

BOOK REVIEWS

*Hard Is the Journey:
Stories of Chinese Settlement in
British Columbia's Kootenay*

Lily Chow

Qualicum Beach, BC: Caitlin Press,
2022. 222 pp. \$26.00 paper.

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HAVING LEFT villages in districts of the Zhujiang Delta (Guangdong province) in search of their fortunes, Chinese immigrants ended up being foundational to the settling of British Columbia. Lily Chow's book *Hard Is the Journey: Stories of Chinese Settlement in British Columbia's Kootenay* charts that history, providing five place-based chapters for one town and four cities – Fisherville, Cranbrook, Revelstoke, Nelson, and Rossland. Gorgeously illustrated with photographs of people, buildings, and places, full of anecdotes and compelling stories, this book brings a rich history of Chinese immigrants, and Chinese Canadians, to life.

Although seventeen thousand Chinese men helped to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, they are absent from the images commemorating the Last

Spike. Chow's research found that "at least one Chinese man was present, even if he is not visible in the photographs" (88). Rectifying this omission, Wing Chung's portrait is featured in Chow's book and is emblematic of Chow's effort to make Chinese Canadian history visible by writing people into a history that has tried to exclude them.

Many Chinese came as sojourners, without intention of spending their lives away from home. They aimed to work and save money, return home to buy a piece of land, and thereby provide a better life for themselves and their families. For many, that dream never materialized.

White supremacy and racism limited jobs, wages, and opportunities, making it very difficult to accumulate wealth. Chinese men worked as "houseboys," servants, and cooks. They also established businesses, including general and grocery stores, tailor shops, restaurants, and laundries. Many had been small-scale farmers in China and resumed that work in British Columbia. They established market gardens, peddled their produce, and supplied fresh vegetables to locals.

For decades, white anti-Asian racism was central to the writing of Chinese Canadian history. In this book, that history is written from insiders' perspectives. As Chow explains, "the

early Chinese immigrants had little choice but to tolerate racism in order to make life work in a foreign country” (84). Although white supremacy shaped Chinese experience, it neither consumed nor defined it. In *Hard Is the Journey*, the lives of newcomers are foregrounded with dignity and respect.

The book is a history of individuals, about communities and community building. Organizations like the Chee Kung Tong and Joss houses created places of belonging, forged links between the old and new world, and made life better and richer. Stories of care and generosity are wonderful antidotes to a history of racism and white supremacy.

The final section of each chapter explores the reunification of families made possible when the *1923 Exclusion Act* was finally repealed in 1947. It tells the history of families, wives, parents, marriages, children, and grandchildren. The sacrifice of forebearers and the hard work of ancestors made it possible for Chinese Canadians to become professionals, scholars, and to have “a pleasant and comfortable life” (176). The reunification of “old timers” with “newcomers” (81) marked the fulfilment of the hope of making life better for future generations.

Although the book does not explore at any length the relationships between First Nations and Chinese settlers, who were part of the colonization process that dispossessed Indigenous Peoples from their lands and resources, each chapter begins with an acknowledgment of the Indigenous Nations (the Ktunaxa, Secwépemc, Sinixt, and Syilx) on whose territories this history is taking place. This is a critical corrective to the traditional writing of BC and Canadian history. Chow’s example is a good beginning. It is up to future historians to continue this crucial work.

*Witness to the Human Rights
Tribunals: How the System Fails
Indigenous Peoples*

Bruce Granville Miller

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2023.
240 pp. \$34.95 paper.

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Witness to the Human Rights Tribunals is the latest in a long list of Bruce Miller’s publications on First Nations and Native Americans, and their experiences with the legal system, a topic with which Miller has more experience than any other academic anthropologist working in British Columbia and Washington State. Divided into two parts, Part 1, “Anthropology and Law,” focuses on the role of the anthropologist as expert witness in Canada and the US, while Part 2, “The Tribunal,” examines case studies of First Nations cases before the BC Human Rights Tribunal. In both parts, through his own participation and observation, Miller utilizes his skills as an anthropologist to lay bare the inherent biases in First Nations experiences with the courts.

In Canada and the US “Indians” constitutes a legal category whose occupants possess Aboriginal and treaty Rights that other citizens do not. Confusion over what these rights entail has been the driving force of most litigation involving First Nations from the beginning of North American colonization. Miller points out that, for anthropologists of his (and my) generation who work in Indigenous communities, an overriding concern has been to understand and aid the movement towards Indigenous sovereignty and autonomy (16), and to rectify the role

our discipline has played in the colonial process.

"Anthropology and Law" gives a brief history of colonialism and law in Canada and the US, originating in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. After the Royal Proclamation both countries recognized a nation-to-nation relationship with the Indigenous population, a relationship that was increasingly diluted in the nineteenth century by the gradual (or, in the US, not so gradual) displacement of First Nations through conquest and treaties. British Columbia stands apart from this process because, except for the Vancouver Island Douglas treaties, the province did not start the treaty process until 1991.

Miller outlines the pitfalls for the academic who engages in expert witness testimony. First, writing reports for litigation is not highly regarded as an academic pursuit. The reports may be held up for years in the courts, thereby restricting the young academic from publishing – a necessary requirement for tenure and promotion. Second, expert witnesses are retained to provide an opinion for the court, not the client. Expert witnesses in British Columbia must abide by the Rules of Court. Therefore, the expert witness must refrain from appearing as an advocate of Indigenous Rights, a near impossible task since advocacy is a necessary requisite for gaining a community's trust, a process that takes years to build. Miller discusses these pitfalls in some detail and makes suggestions as to how the role of the expert witness might better serve the court and the client. Miller also delves into the questions: What should lawyers teach anthropologists? How can anthropologists better serve their clients by educating the court over what he calls "dueling epistemologies"? How can anthropologists assist with the ongoing struggle over the legitimacy of

oral history as evidence? Miller discusses each of these with much personal insight.

"The Tribunal" details the experience of First Nations litigants with the BC Human Rights Tribunal and focuses on two cases in which Miller was involved. From his perspective the anthropologist can gain a stronger view of how anthropologists and others might better enter their ideas into the legal system and achieve more understanding of the legal problems facing Indigenous people by looking at cases involving individuals in tribunals as opposed to cases involving First Nations collective legal battles over Indigenous Rights to land, resources, and self-governance.

Unfortunately, the number of Indigenous decisions rendered by the BC Human Rights Tribunal are few, averaging just seven a year from 1997 to 2014 (108). The major question Miller asks is, "Why has the tribunal generally failed First Nations?" The two case studies involve a UBC professor who was denied tenure and a woman who suffered physical abuse at the hands of the Vancouver Police Department.

Miller describes his observations of the tribunal *McCue v. University of British Columbia*, in which June McCue brought a case against the university following her denial of tenure and promotion. McCue, a lawyer, argued that the denial was discriminatory because she met the terms of tenure in an Indigenous manner. Miller participated in the case as "anthropologist-expert" and "anthropologist-ethnographer." Using excerpts from his field notes he details the pitfalls he describes in Part 1, such as the issues of the qualification of experts, the diminution of evidence, and the question of who controls anthropological field notes. McCue lost the case, a loss Miller attributes to "symbolic violence" at the hands of the witnesses for UBC, who "manifested a denial of Indigenous

culture and the presence of Indigenous people at the university, despite saying otherwise” (159).

In *Menzies v. Vancouver Police Department*, Clara Menzies (a pseudonym) happened upon her teenage son as he was being arrested. When she attempted to talk with him the police carried her away from the scene and threw her to the ground. Miller submitted an expert report and appeared as expert witness in this hearing. Despite winning the case, the trauma Menzies experienced continued after the incident. The mistreatment from people who were supposed to be there to protect her and her family fostered a mistrust that could place her in danger in the future if she needs police assistance.

This book is a masterful analysis of the ongoing struggle over Indigenous litigation in Canada and the US, written by one of the leading experts on the subject. Anyone involved in or interested in Aboriginal Rights and reconciliation will benefit from this work.

*Hungry Listening:
Resonant Theory for
Indigenous Sound Studies*

Dylan Robinson

Minneapolis: University of
Minnesota Press, 2020.
288 pp. \$28.00 paper.

SYLVIA RICHARDSON
University of the Fraser Valley

DYLAN ROBINSON’S book, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*, is a portal to many worlds. The book is a call for adopting a critical listening positionality, drawing our attention to the specific ways each of us individually

listen. This approach to musicology has the potential to expose racism guided by culture, class, and the multiple identities we take on. Robinson writes of the injuries of racism and the refusal of the *terra nullius* doctrine by other academics – Audra Simpson, David Garneau, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, and Glen Sean Coulthard – a practice that centres Indigenous perspectives and demarcates Indigenous sovereignty. *Hungry Listening* calls for a refusal of Indigenous knowledge extraction and instrumentalization (23) and encourages resurgence through forms of “sensate sovereignty” – knowledge that is “felt viscerally, proprioceptively” (24). Creating “irreconcilable spaces of Aboriginality” outside of settlers’ gazes, these are acts of gathering together (visiting as responsibility) and remembering the ancestors. Robinson is speaking of the land, learning to listen with the land and through the land: “At its core, my discussion of the relationship that occurs between human and non-human musical and spatial subjects seeks to unseat the anthropocentrism of listening” (98).

Hungry Listening is critical of the colonial scripts. The work is nuanced in its invitation to become aware of how we listen and how we see. Throughout the book, Robinson centres Indigenous decolonial sovereignties; he points to new ways of seeing and being, revealing the ways “the right way to listen” or the “wrong way of listening” can create boxes that deny our imagination. The book is an awakening of sensate sovereignty, of how we may better listen to our world, to the land, and to the beings with whom we coexist.

Can we speak of reconciliation without truth telling? Robinson’s answer is a resounding “No.” He argues that talk of reconciliation has taken the place of redress for the harms of genocide. He

is calling for reigniting imagination in direct contrast to the neoliberal performative myth of equality as multicultural performances on stage: “For settler audience members, it may be a much easier task to embrace the mystery of Indigenous stories and aesthetics than to play a leading role in the eradication of another kind of mystery: the prevailing ignorance of Indigenous histories of colonization and their lasting effects on Indigenous people today” (231). The heart of this work is how we listen to our non-human relations. And as we dance, sing our stories, and become proprioceptively aware of how we listen and see, we decolonize the hungry listening imposed by colonial violence and challenge the normativity of a “fixed” listening that endorses a colonial story as something of the past and casts reconciliation in terms that centre whiteness.

This book is a primer for music, arts, and Indigenous studies programs interested in creating protocols for ethical research practices and for Indigenous scholars interested in resurgence as an academic practice. It is a must-read for those interested in decolonizing protocols and in understanding how listening positionality affirms how we see and understand the subjectivity of place and the “animacy” of land.

*Frances Barkley:
Eighteenth-Century Seafarer*

Cathy Converse

Victoria: Heritage House
Publishing, 2023. 144 pp.
\$12.95 paper.

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IN NOVEMBER 1786, seventeen-year-old Frances Barkley embarked on a trade mission with her new husband, Captain Charles William Barkley, in his ship the *Imperial Eagle*. Over the next eight years, the Barkleys would sail around the world twice, trading in sea otter pelts, Chinese tea, silk, porcelain, and cotton. With this voyage, Barkley became the first woman to openly circumnavigate the world and the first European woman to visit the Pacific Northwest and the Hawaiian Archipelago.

In *Frances Barkley: Eighteenth-Century Seafarer*, Cathy Converse brings Barkley’s story to life through a creative retelling of her memoir, *Reminiscences*, now held in the British Columbia Archives. Converse filled gaps in *Reminiscences* through archival research, consultation with maritime historians, and conversations with descendants of the Barkleys. This slim book is comprised of short chapters corresponding to legs of the journey, and the text is supplemented with maps and illustrations that help readers to visualize the people and places Barkley encountered. Converse provides historical background and contextual information through the introduction and conclusion, endnotes, and glossary. Her combination of careful research and clear, descriptive prose makes for an informative and highly readable account.

This book is a unique contribution to the literature on the eighteenth-century maritime fur trade and the experiences of European women in these trade networks. As an engaging first-person narrative, Converse’s book presents Barkley’s story and historical context in a form that is accessible to a wide range of readers, including those unfamiliar with this history. The narrative offers an immersive window into the challenges and excitements of seafaring life at the time, including food scarcity, illness and

disease, trade practices and rivalries, pirates and privateering, and the perils of bad weather. Of particular interest is the way Barkley's story situates the sea otter trade in the Pacific Northwest in the context of global maritime trade networks of the eighteenth century.

Readers should keep in mind that this is a work of creative non-fiction that does not provide the same first-hand perspective as does the primary source material – a transcription of which is published in *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley: 1769–1845* (Hill and Converse, 2008). In particular, the depictions of Indigenous Peoples Barkley encountered on her travels are relayed with curious neutrality, contrasting sharply with racist and deprecating descriptions found in Barkley's *Reminiscences*. Observations on the labrets worn by Tlingit people in Sitka Sound and Yakutat Bay, for example, are written in impartial terms in Converse's *Frances Barkley* but in overtly disparaging terms in *Reminiscences*. While the removal of racist language is understandable considering the book's intended audience, this decision is worthy of discussion. Unfortunately, Converse does not meaningfully address these modifications, stating in the introduction that "it is impossible to know how Frances felt about the people she encountered as she never voiced her opinion in her journal or letters" (5). There remains a valuable but untapped opportunity to critically examine how Barkley represented Indigenous Peoples in her journal and to frankly consider the racialized, gendered dynamics within which she experienced her world and these sites of encounter.

Overall, *Frances Barkley: Eighteenth-Century Seafarer* is an accessible, engaging account of the late eighteenth-century maritime fur trade from the perspective of a young British woman aboard

a merchant sailing ship. With its compelling blend of fact and fiction, this book will appeal to a wide audience, especially those interested in the history of the maritime fur trade, travel writing, and women's experiences in the Pacific Northwest.

REFERENCE

Hill, Beth, and Cathy Converse. 2008. *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley: 1769–1845*. Victoria: TouchWood Editions.

*Purchasing Power:
Women and the Rise of
Canadian Consumer Culture*

Donica Belisle

Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 2020. 304 pp. \$34.95 paper.

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IN THE PAST two decades, new global histories have dedicated increasing attention to the role of consumption as a driver of both economic and political changes such as industrialization and the rise of the nation-state. Donica Belisle's *Purchasing Power* aligns with that global trend and complements earlier works on consumerism and gender in Canada by scholars like Joy Parr, Joan Sangster, and Magda Fahrni. Focusing on the period between the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the Second World War, Belisle argues that Canadian women, though largely absent from the formal workforce and political processes, constituted themselves as citizens through their central and increasingly

important roles as consumers. Through consumption, Belisle claims, Canadian wives and mothers helped create the nation, its economy, and its identity.

The book's argument is articulated in six chapters that proceed chronologically and thematically from the temperance movement in the later nineteenth century to women's cooperative purchasing movements in the inter-war years. Intervening chapters assess women's participation in food conservation during the First World War, contestations over fashion in the early twentieth century, Women's Institutes and rural consumption, and the beginnings and institutionalization of home economics. The primary sources for these studies range from university calendars (for home economics) to reports of Women's Institutes and the publications of women's organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union's (WCTU's) *White Ribbon Tidings*. The chapters deftly weave women's consumption into issues of recognized national significance. For the most part, the results are insightful and significant, demonstrating how both women and men came to see domestic consumption as key to the nation's fortunes and, in the case of women, as a source of female pride and dignity. Occasionally, however, the primary sources are overinterpreted. For example, Belisle effectively demonstrates how the WCTU promoted a "mother-centred spending vision" (39) in its publications, asking its female readers to contemplate "how many beautiful luxuries can be purchased with the price of a case of liquor" (39). However, she then goes on to assert that the WCTU was actively seeking to promote consumerism (41). An equally or more plausible assertion would be that the WCTU saw the organizing possibilities inherent in the age-old tension over family spending at a time when women

were less willing to tolerate autocratic male control over family finances.

Similarly, while class tensions are usefully analyzed (particularly in the chapter on wartime conservation), the analysis of race and ethnicity seems strained. We learn, for example, that women's movements were "predominantly white," which is perhaps to be expected in a period when the population of Canada was more than 90 percent of European origin. Strikingly, however, there is little evidence of racial or ethnic animus in the primary sources cited. For example, Belisle reports on critiques of incompetent homemaking by promoters of home economics. She notes that, while articles "did not single out non-British homemakers' behaviour as deviant," "it is likely that their criticism of improper shopping and cooking habits was influenced by their views of the non-white and non-Western European Other" (91). If the primary sources reveal limited evidence of the kinds of tension and hatreds found in other domains, Belisle explains this finding away through recourse to intention, missing the opportunity for a more interesting analysis – including, perhaps, progressive potentials of consumerism (as seen in American consumers' "anti-sweatshop" campaigns of the early twentieth century).

In this case and throughout, the relative absence of evidence from British Columbia is disappointing. Given British Columbia's ethnic composition and racial tensions in the early twentieth century, further attention to the province might have illuminated the relationship between consumerism and heightened (or lessened) racial discrimination. Similarly, fruit producers in BC figure in the chapter on purchasing cooperatives, but the focus is on women purchasers on the Prairies. We are told of only one instance in which the Vancouver-based BC

Consumers' League engaged in bulk fruit purchase (174–75). Further discussion of the league and its activities would have added a valuable BC perspective to the book, as would more inclusion of BC evidence throughout.

Regardless of these criticisms, Belisle's book provides important insight into the role and self-fashioning of Canada's women in the early twentieth century and contributes effectively to the broader history of consumption in the modern world. It will be a useful addition to syllabi in Canadian history, the history of consumption, and gender history.

*Gold, Grit, Guns: Miners on
BC's Fraser River in 1858*

Alexander Globe

Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2022.
350 pp. \$26.95 paper.

Barkerville Days

Fred Ludditt

Qualicum Beach, BC: Caitlin Press,
2022. 192 pp. \$26.00 paper.

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THE GOLD rushes of the Fraser River and the Cariboo were foundational events in the history of British Columbia. Two books, one new and one newly reprinted, aim to offer comprehensive histories of their respective rushes. Both also use rare or unique source material. In the case of Alexander Globe's *Gold, Grit, Guns*, it is four rarely examined journals, including one privately held by the author. In *Barkerville Days*, Fred Ludditt draws

on decades of residence in Barkerville, interviews with old-timers, and his personal role in establishing what would become the world-renowned Barkerville Historic Town and Park.

Globe's book is divided into three parts. The first, "The 1858 Setting," is spread over four chapters and provides a narrative of the Fraser River gold rush that is awash in fine-grain details of specific mining areas, techniques, transportation routes, and the like. The second, "The Diarists in Fraser River Country, 1858," gives each of the four diaries its own chapter. This is one of the strongest parts of the book as each source is uncommonly rich and full of descriptive detail, far beyond the records of weather and expenses so prevalent in miner's journals. The final part, "Looking Forward," is essentially an epilogue. The value of the appendix must be noted. Globe has undertaken the herculean task of compiling a complete (or very nearly so) list of ships and shipping to Victoria and the Lower Mainland during 1858.

Overall, *Gold, Grit, Guns* is a fascinating, informative, but also uneven work. While Globe has conducted deep research into the primary sources of the Fraser River rush, the work fails to engage with most of the major existing works on British Columbia and the gold rushes. This is disappointing because the insights gleaned from scholars such as Jean Barman, Tina Loo, and Adele Perry (for a start) would have measurably strengthened the analysis. The secondary literature that does appear tends to over-stress the threat posed by American miners and the intensity of conflicts with Indigenous Peoples. At the same time, *Gold, Grit, Guns* offers perhaps the single best account of the experiences of miners on the Lower Fraser. The level of detail is inspiring, especially as the book is also extremely readable. The picture

that emerges of the hardships faced by the miners is compelling. This is especially true of the four chapters focused on the accounts left by George Slocumb, George Beam, Otis Parson, and an anonymous Canadian miner. Amid all of this, Globe also tracks the environmental impact of the miners, showing how it not only affected contemporary events but also left lasting legacies for future generations.

The reprinting of Fred Ludditt's *Barkerville Days* is a welcome event. Originally published in 1969 by a long-time resident of Barkerville (and gold miner himself) it has a roughly chronological organization. Most of the first ten chapters (each fairly short, the entire book comes in at 192 pages) focus on the height of the Cariboo rush in the early 1860s. Ludditt then spends the bulk of the next five chapters covering the period from the 1870s to the 1930s, when Ludditt himself arrived in Barkerville. Some of the most interesting material is in the final two chapters, where Ludditt describes the efforts to preserve Barkerville's history and the creation of the Barkerville Historic Town and Park.

Barkerville Days is the reflection of one man's single-minded quest to preserve Barkerville's history. Its organization is a bit scattered and tends toward a "Great Man" history of the rush emphasizing the heroic struggles of individual white men while virtually ignoring anyone else. Indeed, some of the latter sections of the book literally become a "Who's Who" of Barkerville history. Ludditt also very clearly has an axe to grind with regard to the early governmental preservation efforts in Barkerville. For all that, though, modern readers can find much to inform and amuse in *Barkerville Days*. While subsequent scholars have done a lot to add nuance and detail to Ludditt's account, the core descriptions of the rush stand the test of time. As a miner himself, Ludditt understands his

historical subjects and their craft in a way most scholars aspire to, and this comes through in the pages of his book.

Both works add to our understanding of the gold rushes of British Columbia. Ludditt's source is interesting both for the history it contains and as a piece of history itself. Despite being decades old, it remains an accessible and engaging account of the Cariboo gold rush and subsequent time periods. Indeed, one of the most disappointing things about the book is the relatively scant attention paid to the twentieth-century history of the region. The irony is that, thanks largely to Fred Ludditt and others like him, the history of the gold rush in the Cariboo is more accessible and well known than more recent time periods. For its part, Globe's work is filled with interesting nuggets and is written in clear, lively prose. Globe's identification of the value of the Beam, Slocumb, and Parsons sources should make them required reading for future scholars of the BC gold rush. When paired with other recent scholarship on the gold rushes, both *Gold, Grit, Guns* and *Barkerville Days* are easy books to recommend. Both should find a wide audience among the general public and scholars of BC history.

Pioneer Churches along the Gold Rush Trail: An Explorer's Guide

Liz Bryan

Victoria: Heritage House
Publishing, 2022. 224 pp.
\$24.95 paper.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA may have been Canada's least religious province in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, but religion was present.¹ The built heritage, illustrated and described in *Pioneer Churches along the Gold Rush Trail: An Explorer's Guide*, demonstrates that several Christian faiths served settlers and provided missionaries to the Indigenous Peoples.

Because it is an explorer's guide, the book opens with an attractive map showing the general location of each church. Each short "chapter" is devoted to a particular church and follows a similar pattern: a brief history of the origins of the church with an anecdote or two, a description of its architectural features (a major consideration for inclusion), and a comment on its current status. When necessary, telephone numbers for information about access are provided as well as explanations of routes to churches off the main roads. The author's brilliant coloured photographs and a few historical ones complement the prose. A glossary of religious and architectural terms, suggestions for further reading, and a useful index make *Pioneer Churches* reader-friendly.

The trip begins in New Westminster, the headquarters of the Royal Engineers who built two Anglican churches there: Holy Trinity, which has been twice replaced because of fire, and St. Mary the Virgin, which survives. The pioneer Presbyterian church remains as the church hall so is included, but the Methodist and Catholic churches did not survive the city's 1898 fire so are not. Apart from side trips on the Douglas Trail from Pemberton to Lillooet and into the Nicola Valley, the journey continues inland and north along the route of the old Cariboo wagon road to Barkerville.

At a distance many churches appear to have come from the same Carpenter Gothic plan book, but Bryan points out that creative builders added unique features, particularly in bell towers. The interiors vary greatly. Some are very plain; others show considerable artistry. Carpenters placed boards diagonally around a heart to create a halo effect above the altar of St. Louis on the land of the Bonaparte First Nation. What may be Bryan's favourite church, the Church of the Holy Cross built in 1905 at Skatin on the Lillooet River, is now only accessible by a logging road from Mount Currie. Its three tall spires may have been inspired by postcards of French cathedrals. Inside, the focal point is an elaborate altar and reredos (altar screens) decorated with stars, fleur-de-lys, crosses, and fancy borders painted in gold. Local Indigenous carpenters and artists made all but the stained glass windows. It has had repairs, but in 2021, Bryan noticed some deterioration. Despite its isolation, it would be a shame if this "stunning" church, a National Historic Site, were allowed to disappear.

Some historic churches have been well maintained and still host regular services. What Bryan describes as "one of the prettiest churches" on the Cariboo Road, the Church of the Immaculate Conception on the Sugar Cane Reserve, has been renovated without affecting its original charm. Some buildings have survived because they were moved. St. Mark's Anglican Church became redundant after the route to the Cariboo bypassed Port Douglas. When settlers moved into the Chilliwack area, Bishop George Hills gave them the church for the cost of moving it. As Chilliwack grew, the building, renamed St. Thomas, was expanded and moved to another site in Chilliwack. Other churches have been repurposed. At Yale, the original Royal Engineers' church is part of a museum

¹ Lynne Marks, *Infidels and the Damn Churches: Irreligion and Religion in Settler British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 4.

complex. The Lillooet Museum's stained glass window recalls its former role as an Anglican church.

Alas, some structures have completely disappeared, often through fire as in the recent case of the Anglican and Catholic churches at Lytton, which, fortunately, Bryan had already photographed. Many abandoned buildings are in various states of disrepair. At Tsalath, according to custom, the Indigenous community is deliberately letting St. Mary's go back into the earth.

The high proportion of Anglican churches speaks to strong British influence, the presence of Roman Catholic church to the missionary endeavours of that faith. Yet, like the Anglicans, Catholic settlers built churches and, like the Catholics, Anglicans had missions. Bryan provides examples of both. Presbyterians and Methodists only get passing mention, likely because their missionary work focused on the coast and perhaps because their churches were less architecturally interesting.

While of obvious interest to architectural historians, *Pioneer Churches* also invites questions. Missionaries built many of the now abandoned churches as part of their work among the Indigenous people, but in some cases the church seems to be the only evidence of a human presence. What happened to the people? St. Aidan's, between Spence's Bridge and Ashcroft, for example, was built in the 1880s, well after smallpox, the major cause of depopulation, swept through the area. Or, did missionaries believe that a centrally located church would attract worshippers?

Pioneer Churches along the Gold Rush Trail is Bryan's second book on historic churches in British Columbia.² One

hopes that she will look at more regions of the province. These handsome volumes are a fine introduction to aspects of BC history both for armchair travellers and explorers.

Muggins: The Life and Afterlife of a Canadian Canine War Hero

Grant Hayter-Menzies

Victoria: Heritage House Publishing, 2021. 224 pp.
\$22.95 paper.

JODY HODGINS
York University

MUGGINS IS A thought-provoking biography of a canine war hero and his efforts to collect funds in support of the Canadian war effort. Grant Hayter-Menzies relates Muggins's life story within the context of histories of the animal-human relationship, women's and children's organizational support for the war effort, histories of animals at war, histories of returning veterans, and the history of animals in empire. He tackles difficult questions related to Muggins's training and desire to fundraise for the war effort, and discusses the role of taxidermy and animal mascots not simply to illustrate Muggins's life in intrinsic detail but as a gateway to understanding Muggins as a national symbol.

Divided into nine chronological chapters, Hayter-Menzies begins by taking us on his journey of discovering Muggins's story and the challenges he navigated to write a thoroughly researched biography of an animal who could not tell his own story. Hayter-Menzies successfully identifies Muggins's comfortable upper-class beginnings within the context of Victorian society

² The first volume was *Pioneer Churches of Vancouver Island and the Salish Sea* (Victoria: Heritage House, 2020).

to trace his transition to a dutiful dog who was regularly seen “trotting about with the rattling tins at either side.” He continues: “Muggins learned the more coins, the happier [his owner and fundraisers] were when the tins were turned out and the cash counted” (64). Working alongside women and children, Hayter-Menzies situates Muggins’s fundraising efforts within histories of the Canadian Home Front before continuing with chapters on Muggins’s rise to fame and the toll “heroism” took overtime, inflicting “serious physical limitations” (94).

As the war ended, Muggins’s heroism was on display in Armistice parades as he sat atop an ambulance that his collections helped pay for (111–12). Hayter-Menzies efficaciously illustrates how Muggins continued his fundraising efforts by supporting the building of the Esquimalt Convalescent Hospital (120) and assisting veterans as they returned from war. The fame and heroism Muggins achieved is best emphasized in the analysis of Muggins’s photographic postcards, two of which were taken with Sir Arthur Currie and Prince Edward, then Prince of Wales. His comprehensive analysis of the postcards offers insight into the dog’s importance and personality, noting that Hayter-Menzies chooses to believe the picture with Prince Edward was taken “the moment before the prince knelt to greet the little dog personally, calming, and reassuring him as he said ‘In the name of the Empire, I salute you!’” (131).

The final chapters discuss Muggins’s last Christmas and his afterlife, in which he is displayed as a mascot to continue his fundraising efforts. Hayter-Menzies offers a critical examination of Muggins’s taxidermy, assessing the dog’s expression, realism, and relating the canine mascot to other animals, like Edith Cavell’s dog, Jack, that is taxidermied and on display

at the Florence Nightingale Museum. He traces Muggins’s last remains and invites readers into a discussion about animals as mascots and the roles animals fulfilled in wars that were not of their making.

Where the sources available do not support a conclusive understanding of Muggins’s life, Hayter-Menzies uses “creative musings” and interprets images and newspaper clippings to paint a picture that allows the reader to step foot into the dog’s environment (19). In doing so, readers feel as though they are standing on a busy street in Victoria, at Victoria harbour, where Muggins could be seen collecting from those boarding and offloading ships, or at a busy intersection where Muggins stood excitedly anticipating the next donation. Hayter-Menzies’s illustrative language fills any holes left by a lack of written sources regarding Muggins’s life and sustains this representation of a historical moment.

Muggins is an illuminating example of animal biography that provides a compelling case study for those interested in histories of animals during wartime. Using the sources available, Hayter-Menzies invites the reader to join him on his research journey and offers a crucial and insightful perspective on the history of the human-animal relationship – one that elucidates how much human interests have influenced animal lives.

*The Acid Room: The Psychedelic
Trials and Tribulations of
Hollywood Hospital*

Jesse Donaldson
and Erika Dyck

Vancouver: Anvil Press, 2022.
160 pp. \$18.00 paper.

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THIS BOOK IS small enough to fit into the back pocket of a pair of jeans. According to Anvil Press's Brian Kaufman, the 49.2 series, *Tales from the Off-Beat*, was inspired in part by the Bloomsbury series *Object Lessons*, which produces small monographs on specific subjects (or objects) geared towards a broad audience of readers. Erika Dyck is an academic historian who has written on psychiatry, psychedelic drugs, and eugenics. Jesse Donaldson is a journalist and author who has produced other books in the 49.2 series on aspects of Vancouver's past. *The Acid Room* is a brief but highly readable and instructive study of a largely forgotten chapter in the history of medicine – the Hollywood Hospital located in New Westminster. It is also an attempt to recapture a time in North American history when psychedelics were not only legal and lightly regulated but also viewed as a promising treatment option for patients with psychological or family problems. This was before the embrace of LSD by the counterculture and growing media coverage of the alleged negative effects of the drug, which sparked a backlash that curtailed its therapeutic uses and criminalized its recreational uses.

The Hollywood Hospital initially specialized in treating alcoholics. In the

early 1950s, the search was on for new methods and drugs to treat not only alcoholism but also depression, anxiety, and psychosis. Under new owners, the New Westminster facility treated different types of patients with LSD and employed innovative methods to do so. By the late 1950s a distinct "Canadian psychedelic therapy method" was influencing LSD treatment elsewhere.¹ One of its architects was Al Hubbard, an eccentric American who moved to British Columbia. His suspect professional credentials aside, "the Captain" was a cunning networker who introduced a number of therapeutic innovations copied by others. After acquiring supplies of LSD and conducting private experiments, Hubbard became part of a network that included not only Dr. Humphrey Osmond, the Saskatchewan-based researcher who coined the term "psychedelic," but also author Aldous Huxley and psychiatrist J. Ross Maclean, who in 1956 purchased the Hollywood Hospital. Treatment emphasized patient comfort, facilitated by room design, lighting, artwork, flowers, and music.

Donaldson and Dyck focus on the period from 1957 to 1968. Although more than five hundred patient files ended up in the provincial archives, the authors use four case studies effectively interspersed into the narrative on the rise and fall of LSD in research and treatment and the institutional history of Hollywood. While it is not clear that these two women and two men treated in Hollywood's "Acid Room" were typical patients, their inclusion in the book makes for compelling reading and underlines the degree to which 1960s psychedelic psychiatry was a form of

¹ Matthew Oram, *The Trials of Psychedelic Therapy: LSD Psychotherapy in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 42.

self-help and self-expression. Patients completed questionnaires before their treatment sessions and were asked to write about their experiences in recovery.

The Acid Room is an accessible synopsis of many of the important issues in twentieth-century drug history, underscoring, for example, that science is not always sufficient to prevent the criminalization of medically useful drugs. The book is also timely given growing interest in Canada and elsewhere in psychedelics like psilocybin to treat the terminally ill and people suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. In addition, possession of small amounts of these drugs is being decriminalized in various localities.

*Decrim: How We
Decriminalized Drugs in
British Columbia*
Kennedy Stewart

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour
Publishing, 2023. 208 pp.
\$24.95 paper.

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ON 23 JANUARY 2023, after receiving an exemption from the federal *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*, British Columbia became the first province to decriminalize small amounts of certain illicit drugs. Yet this outcome found its origins in an effort led by Vancouver's mayor Kennedy Stewart – one initially staunchly opposed by the BC NDP government and the federal Liberal government until they flipped at the last minute, seemingly to avoid progressive embarrassment. This roller coaster of a policy reform effort is documented by Kennedy Stewart – now

back as a professor at SFU's School of Public Policy – in a new book, *Decrim: How We Decriminalized Drugs in British Columbia*, which will be of keen interest to policy reformers, academics, and progressive politicians.

This is neither an academic book steeped in theory and systematic empirical analysis nor a journalistic endeavour to uncover key facts from diverse sources on the ground. Instead, it is part a political history of drug policy in Vancouver and part a personal political memoir – with many dishy anecdotes from the back rooms of high politics in the country – and in this way is a stark reality check for anyone interested in the challenges of delivering policy change.

As a student of Canadian politics, Professor Stewart was in many ways an ideal person to navigate the tricky intergovernmental waters in pursuit of this innovative initiative that other major cities are now seeking to replicate. This book documents his (and others') efforts behind the scenes, as well as in the public realm, to provide a first-hand account of how complex intergovernmental negotiations and cooperation occurs in Canada.

A key lesson I take from Stewart's book is that it matters a great deal who occupies political leadership positions. Leadership and risk-taking is the story of drug policy reform in Vancouver, from Mayors Philip Owen to Larry Campbell and now to Kennedy Stewart. Larry Campbell was an unconventional politician who got the first safe-injection site over the finish line, and Kennedy Stewart took risks that a lifelong politician might not have. Similarly, Patty Hajdu features prominently as a federal health minister who, by happenstance, had studied drug policy reform as part of her master's research and made special behind-the-scenes efforts to help Vancouver (and British Columbia)

obtain a special carve-out from federal law. In other words, electing a broadly progressive party is not enough to achieve progressive reform initiatives. The status quo is deeply constraining – electoral risk is a feature of most efforts to break from it. Successful reforms require sustained coalition-building and, ultimately, risk-taking once leaders are in government.

Notwithstanding this important fact, the least successful part of the book is chapter 10, which is devoted to portraying Ken Sim, Stewart’s successor in the mayor’s chair, as the figurehead of a movement comprising NIMBYs, gentrifiers, and “haters” (according to the author a mostly unrelated grouping of people that includes anti-vaxxers, wealthy pro-business interests, and the Vancouver Police Union) that worked to defeat him to punish him for his decriminalization efforts. This is a reminder that this book is both a political history of drug policy and Stewart’s memoir – his effort to get his story out regarding the forces that contributed to his electoral defeat. My sense is that the various groups that mobilized against Vancouver’s progressive mayor would have done so vigorously with or without drug decriminalization. Whether or not Kennedy Stewart was a martyr for decriminalization is ultimately beside the point: an important, albeit incremental, policy change has been set into motion in this country.

Some may read this book as an inspiring tale of how dedicated public officials can take advantage of key moments and opportunities to enact meaningful policy change, whereas others may feel the dispiriting weight of the status quo – Stewart himself admits that the decriminalization he secured is a “relatively inconsequential policy change” not likely to save many who encounter the toxic drug supply. But if Philip Owen and Larry Campbell set the

overall political strategy with their efforts to promote harm reduction and establish safe-injection sites, respectively, Kennedy Stewart meaningfully pushed the ball up the field a few yards with partial decriminalization in British Columbia. The next generation of progressive leaders now have a playbook to enable them to pick up the ball with regard to more humane and effective drug policy in this province and in Canada.

Canada and Climate Change

William Leiss

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2022.
200 pp. \$24.95 paper.

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WILLIAMS LEISS’s newest book – *Canada and Climate Change* – is a densely packed yet short volume on the history and trustworthiness of climate science and the implications for Canada as we seek to wrangle our emissions and manage ongoing risks. Leiss is a public intellectual – a fellow and past president of the Royal Society of Canada – and his goal in the book is to educate members of the public so they become convinced “they have a duty to support and fund” (xiv) ambitious climate action. He’s intent on proving that climate science is credible, perhaps a response to the post-truth era, and signals that climate change is a hot topic in the polarizing culture wars brewing globally.

Canada and Climate Change is a timely and important contribution – similar to Andrew Weaver’s *Keeping Our Cool: Canada in a Warming World* (Penguin Random House Canada, 2008) – that takes readers into the multidimensional

science policy issues facing Canada in the context of the Paris Agreement. Leiss reminds us that Canada played a leadership role in setting the foundation for international climate negotiations – this began with the Toronto Conference on the Changing Atmosphere in 1988 – only for the country to perpetually languish when it came to achieving its greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reduction commitments. Drawing on recent reports, Leiss indicates that \$60 billion per year “will be needed for Canada to reach net-zero GHG emissions by 2050,” and, like Seth Klein’s *A Good War* (ECW Press, 2020), Leiss acknowledges this will require “a collective level of effort last seen during the Second World War” (73).

Given the importance of deep decarbonization that considers matters of global equity, Leiss’s major contribution in the book is the call for a “Global Decarbonization Bond” that would support the “financing of major technology acquisitions and other means of a broad program of decarbonization in developing nations” (103). Leiss believes this would unlock new investors, create a legally binding framework for climate action, and facilitate technology transfer between developed and developing nations (105–6). Acknowledging the complexity of mitigation, Leiss quickly scans the various carbon management approaches discussed throughout *Canada and Climate Change* and then attempts to thread the needle by tying all of them together in the final chapter, which is entitled “Canada: Mitigation, Impacts, and Adaptation.” This is an ambitious book with a sweeping title.

When Leiss is speaking about “Canada” he’s mostly referring to the nation-state and how it and other countries are responding to climate science in the context of international climate treaty negotiations. This book

is not about how people living within the borders of Canada are experiencing climate change, and this means that the discussion about managing and adapting to climate risks is limited. Arguably, the book’s biggest gap is the absence of Indigenous perspectives and considerations, which many would consider essential in any recent volume seeking to address climate change in a Canadian context.

Leiss acknowledges at the onset that presenting a short book on climate change might be seen as a “monumentally foolish endeavour” (xi). Yet he maintains that a Canada-focused book remains useful, which is certainly true given the current momentum federally and provincially – especially in British Columbia and Quebec – and the importance of further advancing climate action from coast to coast to coast. In *Canada and Climate Change*, Leiss distills the complexity while dialing up the urgency to act and offers us a roadmap for why it’s so important to hold governments and industry accountable for their climate commitments – it’s literally a matter of survival for current and future generations.

***The Cambridge History of the
Pacific Ocean. Vol. 1:
The Pacific Ocean to 1800***

Edited by Ryan Tucker Jones
and Matt K. Matsuda

Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2023. 800 pp.
\$177.95. Hardcover.

***The Cambridge History of the
Pacific Ocean. Vol. 2:
The Pacific Ocean since 1800***

Edited by Anne Perez Hattori
and Jane Samson

Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2023. 800 pp.
\$177.95. Hardcover.

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THE PACIFIC OCEAN is the world's largest geographic feature. Its waves lap the shores of more than twenty-five thousand islands and five continents (Asia, North America, South America, Antarctica, and Australia). How to understand this vast ocean, the worlds it contains, and the myriad human societies who have long lived with it?

The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean offers both an introduction and a state-of-the-field snapshot. This expansive two-volume work contains sixty-four essays by seventy-seven contributors, who represent twenty-three nations and four territories. Together, these essays trace the ocean's deep history to its present day and near future, synthesizing insights from anthropology, archaeology, biology, environmental studies, history, linguistics, literature,

and politics (among other disciplines) as well as from traditional knowledge holders. The result is a rich, fascinating polyvocal conversation.

The project covers what Paul D'Arcy, its general editor, terms "three great phases of Pacific Ocean history" (1, 6). The first phase concerns how humans colonized the Pacific over thousands of years, with some migrating north through Asia and then south along the coast of the Americas, and others voyaging from island to island to spread throughout Oceania. The second phase is European imperialism, often limited by distance and lack of resources, but still having a significant impact over the past several centuries. Third is what we might call the rising Pacific: the current post-Second World War era of decolonization, political independence movements, and reassertions of cultural sovereignty, simultaneously threatened by rising seas. Even as several major currents emerge, the collection usefully resists clean definitions or conclusions.

There have been few general, comprehensive Pacific Ocean histories, perhaps because of the ocean's daunting combination of geographic size and human diversity. Most of these histories start with the arrival of Europeans and seek to explain the ocean's integration into a globalizing economy. More generally, a long-running tension in the field concerns how Pacific scholars have tended to focus either on Oceania (Hau'ofa 1994) or on the Pacific Rim (particularly East Asia or the United States). This collection answers both challenges. First, it starts in deep time and closely follows the development of human societies in and across the Pacific; European explorers and colonizers don't arrive until the first volume's final section. Second, even as contributors foreground the Indigenous Pacific, they also aim to integrate the Pacific's

many geographies, seeking connections between the islands and the rim, and attending to regions (like Latin America or North America's Northwest Coast) that are sometimes overlooked in Pacific histories. Finally, and importantly, the editors are explicit about their ambitions to decolonize Pacific history. Like all history, Pacific histories have always been political: about who can speak, what counts as knowledge, and how interpretations of past events challenge (or buttress) contemporary power relations. Both volumes open with Indigenous voices and draw from what D'Arcy terms "non-academic reservoirs of knowledge," including "oral traditions, poetry, navigational lore, and chants evoking elements of the natural world and ancestral spirits" (1, 8–9). The project's long chronology and its geographic integrations are means towards this decolonial end.

Volume 1, edited by Ryan Tucker Jones and Matt K. Matsuda, covers the Pacific Ocean's history to circa 1800. The volume's "critical observation," Jones and Matsuda write, is that, from a deep-history view, Europeans "arrive late," well after "Indigenous societies have staked their claims to land and sea, and have developed abiding practices grown from deep connections to local worlds" (1, 18). Many of this volume's authors engage deeply with the natural world to explain how the Pacific basin and the ocean's many islands formed. Contributors detail how humans colonized these environments, drew upon coastal and oceanic resources, and built complex, thriving societies. Across diverse Pacific geographies, these authors trace webs of movement, trade, exchange, and connection. This vantage emphasizes an Indigenous Pacific.

Volume 2, edited by Anne Perez Hattori and Jane Samson, covers the ocean's history between roughly 1800

and the present, with a final section looking ahead to Pacific futures. This volume's authors grapple with European colonization, increasing mobility, and the ways Pacific peoples hold together an Indigenous ocean. One section reflects on historical preservation (through archives, community memory, and language) and on cultural output (Pacific literature, film, visual arts, and performing arts). The second half of the twentieth century looms large: the Second World War and the nuclear Pacific ("from Hiroshima to Fukushima" in the subtitle of one essay), the rapid industrialization of East Asian economies, the successful push by many Pacific nations for independence from Western colonizers, and the rewarding (if difficult) postcolonial work of self-determination. The closing section, "Pacific Futures," grapples with the climate crisis and the surprisingly intertwined work of decolonization and decarbonization.

With any collection as deliberately capacious as this one, there will be lacunae. The first volume's bright spotlight on human relationships with the environment is dimmer in the second volume, which focuses more on societies, cultures, economies, and politics. Absent, for example, are discussions of overfishing, conservation, and the recent emergence of marine protected areas, many of the largest of which are in the Pacific. For scholars of British Columbia and the Northwest Coast, the collection includes few focused discussions of the region (a chapter on Northwest Coast Indigenous maritime cultures is a notable exception). At the same time, though, the collection offers many points of connection and comparison for scholars to contextualize their geographic areas of interest within the larger Pacific.

The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean will be an authoritative resource for students and scholars. Each chapter

functions both as a concise overview (useful for quickly getting up to speed or to assign for course readings) and as a point of departure, brimming with relevant footnotes and possibilities for further reading and research. Readers interested in a particular theme, time period, or geography will be able to assemble rewarding itineraries through multiple essays. Ultimately, these volumes are like a set of charts, inviting readers to plot their own voyages through the Pacific Ocean's many histories and into its onrushing future.

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