here weave a dynamic, coherent, and significant historio-political narrative about direct action, shifting Aboriginal-state relations, community dynamics, Aboriginal sovereignty, land claims, and politics.

Additionally, this collection fundamentally disrupts Canadians' existing preoccupation with the Oka crisis of 1990 and later actions in the 1990s, which have prevented deeper theoretical understandings of Aboriginal direct action strategies. For instance, in his chapter on the 1922 Point Pelee occupation in southern Ontario, John Sandlos establishes the long roots of occupation as political resistance, while Yale Belanger's chapter on the Pikani Lonefighters' opposition to the Old Man River Dam construction in August 1990 reminds readers that the Mohawk Nation was not alone that summer in its frustration with state authorities. The case studies also explore complex and interrelated issues of environmental protection and politics (David Rossiter and Yale Belanger), spirituality (Nick Shrubsole and P. Whitney Lackenbauer), resource

and land use (Sarah J. King, Thomas Flanagan, Belanger, and Winegard) and sovereignty.

By complicating and contextualizing blockades and occupations on both theoretical and practical levels, this volume explores the transformative potential of direct action. As the title of the book suggests, the authors ask whether direct action functioned to "blockade" political solutions or whether it functioned as a catalyst for political breakthroughs. "There is no clear verdict," the authors conclude (33). In his chapter on the Lubicon Lake Cree's quest for a land claim and resource rights, for example, Thomas Flanagan argues that the "radical tactics" of the Lubicon "may have delayed rather than accelerated the onset of meaningful negotiations" (III). Likewise, Lackenbauer, in his examination of the Innu of Labrador's protest against military training operations, which included low-level flying exercises over Innu hunting grounds, suggests that, while the Innu did not succeed in stopping operations or achieving recognition of their sovereignty, they achieved an invaluable level of political cohesion through direct action (149).

Despite this attention to complexity, there is something unsettling about framing Aboriginal blockades and occupations within this success-failure paradigm. It tends to privilege practical political gains as evidence that direct action was "worth it," while simultaneously emphasizing reactive and violent political elements. Sarah King's chapter on the 1999-2002 Burnt Church (*Esgenoôpetiji*) dispute engages explicitly with this conceptual limitation, suggesting that "framing this dispute as either a blockade or a breakthrough also focuses attention on violent activism, when really a broad variety of strategies and tactics were employed" (368).

Ultimately, this innovative collection will appeal to a wide readership, including those interested in Aboriginal issues in British Columbia. David Rossiter's chapter on the 1985 Haida logging blockade on Lyell Island is an important examination of environmental politics. Likewise, Nick Shrubsole and Lackenbauer's excellent reconsideration of the well-known Gustafsen Lake standoff adds much to our understanding of the role played in direct action outcomes by media, state authorities, and internal Aboriginal political factionalism.

Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Volume One: Summary "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future"
Truth and Reconciliation
Commission of Canada

Toronto: Lorimer, 2015.
451 pp. \$22.95 paper.

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THE WORK OF the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) between 2009 and 2015 is especially relevant to British Columbia. Residential schools and their impact are interwoven with the history, contemporary situation, and future development of British Columbia. Historically, the Pacific province had a large number of schools operated by the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the United Church, and the Presbyterian Church, and their effects have been felt there perhaps as deeply as in any other part of

Canada. At the present time, British Columbia is the home of one of the most effective survivor organizations, Reconciliation Canada, whose leader, Chief Robert Joseph, has been an inspiration in the investigation of the schools and in the establishment of a reconciliation movement. And British Columbia's economic future, so dependent on resource extraction and related infrastructure projects that involve First Nations territories, is bound up with the success of the movement to improve relations between Indigenous peoples and the rest of the population.

In June 2015, the TRC issued a summary of its final report, which was released in full the following December. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future* traces the history and legacy of the residential school system before turning to the commission's recommendations for resolving the ensuing problems and advancing reconciliation. The mandate of the commission was principally to provide a platform for the investigation of the history of the schools, especially through the statements of those who were involved in their operation, and to propose remedies (23, 43). In practice, the TRC based its understanding of the residential school history and legacy mainly on the testimony of former students. Although the commissioners say, rightly, that they tried to collect the testimonies of former staff and government officials, the reality is that the oral testimony on which its history relies comes almost solely from survivors' recollections. As the commissioners said, they "listened to thousands of survivors" (39). Although the TRC "made a concerted effort" to collect the testimony of former staff, only a small proportion of its almost sixty-seven hundred accounts came from staff (26). The TRC conducted ninety-six such interviews, and an unspecified number of

statements were collected at its national and regional events. Hence, the sources for the report are overwhelmingly the views of former students.

The consequence of the TRC's reliance on survivor accounts is a version of residential school history that is unbalanced. As that history emerges in the report, it is one almost solely of abuse. While the commissioners acknowledge that there were good workers in the schools (117, 127), and that a small minority of students had a positive experience, the history and legacy that emerge in these pages deal almost totally with damage and demoralization. Underlying this history and threatening prospects for promoting reconciliation is the painful reality that Canadians do not know the history of the schools that is revealed in these pages. And, say the commissioners, until Canadians know and accept that history, reconciliation is at risk (187, 137). To "build for the future, Canadians must look to, and learn from, the past" (8). "Reconciliation is about respect" (185). Knowledge, including historical understanding, is the foundation of respect.

From its analysis of the history and legacy of residential schooling, the TRC drew ninety-four recommendations, or "Calls to Action." Some of these propositions, such as urging provincial and territorial governments to revise their school curricula to incorporate the history of residential schools and treaties, seem obvious and closely related to the commission's mandate. Others, such as the contention that the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is "a framework for reconciliation" (187, 137), might be sound, but no explanation or elaboration is provided for it. Some, such as the call to the pope to apologize for residential schools in Canada within a year, seem extraordinarily challenging

and only loosely connected to the TRC mandate. Others, such as urging that federal government funding to the CBC be restored and enhanced, simply are not. The number and breadth of the TRC recommendations are so great that they raise the spectre of a repetition of the fate of the recommendations of the earlier Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). RCAP's proposals for a vast new governance system that included sixty to eighty Aboriginal governments and a third house of Parliament to represent Aboriginal peoples at the federal level were, as former deputy minister of Indian affairs Harry Swain put it in his memoirs, "dead on arrival" (*Oka: A Political Crisis and Its Legacy* [Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2010], 168–69).

Canadians, and more especially British Columbians, should hope fervently that the same will not prove true of the results of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission twenty years later. The initial response of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau suggests that it will not.



*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 1, Part 1: The History,
Origins to 1939*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 1, Part 2: The History,
1939 to 2000*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 2: The Inuit and
Northern Experience*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 3: The Métis Experience*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 4: Missing Children and
Unmarked Burials*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 5: The Legacy*

*Canada's Residential Schools.
Volume 6: Reconciliation
Truth and Reconciliation
Commission of Canada*

Montreal and Kingston: Truth and
Reconciliation Commission and
McGill-Queen's University Press,
2015. \$19.95-39.95 paper.

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A PORTION OF the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC's) mandate laid out in Schedule N to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) of 2006 stated that the commission was to "produce and submit to the Parties

of the Agreement a report including recommendations to the Government of Canada concerning the IRS system and experience including: the history, purpose, operation and supervision of the IRS system, the effect and consequences of IRS (including system harms, intergenerational consequences and the impact on human dignity) and the ongoing legacy of the residential schools." The TRC's terms of reference also said that the commission was to produce its "report on historic findings, within two years of the launch of the Commission." In part because of the abortive start of the commission in 2008, when the original trio of commissioners imploded and had to be replaced, the TRC was not able to keep to the schedule outlined in its mandate. It produced a short interim report late in 2011, a summary final report in June 2015 (six years after the second commission had commenced work), and a mammoth final report in six volumes in December 2015.

Even before it experienced internal problems in its early months, the TRC was a groundbreaking body. As the commission itself notes, it "was not established because of any widespread public outcry demanding justice for residential school survivors" (6:86). The genesis of the inquiry in a negotiated settlement of a class action would shape, and sometimes limit, the commission's efforts to discharge its complex mandate. And, as Chief Commissioner (now Senator) Murray Sinclair often pointed out, it was the only public inquiry that was created to investigate the treatment and fate of children. Those origins were constantly before the commissioners as they consistently gave primacy to residential school survivors – those children – in their labours.

The various reports of the TRC show variety and increasing maturity of analysis

over the commission's life. The first, or interim, report, entitled *They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools*, is "based largely on published material" because in 2011 the TRC was still experiencing difficulty extracting "all relevant documents" that the Settlement Agreement had promised it from government and denominational archives.¹ Although, in 2011, the interim report had been confident that the commission would have the documents it needed to support its final report, when it issued a summary final report in June 2015, the TRC had to note that it had been to court three times regarding three issues of access to documents.² Accordingly, the summary final report rests to a great extent on former students' testimony collected in TRC National Event sharing circles and TRC statement-gathering operations. Although the documents issue was not fully resolved by December 2015, when the commission issued its massive final report, there were enough records in hand to produce a report that relied on both documentary and oral evidence. The different evidence bases of the three reports led to different emphases. The interim report of 2012 is a fairly even-handed account of residential school life, the summary final report of June 2015 is much harsher in its depiction of students' experience, and the large final six-volume report of December 2015, reviewed here, once more provides a balanced treatment

of what it was like to attend a residential school. The accounts in all three reports are, appropriately, negative in tone, but the summary final report stands out for its less balanced depiction of residential schooling.

What does not change through the successive commission reports is the commissioners' insistence on the primacy of history in understanding what residential schools had represented and in finding a way forward towards reconciliation. Fully 2,382 of the final report's 3,232 pages are devoted to history. This total includes Volume 1, Part 1, *The History, Origins to 1939* (962 pages) and Volume 1, Part 2, *The History, 1939 to 2000* (813 pages); Volume 2, *The Inuit and Northern Experience* (260 pages); Volume 3, *The Métis Experience* (an inadequate 81 pages); and Volume 4, *Missing Children and Unmarked Burials* (266 pages). The other two volumes of the final report focus on *The Legacy* (Volume 5) and *Reconciliation* (Volume 6). Beyond the page count, the final report, like the two before it, hammers away at the centrality of history in understanding residential schools and promoting reconciliation. "Too many Canadians know little or nothing about the deep historical roots of these conflicts" over schools and the "Sixties Scoop" (6:4). "Schools must teach history in ways that foster mutual respect, empathy, and engagement. All Canadian children and youth deserve to know Canada's honest history, including what happened in the residential schools" (6:17). "History plays an important role in reconciliation; to build for the future, Canadians must look to, and learn from the past" (6:4).

Although the commissioners' understanding of what constitutes reconciliation is simple, the implications and consequences of their definition are enormous. "As Commissioners, we believe that reconciliation is about

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *They Came for the Children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools* (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2012), 85.

² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Vol. One: Summary "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future"* (Winnipeg/Toronto: Truth and Reconciliation Commission/James Lorimer and Co., 2015), 27-29.

respect. This includes both self-respect for Aboriginal people and mutual respect among all Canadians. All young people need to know who they are and from where they come" (6:21). Moreover, they define reconciliation "as an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships" (6:11). The commissioners insist that it is imperative that Canada begin to take the steps necessary to ensure that a new regime of "mutual respect" would be established quickly. "The urgent need for reconciliation runs deep in Canada. Expanding public dialogue and actions on reconciliation beyond residential schools will be critical in the coming years" (6:4).

To pursue the restoration of conditions of mutual respect, the TRC laid out ninety-four "Calls to Action," or recommendations, fully fifty-two of which are found in the *Reconciliation* volume (vol. 6). Not surprisingly, given the commission's insistence on the centrality of history in understanding the residential school story and promoting relations of mutual respect, the TRC's recommendations have a lot to say about how the teaching of history should be improved. Law schools across the country should ensure that their graduates "receive appropriate cultural competency training, which includes the history and legacy of residential schools, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal Crown-relations" (Call to Action [CA], 6:27). Recommendation 62 calls on governments at all three levels, "in consultation and collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal peoples, and educators, to: 1. Make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties and Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory

education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students." Calls to Action 67 through 70 push the federal government, museums, and Library and Archives Canada to improve the way in which the history of Aboriginal peoples is depicted. Two recommendations (CA 6:77 and 78) urge governments to support the work of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, which houses the records collected and generated by the TRC, and to facilitate efforts by "communities to research and produce histories of their own residential school experience." The federal Historic Sites and Monuments Board, whose work is roundly criticized in the *Reconciliation* volume, is told to pull up its socks and give less attention to celebratory history and to "integrate Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history" (CA 6:79).

Other Calls to Action urge government to redress the deficits in service to Indigenous peoples that the TRC's final report did so much to expose. Governments at all levels should work to improve the health outcomes of Aboriginal populations (CA 6:18-24), tackle the running sore that the justice system represents for Indigenous populations (CA 6:25-42), and create structures that would institutionalize the pursuit of reconciliation. So, for example, the federal government should develop with Aboriginal peoples "a Royal Proclamation of Reconciliation to be issued by the Crown" modelled on the historic Royal Proclamation of 1763 that had proven such a useful tool in efforts to protect Indigenous lands in the courts (CA 6:45). Parliament should also establish a national council for reconciliation to "monitor, evaluate, and report annually to Parliament and the people of Canada" the government's efforts to promote reconciliation,

including the pace of implementation of the TRC's Calls to Action (CA 6:53). For their part, the churches that had operated the residential schools and were parties to the Settlement Agreement are called to support reconciliation. Roman Catholics should get "the Pope to issue an apology to Survivors, their families, and communities ... within one year of the issuing of this report ... to be delivered by the Pope in Canada" (CA 6:58). All the churches are expected to "develop ongoing education strategies to ensure that their respective congregations learn about their church's role in colonization," develop curricula for theological schools and seminaries that would "respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right," and teach "the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the church parties in that system" (CA 6:60). And the churches should "establish permanent funding to Aboriginal people for ... [c]ommunity-controlled healing and reconciliation projects" and other programs to support "reconciliation projects," "language revitalization projects," and "[c]ommunity-controlled education and relationship-building projects" (CA 6:61).

The daunting scope of the Calls to Action signals clearly that the commission is writing for the ages, not just for decision makers in 2015 or 2016. The call on the federal government to fully adopt the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, something from which the government of Stephen Harper had recoiled, as well as a recommendation that Ottawa "restore and increase funding to the CBC/Radio-Canada to enable Canada's national public broadcaster to support reconciliation" (CA 6:84), shows that the commission, as Murray Sinclair said publicly in 2015, is looking beyond the government that it had jostled with over access to documents and that was in office when it reported for

implementation of its recommendations. The fact that the new Liberal government lifted the "cap" on increases to the Department of Indigenous Affairs in its first budget in March 2016 suggests that the commission's strategy or expectation was not without merit.

What the TRC did *not* do is highly significant, too. In marked contrast to some of the inquiries that have profoundly influenced policy in Canada, it did not have a research program that resulted in influential published studies. The Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Rowell-Sirois) not only released a report that helped to shape federal-provincial relations in the 1940s and beyond but also sponsored established scholars to conduct research on topics related to its mandate. Donald Creighton, for example, was funded to produce *British North America at Confederation* (King's Printer, 1939), and economist W.A. Mackintosh's research for the commission yielded *Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations* (King's Printer, 1940). Similarly, half a century later the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was the source of important research and publications. Although the final report and recommendations of RCAP proved abortive because the federal government refused to engage with most of it, some of the research it sponsored has proved enduringly influential. Psychologist Roland Chrisjohn, for example, released *The Circle Game: Shadow and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada* (Theytus Books, 1997), and historian John Milloy's work for RCAP led to the publication of *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (University of Manitoba Press, 1999). Chrisjohn and Milloy, the latter especially, have arguably been more influential in shaping some Canadians'

understanding of residential schooling than has the Royal Commission that sponsored their work.

The TRC began its work in a manner that suggested it would emulate inquiries such as Rowell-Sirois and RCAP, and, in December 2009, it convened a research symposium at the University of Toronto Law School to discuss the commission's research directions. Several dozen researchers with expertise in various aspects of residential school history and reconciliation met with the three commissioners and TRC staff for intensive discussions, and the researchers were urged to submit reports to the commission that outlined what research they thought the TRC should conduct. Although at least some of those attending the 2009 research symposium did provide the commission with written suggestions, there is no evidence that the TRC followed up their recommendations by commissioning independent research studies. Undoubtedly, part of the problem was that the commission lost its director of research, John Milloy, in 2010. Thereafter, research was always something of an orphan within the commission, with no one overseeing work by outside experts for any length of time. Another problem, probably, was that money that would have supported research related to the commission's mandate was allocated instead to supporting the TRC's seven National Events and statement-gathering. The increasing emphasis the commissioners gave these two areas of their work, both of which related and responded to the views of residential school survivors, of course, reflected the survivors-first approach that they had taken from the beginning of their work.

The result of orphaned research, however, is that some aspects of the TRC's work ends up falling short of what was hoped for or needed. Two such topics are

missing children and the staff experience. Investigation of the heart-wrenching story of thousands of residential school students who disappeared, their fates often unknown to their families, was agreed to very early in the TRC's work. In fact, it was during the summer and autumn of 2008, when the first trio of commissioners was falling apart, that the decision was made to pursue such an investigation. As the research evolved, the lead was an archaeologist who focused mainly on identifying cemeteries that likely would have held the remains of students who died at the schools. The provenance of a study of staff experience was somewhat different. In large part the commission found it necessary to put special effort into locating and interviewing former residential school workers because relatively few such staff came forward to testify at National Events or to be interviewed by the TRC's statement-gathering team. Eventually, one of the most experienced of the commission's staff was assigned the task of working up a report on the staff experience. Serious difficulties arose, however, in the spring of 2012, when the commissioners found it necessary, presumably for financial reasons, to give notice of termination to the two women who were the leads on missing children and staff experience. Under the public service commission regulations that governed the TRC, terminated staff had to be given a year's notice, time that they could work out on the job if they wished. One of the two research leads in question chose to do this and filed a report, but the other departed before the year was out, leaving her work incomplete.

The commission had to scramble to patch together material on these two topics for its final report. The result is that the material on missing children and staff experience in the final report falls well short of what was expected. Moreover,

the TRC will not leave behind stand-alone studies of the quality of the work that Creighton, Mackintosh, Milloy, and Chrisjohn did for earlier inquiries. Some people might associate *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (UBC Press, 2010) by Paulette Regan, at one point briefly the director of research for the commission and a long-serving staff member, with the TRC. In fact, though, the direct observation that informs that important volume comes from Regan's work between 2002 and 2004 as a residential schools claims manager for government rather than from her valuable contribution to the labour of the TRC (Regan, *Unsettling*, 12-13).

The problems created by deficient research are not confined to the absence of separate research reports, however. The final report contains far too many errors, some of them serious. Sometimes the problem seems to be simply sloppy interpretation of data. In the History volume, for example, the writer does a good job of explaining how officials in the late nineteenth century considered making attendance of First Nations children at some type of school mandatory before concluding that the question being debated "was when – not if – parents would be compelled to send their children to residential schools" (vol. 1, pt. 1, 251; see *ibid.*, 255). At no time in the history of residential schooling in Canada were parents "compelled to send their children to residential schools." Sometimes the error is comparatively minor, as with the statement: "By the end of the 1820s, Treaties also began to include provisions for the establishment of reserves for First Nations" (vol. 1, pt. 1, 57). In fact, treaty-making that included provision of reserves began only with the Robinson Treaties in Ontario in 1850. The Legacy volume perpetuates another significant error about the Indian Act

that is all too prevalent in historical and other writing in this country. Based on the original Indian Act of 1876, it notes that the Crown "had the right to strip First Nations individuals of their *Indian Act* status" if they were holders of a university degree or members of liberal professions such as law or holy religious orders. The Legacy volume suggests that this provision was in force for a long time (5:86). The Indian Act did, indeed, contain such a provision – from 1876 until 1880. An amendment of the Indian Act in 1880 modified the provision to say that that a First Nations male "may upon petition to the Superintendent-General *ipso facto* become and be enfranchised" without the examination and probationary period that were normally part of the enfranchisement procedure. In fact, involuntary enfranchisement for First Nations males was part of the Indian Act only in 1920-22 and, with significant modifications, again in 1933-51. No evidence has yet been uncovered to indicate that the provisions introduced in 1920 and later were ever invoked to enfranchise a First Nations male against his wishes. That is not the impression the TRC report gives.

In a report of more than three thousand pages some slips are bound to occur. The TRC report, however, does seem to have more than its fair share. Moreover, the errors usually tend to strengthen the image of Indian Affairs as an interfering and coercive agency that blighted the lives of First Nations. Enough historical research and publication has been produced over the last thirty or so years to condemn the Department of Indian Affairs and its policies from the government's own documents. There is really no need to invent more.

In 2008, as the appointment of the first set of commissioners was awaited,

the small commission staff based in Ottawa carried out consultations with former residential school students and other interested parties concerning what they hoped for from the TRC. Many survivors emphasized that they wanted an accessible report, one in which they could see themselves. It was obvious late in 2015 that the final report of the TRC would not be what those people had hoped for. The report that was issued in December 2015 is mammoth in scope and largely scholarly in tone and approach. It is also extremely ambitious, with ninety-four recommendations that cover a vast area – even to the Vatican and the headquarters of the CBC. It stresses the importance of history in understanding the residential school phenomenon and in promoting reconciliation between Indigenous and immigrant peoples in Canada. At the end of the commission's labours, no one could dispute that the second set of commissioners had worked long and hard to fulfill the mandate spelled out in Schedule N of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. But, ironically, only history, in the form of an indeterminate future, will tell if Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission accomplished the goals that its creators and supporters set for it.



*Colonial Genocide in
Indigenous North America*

A.J. Woolford, J. Benvenuto,
and A.L. Hinton, editors

Durham, NC: Duke University
Press, 2014. 360 pp. \$26.95 paper.

*This Benevolent Experiment:
Indigenous Boarding Schools,
Genocide, and Redress in Canada
and the United States*

Andrew Woolford

Winnipeg: University of Manitoba
Press, 2015. 253 pp. \$27.95 paper.

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WHEN DISCUSSING genocide in history, precision of language and analysis is essential. “Genocide” is a powerfully emotional term whose misuse will enflame people and inhibit rather than facilitate understanding. Careless use of the term “genocide” will be exposed, and the exposure will discredit the arguments most of its proponents want to make for advancing reconciliation. Scholars who argue that Canadians must get the history right if the country is to undo some of the worst mistakes in its past sometimes then turn around and create a revised version of the past that is equally erroneous, though in a different way. And using “genocide” imprecisely not only discredits a scholar’s argument but also debases the term itself and runs the danger of partially emptying it of its meaning and force. There is no better illustration of the perils of using the term “genocide” carelessly than the recent experience of Justice, now Senator, Murray Sinclair,

chief commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In a keynote talk to the workshop at the University of Manitoba in 2012 that preceded the production of *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, Sinclair referred to Canada's Indigenous residential schools as an example of genocide (CG 278-79). He would come to reconsider his interpretation.

Colonial Genocide and *This Benevolent Experiment* contain innumerable examples of scholars who loosely toss about the term "genocide." Although most of the contributors to these two volumes are credible researchers, there is wide variation in the care with which they approach their subjects. A recurrent deficiency in the *Colonial Genocide* collection is the failure to establish the applicability of the criteria in the United Nations Convention on Genocide to the subject under examination. Many who support the view that Native-newcomer history in general, and the history of residential schools in particular, reveals genocide at work simply assume that the term applies to their subject. This approach is particularly pronounced in a chapter by University of Manitoba political scientist Keira Ladner, who not only creates a new term, "political genocide," but simply takes it for granted, without discussion or analysis, that the country's history of relations with Indigenous peoples is one of state genocide. But many other contributors are similarly casual in attributing the applicability of the UN criteria to their subject.

It is striking that the authors in *Colonial Genocide* who do take pains to examine their chosen topic in light of the UN standard do not conclude that genocide was involved. University of Mississippi anthropologist Robbie Ethridge, for example, in discussing the "Mississippian shatter zone," notes that there was a

90 percent die-off among Native people but contends that "genocide" is not the correct term for what happened (CG 50). Gros Ventre psychologist Joseph Gone similarly examines the grisly experience of the Gros Ventres, who declined by 80 percent even though, unlike many other western US nations, they never fought the American army, and concludes that the term "genocide" is not applicable in their case (CG 284). On the other hand, University of Guelph political scientist David MacDonald does provide a systematic argument that Canada's residential schools constitute an instance of genocide and does pay close attention to the UN standard. He argues that Canada's residential schools experience satisfies the UN criterion that refers to the forcible transfer of children from one group to another as genocide. Noting that there is no settled jurisprudence on how large a proportion of a people's young must be coercively transferred to satisfy the criterion, he suggests that one-third, a widely accepted estimate of how many status First Nations children attended residential schools, is enough for this purpose (CG 310). But then the complications set in. What is the target group whose children were transferred? MacDonald alludes repeatedly to "Aboriginal" students (CG 308-9, 310, 311-13, 315, 316) rather than to First Nations youth with status. If "Aboriginal" people, including numerous Métis and some Inuit, comprise the group whose children were transferred forcibly, then the proportion who attended a residential school falls well below one-third. If one-fifth or fewer "Aboriginal" children attended residential school, can the experience be judged as genocide? MacDonald's chapter, which at least attempts to address a central question, epitomizes several of the problems with speaking precisely about genocide in relation to residential schools.

Andrew Woolford, a political scientist at the University of Manitoba, takes a cautious comparative approach to a sample of boarding schools in New Mexico and Manitoba. He emphasizes “that genocide is conceived in this book as a process and not as a total outcome. In most cases, Indigenous groups were not wholly destroyed” (BE 5). At the outset he is scornful of authors who refer to the schools’ experience as “attempted cultural genocide” (BE 9), though by his conclusion he has begun referring to genocide “not as a legal concept but as a tool for tracing destructive relations” (BE 298). In between, Woolford sifts an impressive body of evidence, documentary and oral, to describe and analyze the experiences of students at government-run schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe in the United States and at the Presbyterian Portage la Prairie and Roman Catholic residential schools in Manitoba. His examination of the impact of discipline, student-staff interactions, and the roles played by local actors in the institutions provides the reader with insight into the complexity of experience the schools provided, albeit within a generally damaging environment for students.

Woolford contends that talking about genocide will assist in bringing North Americans to what is most needed – an appreciation of their complicity in the dismal history of residential schools. That awareness will generate support for redress. He seems to agree with Joseph Gone’s suggestion that people use the term “genocide” “to harness the evaluative functions rather than the descriptive functions of the concept.” Aboriginal Canadian observers in particular believe that a stronger term than “colonization” or “racism” is needed to capture “the ethical enormity of systematic and coercive cultural assimilation” (CG 285). Perhaps Murray Sinclair’s experience with using

the term “genocide” is instructive. When he spoke to the workshop that led to *Colonial Genocide* in 2012 he also recounted how, after using the term “genocide,” he reached out “to a Jewish survivor of the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald to ‘apologize’ for perhaps offending those who had experienced ‘true genocide’” (CG 279). And when the TRC that Sinclair chaired issued its report in 2015, it avoided the term “genocide” in favour of “cultural genocide.” The commissioners had probably come to realize the importance of being careful when using such an explosive term. It is too bad that more of the contributors to these two thought-provoking volumes did not do likewise.

*Street Sex Work and
Canadian Cities:
Resisting a Dangerous Order*
Shawna Ferris

Edmonton: University of Alberta
Press, 2015. 272 pp. \$34.95 paper.

CECILIA BENOIT
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Street Sex Work and Canadian Cities: Resisting a Dangerous Order aims to give voice to street-based sex workers in urban Canada, in particular Indigenous women who face intersecting stigma associated with sex work, racism, and poverty. It begins with a supportive foreword by Amy Lebovitch, executive director of Sex Professionals of Canada, and one of the applicants who successfully argued that Canada’s prostitution laws were unconstitutional (*Bedford v. Canada*, 2013). The rest of the book is organized into four chapters and a conclusion.

In Chapter 1, Ferris examines the “city/whore synecdoche” and the case of missing and murdered women in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, Canada’s poorest urban neighbourhood. She notes that, in one of Canada’s most “sophisticated” and “liveable” cities, Vancouver’s power elite is increasingly concerned that sex work causes “bad business” and needs to be separated from the postmodern image of a city aiming to attract global capitalism: “The dissociation of the dead sex worker body from either the image or fate of the city proper would appear to reflect this naturalization of urban living” (42).

In Chapter 2, Ferris scrutinizes anti-prostitution reporting, policing, and activism in Vancouver and Edmonton. She highlights two current prototypes in the popular media – the racialized figure of the “Missing Woman” and the pale-skinned faceless “Lone Streetwalker,” neither of which represent the lived experiences of sex workers in the urban landscape. Despite community-building efforts in recent years, Ferris argues that police in Vancouver and Edmonton continue to see sex workers as “the problem.” Project KARE out of Edmonton and the Vancouver Police Department’s strategic plan “constitute institutionalized forms of anti-prostitution work that both support and respond to anti-whore neighbourhood activism” (77).

Chapter 3 concerns the technologies of resistance, including the internet, employed by sex worker activists and organizations struggling to decriminalize prostitution and to increase sex workers’ social inclusion. This is an uphill battle because of the formidable anti-sex work “rescue industry” lobbying for the opposite, the meagre financial support sex worker activists receive from city councils and provincial ministries, and the need to embrace specific issues and concerns of Indigenous advocacy groups.

In Chapter 4, focused on agency and aboriginality in street sex work, Ferris examines Maria Campbell’s *Halfbreed* and Beatrice Culleton Mosionier’s *In Search of April Raintree*, books that bring to life the formidable forces of settler colonialism and misogyny that survival Indigenous sex workers have long struggled against in order to retain their dignity and humanity.

Ferris concludes her book with a call for the decriminalization of prostitution and for progressive legislation to help promote the human rights of street-based sex workers. She maintains that for this to happen, anti-poverty, anti-racism, anti-violence, and anti-stigma activists need to join their disparate voices together and press for positive change. Fundamentally, they must also “listen to and account for the concerns of the persons most directly under attack” (182). This book will be of interest to academics, students, activists, and sex workers themselves who are concerned about the criminalization of sex work and the limited rights and social exclusion of sex workers in Canadian society.

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- Campbell, Maria. 1973. *Halfbreed*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
 Mosionier, Beatrice Culleton. 1999. *In Search of April Raintree*. Winnipeg: Portage and Main Press.



*Remembering Vancouver's
Disappeared Women: Settler
Colonialism and the Difficulty of
Inheritance*

Amber Dean

Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 2015. 216 pp. \$24.95 paper.

*That Lonely Section of Hell: The
Botched Investigation of a Serial
Killer Who Almost Got Away*

Lori Shenher

Vancouver: Greystone Books,
2015. 368 pp. \$32.95 cloth.

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STATISTICS CONFIRM that, in Canada, Indigenous women are far more likely to disappear or to be murdered than are non-Indigenous women. This horrific truth is exposed in Amber Dean's *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women* and Lori Shenher's *That Lonely Section of Hell*. Dean introduces the reader to the complex lived experiences of Indigenous women in Vancouver's Downtown East Side (DES). She delivers a systematic overview of activism, memorials, and representations, and assesses the multi-layered realities and community strategies required to comprehend the impact of violence against women. She carefully weaves together a critique of personal, community, and public responses, specifically the importance of understanding how to counter the unrelenting effects of settler colonialism.

A scholar of gender studies at McMaster University, Dean engages readers with a pertinent historical overview of the framework of settler colonialism and contextualizes the struggles of the disappeared and murdered women. Her significant historical overview of settlement in British Columbia includes larger discussions of relocation of Indigenous communities to reserves and the pressures of gentrification on Indigenous urban settings. Against the backdrop of a history that has dehumanized Indigeneity, women, and sex work in the DES, she unearths the brutal realities of how the missing women became missing in the first place. Women from the DES are both racialized and sexualized and the violence against them is traumatizing and deep-rooted in settler colonialism. Dean urges the reader to action and into self-reflection concerning what she names "implicatedness." She employs research drawn from Indigenous studies, art, and activism to challenge our role in the ongoing violence of settler colonialism. She holds the reader accountable and the community responsible for addressing the injustices and racist discourse of disposability. She asks her readers to think about their place in a frontier mythology. She urges us to address the dominant systems of oppression, including colonialism, racism, heteropatriarchy, and the susceptibility of Indigenous women to the personalized violence of settler colonialism.

Dean creatively applies an intersectional lens to analyze the impact of colonialism and violence against Indigenous women in Canada. She considers *what lives on* from the irreconcilable loss of so many women's lives, women who considered the DES their home. Throughout *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women*, Dean strategically dissects what it means for all

of us, Indigenous and settler, who now exist within a settler colonial context. She audaciously urges readers to identify themselves as complacent in these acts of violence against women. Her spirited words motivate readers to partake in the larger colonial discourse with the hope that they will be of one mind and recognize their place within a destructive web of colonialism, violence against women, and ongoing violence against the Indigenous women of Canada.

In *That Lonely Section of Hell*, Shenher traces the substantial events leading to Robert Pickton's arrest in 2002. Indeed, she builds upon the systemic barriers summarized by Dean to share a personal narrative of the time she was in charge of an under-resourced investigation into the missing women case for the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) in 1998, when she struggled with limited support and resources. She conveys her struggles and reveals that she suspected from the beginning that Pickton had murdered the women. Her endless requests for backing and funding were denied. A lack of encouragement from her department resulted in a needlessly slow and gruelling investigation. Nevertheless, she captures the tenacious efforts that finally led to Pickton's arrest. Regrettably, the investigation took a toll on Shenher mentally, spiritually, and physically, but she endured and confronted many obstacles with remarkable courage and perseverance.

Shenher engages her readers on a subjective level. *That Lonely Section of Hell* is a first-person narrative, an individual reflection of her involvement as a detective with the VPD. She boldly shares the obscurities and complications of working on Canada's most notorious mass murder investigation and conveys a provocative but necessary criticism of how the police (mis)managed it. She explores the specific historical and

systemic obstacles facing Indigenous women, which far surpass those of non-Indigenous women. The high number of murdered and disappeared women from the DES provide background to her personal insights. She describes how the delayed investigation took a personal toll on her overall health. Somehow she found it within herself to plough ahead while delving deep into the causes behind the mounting number of murdered and disappeared women, and while living with a lack of institutional support from the VPD. In the process she experienced her successful and hitherto fulfilling career in law enforcement come crashing down around her as she realized how disorganized and apathetic the police were during the investigation. She discovered, clearly and without doubt, that Indigenous women were targets of violence entrenched in systemic and institutional oppression. Her narrative reflects the anguish, anxiety, and dejection she experienced and her concern for the victims and their families as they made their way on an unaccountably difficult journey for justice. She exposes inexcusable deficiencies in the response to violence against the women of the DES and demonstrates how the system, and how we as a community, have betrayed and failed so many women.

Shenher takes the reader on a personal excursion into Vancouver's questionable system of law enforcement and into her own subsequent personal experience with post-traumatic stress disorder. She puts the victims first while addressing the tricky and harrowing larger questions of law enforcement. Her account of the investigation exposes systemic issues within the VPD, the RCMP, the Canadian legal system, and Canadian society as a whole. They all have much to answer for.

These two extraordinary books, although differing in approach, offer a critical understanding of these specific

atrocities and the social realities and colonial discourse that permitted them. As an Indigenous woman, I see and respect the empathy of Shenher and Dean for the women about whom they write. They provide a platform and create a space for the shattered narratives of women whose voices were ignored and whose communities, sisters, mothers, and daughters continue to be shunned. Shenher and Dean engage with and encourage dialogue about colonialism and institutional oppression. They assert that transformation is still possible, and they convey a painful colonial history that continues to plague many women. They are sincere, empathetic, and fierce in their passion to investigate and reveal such an incomprehensible institutional betrayal and such an excruciating part of Canadian history.

