

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Coming Home to Indigenous  
Place Names in Canada*

Margaret Wickens Pearce

Orono, ME: Canadian-American  
Center, University of Maine, 2017.  
US\$7.00.

KEN BREALEY

*University of the Fraser Valley*

*Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada* is a foldout display-ready wall map of Canada, hypsometrically tinted to highlight the physiographic landscape of the northern portion of North America, and labelled entirely and only in selected Indigenous place names as variously provided by First Nations, bands, and tribal organizations from across the country. Terrestrial place names are applied in black type, marine or lacustrine or fluvial in blue, and all of them, numbering in the hundreds, in the orthography in modern use by the provider. Many, especially in the northern and eastern portions of Canada, are superscribed in their syllabic variants, and all of them, terrestrial and not, are subscribed with the approximate English translation.

Blue vectors along various shorelines delineate known Indigenous marine highways. Measuring forty-two inches by thirty-two inches, it is a visually striking cartographic product.

Pearce notes in a short introduction how Indigenous toponyms are much more than geographical markers, variously “describing,” as they do, the appearances, shapes, effects, characters, or cultural and material resource bases of the larger cultural landscapes in which they are embedded. Of great antiquity, Indigenous toponyms are directional aids, shorthand for the oral histories and the activities of ancestral agents in and by which they were constituted, landmarks both material and spiritual, and statements of ownership and use and occupation of traditional territories all at once.

In remapping this country through an Indigenous lens by jettisoning the toponyms familiar to most Canadians, and replacing them with those of the original occupants of this land, *Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada* deserves to be mounted on the walls of schools, museums, cultural centres, and so on, and it should be distributed as widely as possible. It is an important contribution to the process of “making visible” that which has been rendered

“invisible” to the majority of settler society for far too long and, thus, to the process of decolonizing the Western geographical imagination in this country.

It should be acknowledged, of course, that this map, like all maps delineated in a two-dimensional register, is again evidence that Indigenous practices of resistance and recovery, by whatever means, inevitably run up against the reality that they must recycle and adapt to forms of representation that once served empire and colonization. If informed only by the regional familiarity of this reviewer, the rationale for the selection of some toponyms, at the expense of others, is not clear. Certainly, some of this is the consequence of the politics of land claims and the contestations they generate. It is also likely that, because of the loss of cultural knowledge over many generations, toponymic coverage is geographically uneven. Pearce properly acknowledges how the toponyms on this map were and are the intellectual property of the First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples on whose territories they appear, but the territories themselves are not shown on the map. The restrictions of scale, along with the prior choice to privilege the thematization of the topographic base, obviously placed restrictions on print display options.

This said, this reviewer could not help but think of the range of possibilities if this map were to be placed in a geographic information system such that the toponymic landscape could not only be sensually integrated into the wider ethnographic landscape but also selectively “scaled up” to regional and/or local levels. In short, why not be bold and envision it as but “one plate” in an expanded and ever-expanding “Indigenous Atlas of Canada”? Put another way, *Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada* is, specifically, a much needed contribution to the

visualization of an alternative geography of this country; however, potentially it helps establish the ground upon which truth and reconciliation may be realized more generally.

*Raven Walks around the World:  
Life of a Wandering Activist*

Thom Henley

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour  
Publishing, 2017. 272 pp.  
\$32.95 paper.

MAGGIE LOW

*University of British Columbia*

**I**N *Raven Walks around the World*, Henley shares parts of his personal journey of activism, travel, and lifelong work with Indigenous peoples around the world. Through his stories, Henley illuminates the determination of all Indigenous peoples to protect and manage their homelands.

Henley, also known as “Huckleberry,” begins with an intriguing story of his adventures as a young university student who hitchhiked from Michigan to Alaska in spring 1970. To escape the Vietnam War draft, Henley stowed away on a Norwegian ship and eventually landed in Vancouver. A few years later, conversation with another traveller piqued his interest about the “Queen Charlotte Islands” – later officially renamed “Haida Gwaii” – and he boarded the ferry in Prince Rupert to go there.

It didn’t take long for Henley to develop a deep love and respect for the Haida people and their territory. As he explains, “Here was the temperate rainforest of fairy tales, an enchanting garden of massive moss-draped trees: western red cedar, yellow cypress, Sitka spruce and western hemlock with bases three to six metres in

diameter" (44). Throughout his accounts Henley explains several aspects of Haida culture and practice, including their longhouse dwellings, creation stories, and potlatch protocols.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 detail Henley's permanent move to Haida Gwaii in 1973, where he built a small cabin in Lepas Bay with little more than materials harvested from the forest and the shoreline. He tells how he befriended Guujaaw, and how together they drew their literal line on a map and began a campaign to save a large section of Haida territory, known as South Moresby, from intensive old-growth logging. Throughout these chapters, Henley shares unknown details about the decades-long effort to reach the Gwaii Hanaas Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Haida Nation, and the creation of Gwaii Hanaas National Park.

In Chapter 6, Henley makes a valuable contribution to those interested in reconciliation through his reflections on the creation of Rediscovery, a summer camp for Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth. Rediscovery's mission statement is: "Drawing from the strengths of Indigenous cultures and with a love and reverence for the land, Rediscovery aims to help youth of all ages and all cultures discover the world around them" (121). Chapters 7, 8, and 9 recount more tales of the South Moresby case, including the infamous Lyell Island blockade spearheaded by the Haida Nation and resulting in the arrest of seventy-two Haida, including several elders.

Chapters 10 and 11 tell the story of how Henley was formally adopted into a Haida family at a potlatch and given the name Yaahl Hlaagaay Gwii Kaas – "Raven Walks around the World." Raven is held in the highest regard by the Haida and is ever curious, often finding himself walking around the world quite serendipitously (187). This is certainly an

apt name for Henley. In Chapters 12 and 13, Henley details several of his global travels, including tales about a near-miss death from an undertow in Baja and almost getting lost in the high Peruvian Andes. Most of Henley's experiences involved being "welcomed back home in remote parts of the planet by Indigenous peoples," including the Thompson tribe (now known as "Nlaka'pamux") in British Columbia's Interior; the Penan people of Borneo; the Mentawai tribe on the island of Siberut, Indonesia; the Newar people in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal; and the Bakiga tribe on the border of Uganda and the Congo (185). Despite Henley's many adventures, he considered Haida Gwaii his focal point (Chapter 14), and he returned home to the "Islands of the People" to put his transformational experiences through travel into perspective (190).

Overall, Henley offers a hopeful message to readers, especially those interested in reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. Henley's ability to develop trusting, lifelong relationships with people of many cultures is an example to all of how positive change can be achieved. Further, Henley's book highlights important shifts in power and influence between First Nations, environmentalists, and Canadian governments by explaining in detail the roots of the South Moresby campaign and the inherent authority and power of the Haida Nation.

*Song of the Earth:  
The Life of Alfred Joseph*

Ross Hoffman, Alfred Joseph

Smithers, BC: Creekstone Press,  
2019. 216 pp. \$21.95 paper.

TYLER McCREARY  
*Florida State University*

*Song of the Earth* tells the story of Alfred Joseph, the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief and lead plaintiff in the landmark *Delgamuukw-Gisday'wa* court case that first articulated the doctrine of Aboriginal title in Canada. Joseph grew up on the Hagwilget reserve in the 1930s, was an itinerant industrial labourer in the 1940s and 1950s, participated in the Wet'suwet'en cultural and political resurgence of the 1960s and 1970s, and became the lead Witsuwit'en litigant in the most significant Indigenous rights case of the 1980s and 1990s.

Ross Hoffman wrote *Song of the Earth* in collaboration with Joseph. Seventeen interviews conducted with Joseph provide the foundation of the narrative, supplemented by quotes from court testimony. The book's thematic organization and tone echo George Manuel's autobiography *The Fourth World* (1974), written in collaboration with Michael Posluns. However, where Posluns disappears as a ghostwriter, *Song of the Earth* relies heavily on direct quotes to maintain the distinction between Joseph's and Hoffman's voices.

The book emphasizes the importance of Joseph's formative relationships to his grandmother, Cecilia George, highlighting Witsuwit'en self-sufficiency in Joseph's early years. His grandmother maintained a trapline and regularly attended traditional governance feasts, and the community provided for its

dietary needs through fishing in the canyon.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Joseph moved around finding work in sawmills and construction trades. This account complements Henry Pennier's (2006) autobiography of his experiences as a logger. It also reinforces the often under-recognized Indigenous involvement in the early industrial workforce.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Indigenous communities were decimated by a series of changes. *Song of the Earth* attests to the devastating impacts of expanded clear-cutting and the 1959 destruction of the fishing sites in the Hagwilget Canyon. Joseph stresses the turmoil enveloping the Witsuwit'en, as increasing numbers of community members descended into alcoholism and lost their children to the expanding foster care system.

However, in framing the expanding problems of Indigenous alcoholism, Hoffman overemphasizes the importance of changes to the Indian Act and understates the effect of broader economic and environmental changes. The modernization of industries radically increased the productivity of labour, reducing the demand for low-skilled Indigenous labour while undermining Indigenous sustenance economies. As I document in *Shared Histories* (2018), provincial and federal policies systematically impoverished the Witsuwit'en, leading to increasing dependency and alcoholism.

This marginalization seeded an Indigenous cultural and political resurgence. While historians often focus on political events in the 1970s, Joseph and Hoffman highlight the 1960s resurgence of Northwest Indigenous art that presaged the subsequent political resurgence. He also clarifies the distinct roles of hereditary and band authorities. Whereas bands provide federally funded

services on reserve, hereditary chiefs have jurisdiction over traditional territories. This remains pertinent as pipeline companies have been signing agreements with band governments instead of hereditary chiefs (see McCreary and Budhwa 2019).

Joseph's political engagements culminate in the *Delgamuukw-Gisday'wa* case, in which the Witsuwit'en hereditary chiefs joined their Gitksan neighbours to claim territorial jurisdiction and ownership in the courts. Hereditary chiefs took to the stand to explain their relationships to the land, and Hoffman highlights Joseph's strength on the stand. While the trial judge dismissed the claim, the Supreme Court of Canada overturned that decision, ruling that Indigenous oral history needed to be considered. Although the mistreatment of hereditary chiefs' evidence necessitated a retrial, the *Delgamuukw-Gisday'wa* case provided the foundation for the declaration of Aboriginal title in the *Tsilhqot'in Nation* decision in 2014.

*Song of the Earth* provides an account of the public life of one of the most important Indigenous leaders of the twentieth century. The narrative helps personalize the existing anthropological literature on Witsuwit'en governance, such as Antonia Mill's *Eagle Down Is Our Law* (1994) and Richard Daly's *Our Box Was Full* (2004). Joseph's biography documents how Indigenous life changed over the last century; but it also showcases how Joseph contributed to altering British Columbian and Canadian political realities.

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### *A Mill behind Every Stump*

Marianne Van Osch

Victoria: Heritage House, 2018.

187 pp. \$19.95 paper.

DAVID BROWNSTEIN

*University of British Columbia*

THIS MODEST book aims to preserve the vanishing world of the Cariboo homesteader. It recounts a life of geographic isolation, in Secwépemc traditional territory, that bred both freedom and self-reliance. Life in this context also cultivated an appreciation for stories because "there wasn't anything else to do" (ix).

Marianne Van Osch is a Cariboo-based newspaper contributor and former teacher. *A Mill behind Every Stump* is her seventh book on the region's history. Like her other volumes, this is a collaborative effort because the stories are not hers. Van Osch began by producing delimited oral history transcriptions for friends and their families. She rightly concluded that the profoundly local narratives she captured held wider value. Here, she relies on the then ninety-two-year-old Louis Judson as her oral history informant. Van Osch

has edited her recorded conversations into a preface, forty-three roughly chronological, profusely illustrated micro-chapters, and an epilogue.

Born in 1924 at Ashcroft, our one-eighth Indigenous narrator, Louis Judson, leads us through at least five generations of his family, beginning with his paternal grandfather in 1880s Washington State. Louis's own childhood in 1920s and 1930s Forest Grove, British Columbia, was unlike mine (or, I doubt, yours). "No one worried about the children when they were far away for a day or so on an adventure" (68). This *laissez-faire* world came at a price. Louis's older stepbrother broke his neck falling off a horse (168), while Louis himself was exempt from Second World War service because of a many-month-long undiagnosed broken wrist. He also later lost a foot to a portable sawmill (117).

Over his career, Louis worked variously at fishing, trapping, prospecting, canning tomatoes, riding the rails, and as a water witch. His most consistent activities were road building, logging, and running portable sawmills. In this realm he witnessed the passing of small self-employed horse loggers sending railway ties to the United Kingdom, and their replacement by larger corporate entities running more modern diesel equipment and chainsaws for a wider range of distant markets. Louis went broke competing with these larger professionalizing operations. Later in life, he also worked at the highly industrialized Weldwood Mill in Exeter. However, he preferred to work harder for less pay outside, where he was healthier and happier.

This book has all the strengths and weaknesses that oral history implies. It is strong in the small details of daily life, saturated with a richness of reporting that one could never hope to recover from scattered archival texts. The role of narrator goes back and forth between

author and informant, and the book is relaxed and conversational; although occasional transitions from one substory to another can be abrupt and come with little warning. The book could have further benefited from more historical context. For example, it is never explained whether the family did not have money for shoes and clothes because they were marginalized from the cash economy or because of the Great Depression. Also, the many family photographs are lacking comment or attribution. What was it about this particular family that inspired them to document their existence with so many photos? This seems at odds with their self-reported modest means.

At only twenty dollars, local history aficionados can confidently place this book alongside similar first-hand accounts such as Ervin Austin MacDonald's *The Rainbow Chasers* (1982), Alan Fry's *The Ranch on the Cariboo* (2002 [1962]), and Charlie Faessler's 2010 book, *Bridge Lake Pioneer*.

In sum, both Van Osch and Judson lament the disappearance of the homesteader's world. And yet, *A Mill behind Every Stump* shows us that the resourcefulness of these same self-starters created the very conditions of change by which they themselves transformed their earlier context.

*Beckoned by the Sea: Women at  
Work on the Cascadia Coast*  
Sylvia Taylor

Victoria: Heritage House, 2017.  
288 pp. \$19.95 paper.

ANNIE BOOTH  
*University of Northern  
British Columbia*

THE SEA DRAWS many, to many destinies. Even those of us who are landlocked remain drawn due to history, biology, or too much reading. This book offers the stories of twenty-four women (twenty-five including the author, who also shares her story) who have found a life and a calling along the Pacific coast from Alaska down to northern California, although the majority call British Columbia home. Categorized under five headings – “Harvesters,” “Travellers,” “Creators,” “History-Keepers,” “Teachers,” and “Protectors” – the book offers fascinating glimpses into why these women came to work on/with the ocean and to passionately defend it against ecological damage.

The book is of interest for a number of reasons. Even in this decade, it is rare to find the stories of working women presented both in a collection and with genuine care and consideration. The vignettes are clearly drawn from extensive interviews, and a substantial component of each is in the woman’s own words. Taylor provides background and observation for each life history within a larger context.

The second point of interest is in the multiplicity of ways modern humans make a living around the sea, from fishing to protection work, from merchant marine to marine mammal trainer, or even as a mermaid, the sea brings many livings to those who are willing. Some of the women followed family careers as fishers, boat owners, or lighthouse keepers. A few supported their husbands, “The Waiting Ones,” keeping house and home until their husbands returned. Some are entwined with the sea through their Indigenous cultures as well as their work; others as part of the tradition of Japanese immigrants who came to Canada to be fishers. And others found their way from landlocked childhoods to careers relating to the sea

that called them – as biologists, artists, writers, and restaurateurs. The diversity of possible livings is both instructive and fascinating for the different experiences and insights they bring.

The entries are somewhat rambling and disjointed, as is natural in an extensive interview. While academics might find this a bit troubling, it does preserve the “voice” of each woman in recounting her own life. As most of the women are located in British Columbia, the vignettes offer useful oral histories relating to the life of the coast. Taylor includes a select bibliography with multimedia and online resources linked to the women to allow further reflection upon their experiences. If there is anything lacking, it is greater diversity – women of colour have contributed significantly to work on the coast, but only a handful of their life stories are present.

This book is useful as a source of oral histories of women living around and off the sea off the Cascadian coast, particularly in British Columbia. It also offers a nice set of readings for undergraduate courses in gender studies or environmental studies, especially at lower levels.

*Dancing in Gumboots:  
Adventure, Love and Resilience*  
Women of the Comox Valley

Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin Press, 2018.  
240 pp. \$24.95 paper.

SHIRLEY McDONALD  
*University of British Columbia*  
*Okanagan*

*Dancing in Gumboots: Adventure, Love and Resilience – Women of the Comox Valley* is a collection of memoirs written by thirty-two women who came

to the Comox Valley on Vancouver Island in the 1970s. Drawn by an illusive utopian desire to create a better world, they took part in what appears to be an informal back-to-the-land movement. The stories reveal the authors' various motives to leave cities and jobs and, with naive optimism, throw themselves into the labour of farming. Some women came from Canada, some from Europe, and, as Gerri Minaker relates, some came from the United States to escape the conflicts posed by conscription and the Vietnam War (46). Some came with partners and bought land that, contributor Rosemary Vernon tells readers, was settled by veterans whose service to Canada in the First World War had been rewarded with fifty acres and materials to build a house (71). Some bought cultivated land from retiring farmers whose parents had settled there. Others came to "homestead," Sandy Kennedy writes, having been "bedazzled by the lure of self-sufficiency" (32). They built dwellings and carved out gardens from untouched and often rough land.

Some women left their careers behind them and sought new ways to make a living. Some came with professional skills and applied them as they contributed to the formation of the Comox Valley community. Lee Bjarnason, for example, had a degree in early childhood education and helped form the Comox Valley's early childhood education program (59–60). Some of the authors became artists or artisans and founded the Comox Valley Arts Alliance, the Vancouver Island Music Festival, and the Renaissance Fair. A few became tree planters on Vancouver Island, while others became activists who contested logging. They promoted sustainability in the region and defended the surrounding old-growth forests against encroachment by speculators who saw them as places of lucrative

resource extraction. "Volunteerism, the lifeblood of small communities, flourished," writes Kennedy as she recalls her role in forming an environmentalist "action group" that tackled issues such as "the Comox Valley's plan to pipe raw sewage into nearby waters, herbicide spraying on Vancouver Island, a massive log-booming facility in Baynes Sound, and the storage of nuclear warheads at Nanoose Bay" (36). Later, Kennedy writes, the group formed a "blockade in Strathcona Park and Clayoquot Sound," which resulted in their "incarceration, court appearances, and house arrest" (36). Due to their activism, many of the women who settled in the Comox Valley became, unconsciously perhaps, allies of the Indigenous community for, as Secwépemc leader Arthur Manuel declares: "In defending the land ... we are defending something much larger than Indigenous rights. Our fight today is to preserve the planet in a livable form" (242). All the contributors to the volume seem to have been activists and advocates of social justice.

Numerous authors recall founding the annual Women's Fair and forming the North Island Women's Self-Help Network. Indeed, all the women are feminists and embodiments of the ideologies promoted by Germaine Greer and Gloria Steinem, icons of the second wave of feminism. In this respect, the collection of memoirs reveals a kind of homogeneity. There is even an allusion to lesbianism. Surprisingly, however, there are no women of colour, and, other than an acknowledgment that the authors "live, work, and play on the traditional lands of the K'omoks First Nations" (5), there is a lack of reference to the region's Indigenous women. There is a lack of detail, too, in the women's stories of their settlement experiences. The chapters move rapidly over the women's personal histories and quickly mention significant

events; yet none of the authors lingers on these moments. None invites readers to share their experiences of living in tents over a chilly, rainy winter, or of living without electricity for several years in a house cobbled together from salvaged materials. No one describes what it is like to labour hard to clear a bramble patch or an acre of fallen wood to start a garden. No one tells us what it feels like to dance in gumboots. What the collection lacks in verisimilitude, however, it makes up in photographs. Each story has at least two portraits of the author: one of her “then” and one of her “now.” The pattern creates cohesion. The early photographs feature strikingly beautiful young hippie women in the 1970s, when they arrived in the Comox Valley; the recent ones attest to the fact that each of the authors has aged with dignity and pride in having created a new and, it is hoped, sustainable world. Thus, shortcomings aside, the volume is a captivating exposé of the ideologies of a subculture or counterculture movement that will be familiar and endearing to many members of the Baby Boom generation.

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### *Farm Workers in Western Canada: Injustices and Activism*

Shirley A. McDonald and  
Bob Barnetson, eds.

Edmonton: University of Alberta  
Press, 2016. 256 pp. \$29.95 paper.

NICK FAST  
*Simon Fraser University*

SHIRLEY McDonald and Bob Barnetson’s edited volume *Farm Workers in Western Canada: Injustices and Activism* provides a unique and interdisciplinary approach to understanding the role farmworkers occupy in the complex industrial agriculture system. McDonald and Barnetson include chapters with a political economy perspective, legal understandings of farm workers in relation to the Charter, and even one chapter based on a transcript of an interview with *Farmworkers Union of Alberta* (FUA) activist Darlene Dunlop. Their main purpose is to examine “the social, political, and economic conditions that have shaped the organization of farm work with attention paid to the effects on workers,” especially with increasing reliance on agri-food production by migrant workers and temporary foreign workers (TFWs) (xvi). While some chapters appear to waver from the volume’s stated goal, this comprehensive collection provides valuable insight into the many factors that make up the western Canadian agricultural economy.

The most interesting inclusions in this volume are Michael Broadway’s chapter on the influx of migrant workers to Brooks, Alberta, as the meat-processing plant there expanded, and Jill Bucklashuck’s chapter on the increasing reliance on migrant workers and TFWs in Manitoba’s meatpacking industry. At first, I was skeptical about their inclusion because meatpacking and processing are akin to working on an assembly line, where one worker performs repetitive tasks with little or no time for rest rather than multiple, season-dependent tasks associated with outdoor farm work. However, Broadway and Bucklashuck clearly show that meatpacking and processing, much like outdoor industrial agriculture, are transitioning to a

workforce heavily reliant on migrant workers and TFWs. Further, workers in both industries suffer from debilitating, long-term, and often lifelong injuries sustained in the workplace. Placing these chapters in a volume with literature about outdoor farm work demonstrates how meatpacking and farm work are related, regardless of their workplace.

Some chapters appear to stray from the worker-centred goal of this volume, the most notable being Zane Hamm's chapter on farm owners and operators finding supplemental off-farm work. Hamm's primary focus is on farm operators and how they struggle to keep their farms operating rather than on the workers who labour on said farms. Hamm's chapter was interesting in that it shows how the oil and gas industry offers a tempting and lucrative alternative income source for farm owners, with some making six-figure salaries in just months in that sector. Ultimately, though, this alternative is gendered in that men are the ones usually going to the oil fields, while women who seek off-farm employment are limited to part-time retail work because they are encouraged to take care of the family and the land while their husbands are away.

McDonald and Barnetson's collection is an important contribution to our understanding of the multitude of factors that constitute the industrial agriculture food system. Their interdisciplinary approach examines the historical, legal, and current issues facing farmworkers from British Columbia to Manitoba. While the legal route may be the simplest solution to solving these problems, this volume clearly shows that many forces and levels of government are at work exploiting these workers.

*Trail North: The Okanagan  
Trail of 1858–68 and Its Origins  
in British Columbia and  
Washington*  
Ken Mather

Vancouver: Heritage House, 2018.  
288 pp. \$22.95. paper.

CHRISTOPHER HERBERT  
*Columbia Basin College*

**I**N *Trail North*, Ken Mather directs our attention to a relatively forgotten part of BC history: the trails linking the interior of British Columbia to the Columbia Plateau of Washington and their contribution to the development of the region during the period of the Fraser River and Cariboo gold rushes. In so doing, Mather encourages us to look up from the familiar histories of the Douglas Route, the treacherous paths up the Fraser Canyon, or the ill-fated Waddington's Road to acknowledge the important overland connections east of the Cascades.

In the first chapter, Mather recounts the Indigenous history of the trails system. This chapter is the weakest of the book, suffering from a combination of a paucity of Indigenous sources about the trail system and an over-reliance on secondary sources that are beginning to show their age. From there, Mather's account builds steam. He explores the use of the trail system by the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, before it lapsed into relative disuse with the advent of the international border through the former Oregon Territory. The remaining seven chapters focus on the rapid growth of the trail system between 1858 and 1868 as first gold seekers and then cattlemen began to use the trail system to gain access to the upper reaches of the Fraser Canyon and the Cariboo.

Mather's accomplishment here is quite impressive. There is a reason why this particular aspect of the history of British Columbia and Washington has been virtually ignored until now. The sources are few and far between and require a detailed knowledge of not only the topography of the area but also of the economics and logistics of packing and cattle drives. Indeed, Mather's chapters on the development of transnational cattle drives along the trail are particularly illuminating and challenge long-held perceptions of Victoria as the "gateway" to British Columbia during this time. In addition, the chapter on the attempts of the BC colonial government to extend its authority along the border and over the relatively obscure Rock Creek gold rush are useful additions to the oft-told accounts focused on the Fraser River.

*Trail North* is not without its weaknesses, however. The terminology can be confusing at times. The title of the book announces that it is about the "Okanagan Trail" (the original name), but this term is replaced in the book by the "Cariboo Trail" (the later name). Even more maps would help readers not familiar with the litany of locations described in the book. The prose also could have been sharpened in places and repetitious passages omitted. Professional historians will likely be frustrated by the limited footnotes, especially as the trail has not received this sort of treatment before.

None of that affects the core merit of *Trail North*. It is an impressive achievement that brings to light an important and, until now, obscure aspect of BC history. It could easily find a place in undergraduate courses on BC history and on the bookshelves of those interested in this period or ranching in British Columbia and Washington.

*The North-West Mounted Police,  
1873-1885*

Jack F. Dunn

Calgary: Jack Dunn, 2016. 815 pp.  
\$40.00 cloth.

SOREN I. FANNING

*Robert Morris University*

IN A wonderfully detailed and researched volume, Jack F. Dunn has created a study that is a worthy addition to Brendan and Horall's *Red Coats on the Prairies* and R.C. Macleod's *NWMP and Law Enforcement*. Focusing exclusively on the creation and first decade of the force, Dunn's work is equal parts narrative history and sociological study of prairie life in the late nineteenth century. In terms of organization, Dunn's method is reminiscent of Macleod's: he begins with a chronological narrative in the first half of the book before transitioning to a thematic approach in the second half. The effect is generally helpful, and although the shift between the two styles is mildly disruptive, it doesn't hamper Dunn's ability to explore the topic. The primary sources are drawn heavily from archival, personal (diaries and correspondence), as well as journalistic sources and they serve his purpose well. His select bibliography is somewhat slim, but it is well researched and includes all the key works upon which his book draws.

It should be noted that this work deals exclusively with the NWMP and its activities in the Prairies themselves. Any discussion of the political dynamics affecting Canada as a whole or the force's organizational leadership in Ottawa is conspicuously missing. This in no way diminishes the work as Dunn's stated purpose is to provide an "outline of

the frontier experience” (xv), a task that he accomplishes quite well. The Canadian government is mentioned where applicable, but Dunn is focused exclusively on frontier affairs as opposed to political or administrative affairs.

Where Dunn shines is in the level of clarity he brings to the life of both frontier folk and the NWMP constables. He consistently highlights vivid and striking accounts to buttress his descriptions, and he is able to portray a variety of attitudes and perspectives without his narrative bogging down into a hodgepodge of he-said-then-he-said vignettes. Unavoidably, the majority of the voices chronicled are either white male settlers or white male police officers, but Dunn goes to great lengths to include subaltern voices from the time and to give them their agency. The experiences of First Nations, women, and Métis are dealt with throughout the book, and not just in their own isolated chapters – a feature that enhances the value of the work.

In *The North-West Mounted Police*, Dunn has created what will almost certainly become a standard reference work on the early years of the force. It should be useful not just to historians but also to sociology and criminal justice students. While the book lacks the depth of a dedicated monograph on each particular topic (e.g., whiskey smuggling or horse theft), it provides excellent information and analysis to serve as a foundation for future research. Dunn’s writing style is active, engaging, and concise, and would be appropriate for students at both the undergraduate and post-baccalaureate levels. It is a skilfully written, exceptionally detailed, and well-researched book that should find a home in most university libraries.

*Mudflat Dreaming: Waterfront Battles and the Squatters Who Fought Them in 1970s Vancouver*

Jean Walton

Vancouver: New Star Books, 2018.  
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LIMINAL spaces make places. This is the central theme of Jean Walton’s book, *Mudflat Dreaming*, an unconventional work of literary nonfiction that weaves together memoir, film studies, and Vancouver history in the 1970s, a pivotal moment of social change and the reimagining of cities. Like the littoral spaces *Mudflat Dreaming* traverses, the book flows in and out of stories like the movements of a tide, tacking back and forth through the author’s adolescence in Surrey, the nearby working-class neighbourhood of Bridgeview, and the counterculture community of Maplewood Mudflats on Burrard Inlet. This synchronizing of form and content reveals Walton’s conceptualization of place: not as a static geographic location but as a tangle of haunts, memories, and detritus. Water ebbs and flows, structures are demolished and new ones are built, materials collect and circulate. There are no chapters in this book, only anchored themes that, like the mudflat shacks, rise and fall with the tides.

It’s appropriate that a book about a city often referred to as “Hollywood North” should ground itself in close readings of film and the visual signatures of place they contain. Two of these films, *Living on the Mud* and *Mudflats Living*, were made to document the lives of inhabitants of the Maplewood Mudflats. The other film, *Some People Have to Suffer*, documents the

grievances of the working-class residents of Bridgeview and their problems gaining access to services and infrastructure. This latter film was a product of a fascinating National Film Board program, *Challenge for Change*, an initiative that empowered underrepresented communities to produce films – a government-sponsored foray into media activism. Though blue-collar suburbs and floating counterculture villages may seem dissimilar, Walton shows how they shared more than one might expect, emerging through the same historical processes and social and geographic context.

Walton's use of a fourth film, Robert Altman's "anti-Western" *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, which was filmed nearby in the North Shore Mountains, is where the author most vividly traces the contours of a particular Vancouver and its connections to the broader world. For the film, the mudflat dwellings were recreated in the mountains as a hastily cobbled-together mining community in the late nineteenth-century Pacific Northwest, the drama orbiting around a brothel. Here Walton draws connections between sex work and extractive capitalism – bodies and landscapes forged through global circuits. As she does throughout the book, Walton lets her filmic archive lead her outward, engaging with those who had appeared on screen, each joining a chorus that sings a particular Vancouver into existence. One of these contemporary informants, Jackie Crossland, who played a sex worker-turned-cook in *McCabe*, describes not only the making of the film but also the vectors of her life that extended outward from it: her central role in the local theatre community, her advocacy for youth sex workers in the Downtown Eastside, and her place in counterculture and queer circles – a life that occasionally brushed up against mudflat dwellers.

Walton periodically reminds readers that the Squamish, Musqueam, and Tsleil-Waututh peoples have never disappeared from their unceded lands in the Vancouver area – and she briefly draws attention to an intriguing alignment of interests between mudflat dwellers and Tsleil-Waututh chief Dan George – but sidelines the intrinsic relationship between settler colonialism and squatting. Historians have shown how the production of urban space for settler Vancouver depended on Indigenous dispossession and how the frequently perplexing issues of squatter and foreshore rights have always been entangled in the mechanisms of "municipal colonialism" (Stanger-Ross 2008; Barman 2007). When one mudflat dweller maintains that "part of what's so wonderful there is that it isn't properly speaking anywhere at all, it's like living right out of the world together" (29), he conjures the purity of living outside the imposition of authority over him or the land, vanishing Indigenous sovereignty and territorial authority – the constitutive subtext of dispossession that made the act of resistance by squatters possible in the first place.

Despite this missed opportunity, *Mudflat Dreaming* has much to offer historians working in a variety of fields. For scholars working on questions of place and memory, this book should provoke thinking on how to recover and contextualize a past often "hidden in plain sight." For environmental historians, this book moves beyond urban/rural, metropole/periphery binaries and into the littoral space where water and earth, concrete and mud meet. In a contemporary context of housing crisis and gentrification, this book is a timely reminder that other Vancouvers have been and will always be possible.

## REFERENCES

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*Selling Out or Buying In?  
Debating Consumerism in  
Vancouver and Victoria,  
1945–1985*

Michael Dawson

University of Toronto Press, 2018.  
215 pp. \$27.95 paper.

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TODAY WE live in a consumer-oriented culture in which material items help to define who we are, or, who we want to be. To meet our material needs, stores are now open seven days a week, often from 10:00 in the morning until 9:00 at night. But this was not always the case. Canadian historians have identified the postwar period as the time when a seismic shift took place, moving us away from decades of scarcity and an ethic of "making do" to a modern consumer society in which there is a perpetual cycle of acquiring – often on credit – and disposing. This cultural shift caught the eye of the French cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard, who argues that we live in the prison house of consumption, with all that the term implies concerning group integration and social control.

Taking a thematic approach, Dawson's book explores "the consolidation of Canada's consumer society by focusing on how people in two BC cities responded to, and debated, initiatives designed to

dramatically increase consumers' access to goods and services" (10). Following the lead of the University of Wisconsin historian Mary Louise Robert, Dawson argues that there was nothing natural or inevitable about the emergence of modern consumer practices. At a time before online shopping and internet purchases, consumerism was based largely on customers walking into stores to buy "stuff." Until the late 1950s, residents of Vancouver and Victoria negotiated a shopping landscape that would be unrecognizable to us today, with most stores being closed for at least half the day on Wednesdays, shut most evenings, and closed all day on Sundays.

The question that occupied and divided British Columbians in Vancouver and Victoria between 1945 and 1985 was: How far should society go to meet the consumer's material desires and needs? On one side of the debate were those who argued for a liberalizing of the consumer experience. The more opportunities for consumption, they argued, the better. Vancouver boosters, for example, argued that mid-week closing "was costing local merchants much-needed revenue and was giving tourists the impression that the city was not interested in their business" (37). Others in this camp argued that more sales meant more profits for individual firms, greater macroeconomic growth, and more satisfied customers.

On the other side of the debate were those who argued for limited shopping hours in order to protect their economic interests or way of life. For this latter group, extending store hours was "less about 'buying in' to Canada's consumer society than it was about 'selling out' an older lifestyle that offered a welcome balance between work and leisure" (10).

Dawson notes, however, that this was not a straightforward story about big business against the small local merchant. Within each camp there were divergent

interests, multiple identities, and many voices. Contrary to popular perceptions and populist rhetoric, the externally owned and controlled chain stores were not all in agreement about the need to deregulate store hours. For example, in 1954, the department store chain Woodworth's Stores Ltd. was against extending the shopping week to six days "because we believe in the 5-day week for our employees and guarantee it by staying closed one full day each week in all of our stores" (65). Cold War ideology imbued the debate with competing notions of citizenship, democracy, and free enterprise. Thus, Dawson concludes that store-hour deregulation was ultimately "a product not just of monopoly capitalism but of intricate strategies and alliances within local communities" (151).

Unlike Baudrillard, Dawson is optimistic about our own agency and ability to break out of the prison house of consumerism based on the fact that "those who came before us did not passively stand aside as consumer society developed ... The fact that people debated consumerism in the past ought to encourage us to continue asking hard questions about it today in and in future" (150). All this reviewer can say is: Amen.

*The Campbell Revolution?  
Power, Politics, and Policy in  
British Columbia*

J. R. Lacharite and  
Tracy Summerville, eds.

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-  
Queen's University Press, 2017.  
350 pp. \$34.95 cloth.

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THIS IS ONE of those rare collections that focuses on a recent significant political transition. In doing so Jason Lacharite and Tracy Summerville have produced a needed and worthwhile book. For those not cognizant of recent BC political history, Gordon Campbell was the Liberal premier of British Columbia during a pivotal decade (2001–2011). A controversial and polarizing figure, Campbell won three majorities – and yet was forced to resign within eighteen months of his last victory. The Campbell Liberals swept into power after a decade of crisis-ridden NDP governance, and his premiership became the icon of British Columbia's neoliberal revolution. Purposely attempting to demystify this period, the editors' approach Campbell not as a revolutionary innovator but as a late adopter, a populist and pragmatic leader who rode the wave of neoliberalism, selecting choice items from a well-known neoliberal toolkit to fashion a new model of governance for British Columbia. Yet what makes the collection interesting is the editors' desire to probe the reality of what appears to be a complex, nuanced, and at times contradictory set of transitions. For the most part, the collection does this through evaluations.

The scope of the collection has some surprises, particularly the emphases in three substantial contributions that come to grips with changes in political life in the province: a biography that locates his origins as an effective "nonpartisan" pro-developer populist within the complex world of Vancouver urban politics (Ginnell), an analysis of his democratic reforms (Pilon), and an account of his Saint Paul-like conversion on Aboriginal rights and celebrated attempt to reconcile with Indigenous peoples (Belanger). Beginning with a critical overview of neoliberal governance by Summerville,

the study has policy evaluations on taxation (Lacharite), labour (Teepie), health care (Hanlon), social assistance and inequality (Creese and Strong-Boag), environment and natural resources (Hoberg), and hydroelectric energy (Cohen). Finally, a set of chapters that looks at urban and regional politics (Smith), cultural policy (Low), and the Olympics (Brunet Jailly) round off the analyses. The editors conclude with a thoughtful synthesis.

Let's be clear, the contributors are not a set of Campbell apologists – this is a collection of analyses from critical liberal and neo-Marxist perspectives. And it has a lot to offer. What emerges are multiple and sometimes contradictory images of this transition. Contrary to mythology, Lacharite reveals that the Campbell fiscal policy centred on lowering income taxes, but the books could only be balanced by increasing indirect consumption taxes, a much less progressive form of taxation. Contrary to mythology, Hanlon argues that Campbell did not solve the cost pressures of health policy through privatization; rather, the key health care constituencies were protected, but at a cost of freezing the scope of public coverage. From Pilon, Belanger, Hoberg, and Smith we gain the sense of a premier who is strategic in his thinking, dominating in policy process – and yet (surprise) not always able to fully follow through on complexities or really to surrender executive power to broader democratic constituencies, Aboriginal Peoples, or municipal structures. Summerville, Teepie, Creese and Strong-Boag, and Cohen provide more straightforward critiques of Campbell's neoliberal transition that question the equity of public-private partnerships, emphasize how it diminished the legal and political power of organized labour, contributed to greater gendered inequality, and had

long-term privatization impacts on publicly owned resources.

Does the collection deliver the goods? For the most part, yes. Sure, it could have benefitted from including contributions on education, fiscal, and economic policies. And it could have had a more disciplined comparative perspective. But they have produced a valuable collection of solid analyses that collectively probes the reality of those transitions.

*Before and After the State:  
Politics, Poetics, and People(s) in  
the Pacific Northwest*

Allan K. McDougall,  
Lisa Philips, and  
Daniel L. Boxberger

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018. 332 pp.  
\$34.95 paper.

BRANDON DIMMEL  
*London, Ontario*

THE AUTHORS of *Before and After the State: Politics, Poetics, and People(s) in the Pacific Northwest* attempt to expand our understanding of the development of two nations, and a border between them, from a mostly political story to one that explores individuals' everyday experiences. For a book that is broken into two parts – one dealing with the imposition of state structure on the Pacific Northwest, the other exploring this development through the voices of those who lived through it – and written by three academics (one a political scientist, the others anthropologists), the book is surprisingly cohesive and tells a unique story of how two nations laid claim to the region.

According to Allan K. McDougall, Lisa Philips, and Daniel L. Boxberger, the established stories of the Pacific Northwest largely involve two competing narratives: south of the border, it is Manifest Destiny and how the Oregon Trail brought to the region hardworking American pioneers, white Christians from the east who sliced through the wilderness like a hot knife through butter. North of the border, it is the tale of Britain's Hudson's Bay Company, which establish a social and political framework that helped lay the foundation for Confederation.

Of course, the authors of *Before and After the State* feel this leaves out many important stories, most notably those of the people who lived in the Pacific Northwest prior to the establishment of a visible state apparatus, those who helped to implement it, and those who worked to cement its power in the early years of the twentieth century. And, to their credit, in the book's second part, the authors do a fine job of bringing these stories to the forefront and using them to reinforce the national narratives laid out in their work's first half.

Most fascinating may be the stories of Ranald McDonald and Elizabeth Bacon Custer, the wife of the US Army officer who died in the Montana Territory during the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. Fast-forward eighteen years and we find Custer, who has established a name for herself as a journalist, interviewing McDonald, the son of a high-ranking HBC officer and the daughter of a Chinook chief. Although he led a fascinating life that

took him to Japan, where few whites travelled in the nineteenth century, and back to the Pacific Northwest to help build some of British Columbia's earliest and most vital infrastructure, the mixed-blood McDonald was called a "prince of paupers" by Custer, who characterized him as little more than a crusty artifact of a bygone era. Custer's story, which is published in several American newspapers, captures the way in which educated Christian whites from the east forced their version of civilization and the state on the Pacific Northwest, largely erasing the Indigenous and pioneer cultures that had flourished there earlier. Credit Philips for capturing the book's central message in this story of two very different people; thankfully, there are other stories of this kind to enjoy here.

One wonders if it would have been possible to provide more of these accounts and fewer of the well-established narratives that make up the book's first half. It is also worth noting that the book threatens to lose its reader long before its intriguing second half by using the academic jargon that so often scares people away from works of this kind. Terms like "proscenium stage," "static perspective," and "social ascendancy" – used a bit too liberally in the introduction – threaten to mask its value and prevent readers from pressing on.

Nevertheless, there is much to enjoy here, particularly for those interested in learning the deeper story behind the social and political development of the United States and Canada in the Pacific Northwest.