

*Living Proof: The Essential  
Data-Collection Guide for  
Indigenous Use-and-Occupancy  
Map Surveys*

Terry Tobias

Vancouver: Union of BC Indian  
Chiefs and Ecotrust Canada, 2009.  
486 pp. \$100.00 cloth/\$50.00 paper.

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DO MAPS SPEAK FOR themselves? Terry Tobias insists that indigenous land use and occupancy maps must speak loudly and clearly, and he demonstrates that they can if rigorous research and methodological standards are followed. Tobias explains this in *Living Proof*, a spectacular handbook that lays out an effective process for the production of thematic maps detailing indigenous uses of the land. In it, Tobias notes that indigenous groups throughout Canada and elsewhere are producing land-use maps as central components of their negotiations with governments and industrial developers. His goal is to establish a process for generating the data with which these maps are created. In doing so, Tobias

asserts a methodological standard against which use and occupancy maps can be evaluated.

*Living Proof* is a massive book. Its large-format pages display effectively more than 70 full-colour maps and dozens of tables and figures. The language used in the book is straightforward. The jargon of cartography, geography, and social science research is defined clearly, often with the aid of tables and figures. The advantages and disadvantages of project design decisions, such as paying high honoraria or using group interviews are, for example, presented in tabular form. The readable style and the pairing of text and tables offset the physically intimidating size of the volume. The result is a handbook that is accessible to readers with different backgrounds and levels of research experience. The scale of production is enormous, too. The book took most of ten years to research and write. It includes extensive quotations about best mapping and research practices from more than 120 practitioners of use and occupancy mapping. Tobias's inclusion of the voices of indigenous people, academics, consultants, and government representatives in the text gives readers the opportunity to hear

directly from the people with expertise in preparation and use of land use maps.

*Living Proof* is directed largely at indigenous communities and their researchers. It emphasizes the creation of map biographies – maps generated from interviews with indigenous participants that depict land use and occupancy for specified time periods and locations – as the central thematic maps in a community’s cartographic collection. The book begins with an extended example of a mapping project in the Tseil-Waututh indigenous community of Greater Vancouver. It is written in part by Chief Leah George-Wilson and illustrates her community’s experience of using Tobias’s methods from inception through to design and on to final map production. Each subsequent chapter of *Living Proof* demonstrates a different part of the mapping process. Included first are general observations about using and reading map biographies. The heart of the book consists of lesson-like accounts of the techniques for eliciting data that can be plotted on maps. Tobias discusses, for example, managing projects and designing interview questionnaires. He delves into minutiae, such as the importance of choosing the right nib size for a mapping pen. While anachronistic to current computer-assisted map-makers, mapping pens are necessary for producing working maps in the field. And tips related to cartography, such as reading map scales or understanding contour lines, are scattered throughout. Examples of map-biography projects are numerous. They come from community mapping projects from across Canada and one chapter is devoted to an Australian example.

Chapter 12 “Recording Spatial Data,” exemplifies Tobias’s style and *Living Proof*’s perspective. This chapter

presents conventions for coding the data on maps. Several figures, complete with “thumbs up” and “thumbs down” icons, contrast effective and problematic techniques for marking maps with point, line, and polygon data. The chapter offers a strategy for conducting a map-centred interview. And it includes more than 20 coloured maps showing examples of good and poor use of map symbols. It is incredibly detailed and leaves little room for variation in style, which reflects Tobias’s message: standardized methods for the preparation and presentation of land-use maps improve the likelihood that the maps will be understood.

The volume does provoke questions of audience for these maps. The implied audiences are governments and industrial developers – those groups with whom indigenous communities seek dialogue through maps. While good maps do speak for themselves, the messages they impart may be interpreted differently by different audiences. Indigenous cartographers may identify and emphasize the places where moose were killed on kill maps, for instance, but such maps also show where moose have not been killed – should developers choose to read them that way. The standards established by *Living Proof* limit misinterpretations by enabling recipients of these maps to see clearly their value and limitations. Map-based consultations will be improved if both cartographers and map readers use this manual.

*Living Proof* is informed by academics, consultants, and the principles of good social science research. It emphasizes careful data collection and leaves the production of maps to cartographers and technicians. It sets a high standard for the research central to generating the information plotted on use and occupancy maps, and is a reference

that will be used by community-based researchers and academics with an interest in indigenous land use into the future. I expect that governments and courts will pay attention to it, too, as they seek criteria for evaluating the aboriginal rights and title arguments which can stem from map biographies.

Do maps speak? Good maps do. If the methods and standards set by Tobias in *Living Proof* are followed, use and occupancy maps will speak loudly and clearly, and be listened to.

*Forestry and Biodiversity:  
Learning How to Sustain  
Biodiversity in Managed Forests*  
Edited by Fred L. Bunnell and  
Glen B. Dunsworth

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009. 374 pp.  
\$39.95 paper.

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“NO MORE CLEAR-CUTS!” So announced MacMillan Bloedel CEO Tom Stephens in a dramatic 1998 policy shift. The gap between global social expectations and the firm’s perceived destructive logging practices, primarily the accusation that it over-harvested pristine old-growth forests, had prompted waves of international protest. Pressure from the company’s own customers meant that business as usual was no longer possible. In response, company management convened six teams and gave them ninety days to address different aspects of the question of whether or not the company could stop clear-cutting and still make a profit. Previous impossibilities were

now thought possible. The company’s subsequent rebirth was to be phased in over five years so that, by 2003, implementation would be complete.

*Forestry and Biodiversity* documents the learning process undertaken by MacBlo employees, commissioned researchers, and hired contractors to solve a complex, “wicked” problem – how does a for-profit company sustain biological diversity in a managed coastal temperate rainforest? Its authors argue that the answer was a two-pronged approach that included forest-zoning and variable retention logging, both informed by adaptive ecosystem management. They proposed that if select, representative areas were reserved from logging, then the forest patches would act as lifeboats. After logging, the adjacent cutblock could be recolonized by species in the reserved habitat, whether or not those species were known to, or understood by, science.

This book is a highly structured, very complicated case study, and it is certainly not an easy introduction to either adaptive management or coastal ecology. Most readers will want to approach it as a reference volume – something to sample rather than to consume from beginning to end – an approach greatly facilitated by the many section signs that point elsewhere in the text to related passages. It should be of great interest to advanced students of biodiversity conservation as well as to local forest managers and policy-makers (and their critics). The lucid, highly condensed chapter summaries act as an intelligible mental gathering point, an antidote to the often highly complex sections that they summarize.

*Forestry and Biodiversity* is divided into three unequal parts, with contributions from six authors, most variously linked to the University of

British Columbia's forestry school. Part 1, the comparatively short "Introduction," has four contextual chapters. These include a description of the resource management problem, the 1.1-million-hectare empirical case study, and two chapters on the adaptive management approach employed. Part 2, "The Indicators," has seven challenging chapters that consider the three major indicators of success in sustaining biological diversity (ecosystem representation, habitat structure, and individual species) and information derived from each. Part 3, "Summary," provides a concluding statement in two chapters, one on the monitoring program that guided the transition project and another on the progress made and lessons learned through implementing an adaptive land management program.

The question in most readers' minds will be whether this was a successful transformation or a complicated corporate attempt to pass one of many evaluations the authors describe: "the BC-TV test" (65). The answer is buried in the book's details and is indeterminate. While the authors have many valuable insights to share, they find it very difficult to assess the initiative's ongoing environmental impact. We learn that the approach created progress in the initial years of implementation, when the operational environment was conducive to improvement, but that "it is probably naive to expect direct short-term feedback from monitoring results in the face of much stronger economic pressures on forest managers. Ultimately, monitoring may lead to improved practices not by direct feedback but simply by serving as a frequent reminder that particular forest practices are valued for more than their economic contributions" (170).

During the project's first six years, this enormous forest tenure was sold and resold by four different companies. With each change in ownership, personnel within the company also changed. The authors confide that lack of corporate continuity was partially responsible for some failings in attaining the goals of the adaptive management program (240). Government also hindered the process. Since the original analysis in 2001, the provincial government attempted to resolve a trade dispute with the United States via a 20 percent take-back of Crown lands. Further, funding came from four different programs aimed at quick, rather than enduring, results (282). More recent efforts to update the analysis have been unsuccessful. New company ownership no longer allowed access to data from private lands, information was lost because of company cutbacks for resource analysis, and some government information was not readily available (100). Throughout *Forestry and Biodiversity*, the authors make oblique, scattered observations indicating that even relatively simple ecosystem monitoring requires great commitment from a stable corporate and government infrastructure. I would add that this is obviously a situation not enjoyed by forest species in British Columbia.

This book represents a state-of-the-art articulation of current ecological and silvicultural understanding, a monumental labour, and a model for what might have been. An unfortunate shortcoming is that there is no mention of any attempt to incorporate traditional ecological knowledge into the process. Indeed, apart from infrequent mentions as stakeholders, Native peoples are entirely absent. That complaint aside, this book is certainly timely. The United Nations declared 2010 the

International Year of Biodiversity and 2011 the International Year of the Forest. This volume is a strong reminder that, despite MacMillan Bloedel's quasi-religious transformation in the late 1990s, that fervour has since faltered and has not been taken up by other companies in the province. The BC Forest Service has seen such severe cuts in recent years that nobody has a clear idea of the state of the provincial forest. *Forestry and Biodiversity* should serve as a call for reinvigorated attempts at ecosystem-based land management. But, given the highly technical nature of the book, I fear few are likely to read it.

*Greenscapes: Olmsted's  
Pacific Northwest*

Joan Hockaday

Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2009. xii, 162 pp.  
\$29.95 paper.

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THIS BOOK IS about John Charles Olmsted, the nephew cum stepson of Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., the renowned landscape architect of New York's Central Park. The senior Olmsted created an urban plan for Tacoma in the early 1870s that was never acted upon; Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., John Olmsted's stepbrother and younger than John by eighteen years, offered comments on an initial design for the University of British Columbia and some other Vancouver civic projects just before the outbreak of the First World War, but he did nothing else in the Pacific Northwest. The source of the signature Olmstedian curving roads

and city park systems in the Pacific Northwest was John Charles Olmsted (1852–1920). While working in the region early in the twentieth century, he was the senior partner of Olmsted Brothers, for many years North America's leading firm of landscape architects and town planners. It is John Olmsted's landscape designs that grace numerous cities, small towns, and older suburban communities throughout the region, especially in and around Seattle and Portland. His many projects in the Pacific Northwest are brought to the fore in this handsomely illustrated book.

Like his illustrious stepfather, John favoured the pastoral and picturesque approaches to landscape architecture. But he could also replicate any style of design desired by a client. Among many accomplishments, he was a founder and the first president of the American Association of Landscape Architects (1899). John Olmsted was most renowned as a park designer. The park systems of Seattle, Portland, and Spokane stand as outstanding illustrations of this line of work in the Pacific Northwest. But there are several hundred other landscape projects located throughout the region – college and university campuses, institutional and exhibition grounds, parkways and boulevards, suburban subdivisions, and country estates – that further highlight his superb craftsmanship. In Oak Bay, a suburban municipality in Greater Victoria, British Columbia's capital city region, John Olmsted's residential masterpiece, the Uplands, has influenced a century of subdivision design. Through its artistry and practicality, not least the indelible Olmstedian signature of gracefully curving roads, the Uplands has been widely imitated (for example, at Capilano Estates in the

British Properties of West Vancouver). Remarkably, John Olmsted's Pacific Northwest landscapes were conceived in a relatively short period, from 1903 to the eve of the First World War. During this period, John Olmsted was often on the road for months at a time, crisscrossing North America, carrying in his battered trunks the plans for as many as fifty different jobs.

Joan Hockaday, the author of *Greenscapes*, was a leading contributor to the centenary celebrations, held in Seattle during 2003, that paid particular homage to John Olmsted's Seattle park system. In this way, and with the consummate skills of the investigative journalist that she is, Hockaday became aware of Olmsted's much broader, regional repertoire of design projects. To relate this wider "greenscape" story, she scoured regional archives and, more important, culled the vast collection of letters between John and his wife, Fidie. Numbering several thousand, this source was blended with archival records held at Fairstead in Brookline, the one-time Olmsted home and office, now a national historic site and archive that holds the plans and drawings for any project undertaken by the Olmsted firm. Other information was gathered from the Olmsted "Job Reports" held at the Library of Congress in Washington. The result is a splendid narrative, a comprehensive journey across untold Pacific Northwest landscapes as related through the "eyes" and letter-writing of the master designer and, sometimes, of clients. Hockaday is skilled at extracting a telling word or sentence that describes the essential character and importance of an Olmsted landscape.

*Greenscapes: Olmsted's Pacific Northwest* lays out the varied contributions of John Olmsted in the Pacific Northwest. Besides standing on its own merits, the book should

encourage further scholarship about this masterful designer. It is to be hoped that such research will elaborate on John Olmsted's design philosophy or probe individual projects to reveal the many ways in which he influenced not only landscape design but also other features of the region's urban and suburban development.

*The Aquaculture Controversy in  
Canada: Activism, Policy, and  
Contested Science*

Nathan Young and Ralph  
Matthews

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. 304 pp.  
\$85.00 cloth.

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THERE ARE FEW issues in British Columbia more divisive than aquaculture. With their new book, Nathan Young and Ralph Matthews provide a timely, well-documented, and clearly articulated step back from the aquaculture fray. The impetus behind the book is stated succinctly by the authors in their opening paraphrase of Ulrich Beck (2002): "this is a case where more and more knowledge paradoxically appears to be leading us further and further from consensus" (13). In response to the proliferation of aquaculture debates, Young and Matthews provide a useful outline of many key contemporary issues. This book could serve as a useful foundation for academics, coastal communities, industry members, policy-makers, and lobbyists who are interested in gaining access to reliable baseline data on such crucial issues as employment



potential and quality, regulatory instruments and challenges, and the conflicts inherent in the Canadian state simultaneously working to regulate and to promote aquaculture development. A useful inventory of active pro- and anti-aquaculture lobby groups is included (10–12). This research redresses a fundamental gap in the existing literature on aquaculture, namely, an index of key issues and data without a prior commitment to a pro- or anti-aquaculture development stance.

*Aquaculture Controversy in Canada* is divided into three main sections. The principal argument of the first section is that aquaculture development and policy must be understood with reference to broader structural changes to Canadian economic organization – specifically, neoliberal restructuring of cycles of accumulation and systems of regulation. Descriptions of the reconfiguration of local-global connections and devolution of state involvement in industrial regulation to corporate actors are persistent themes of this work and of earlier work by these authors (Young 2008; Young and Matthews 2007). Given the great emphasis within this section on the empowerment of corporate actors under neoliberal reforms, the absence of any sustained discussion of corporate concentration within global aquaculture, particularly the role of Norwegian transnational corporations in shaping the industry, is a notable absence. The analytic framework that Young and Matthews provide – juxtaposing the geography of Fordist extractive development to neoliberal resource management strategies – would be usefully grounded by a more sustained discussion of the major global aquaculture corporations and the extent of their Canadian investments.

Neoliberalism is usefully deployed in the text as a descriptive analytical frame for contemporary state facilitation of global markets, but the critique of this economic ideology is sometimes left implicit in the data-concentrated chapters to follow. Young and Matthews's critique is most apparent in the final chapter of the book, which addresses aquaculture industry self-regulation. Readers looking for a more critical investigation of the application of neoliberal ideology in fisheries and aquaculture might supplement their reading with Dean Bavington's *Managed Annihilation*, an examination of management ideology in fisheries, also recently published by UBC Press; the ongoing work of Evelyn Pinkerton on ecosystem-based fisheries co-management; and John Phyne's critical comparative work on aquaculture in Norway, Ireland, and Chile. These authors provide in-depth examinations of the community-level impacts of the private enclosure of ecological commons for aquaculture development, while Young and Matthews focus their attention on the discursive construction of such impacts.

In part two, Young and Matthews posit that, for the majority of Canadians, aquaculture is “learned rather than lived” (75): that is, farmed fish are encountered only as controversial commodities in the market, the conditions of their production being something read about rather than witnessed directly. Through the three chapters in this section the authors outline how the authority of science is invoked in a contradictory manner by environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGO), industry public relations, aquaculture experts, and the media. Chapter 3 specifically examines key incidents that have contributed to the endemic uncertainty

in scientific debates about aquaculture. Significantly, they find that it is ENGO aquaculture opponents who have been most successful in defining the issues for debate and their scientific framing (103). The authors suggest that the extreme splitting of the expert community and their claims to scientific authority on such issues as environmental impacts, toxicity and human health, and effects on wild fish stocks have resulted in an increasingly technical debate that appears to have undermined, rather than enhanced, the public faith in scientific objectivity. Stated otherwise, aquaculture is often perceived by the public to be a moral and commercial debate disguised as a scientific one.

Chapter 4 draws upon a survey, conducted by Young and Matthews and their research assistants, of three hundred aquaculture experts across Canada. Expertise is defined as “direct involvement in aquaculture and the communication of research findings” and “formal educational background in natural and/or social sciences” (115). The survey finds that the institutional affiliation of experts is the strongest determinant in their responses to questions, but the authors avoid taking a stand on whether or not personal and social variables help explain professional stances on aquaculture (113). Nevertheless, they quantify how value orientations towards economic growth and environmental health correlate with support for and opposition to aquaculture development (129–30). They conclude that experts on all sides of the debate are more interested in “protecting the integrity of science from the turbulence caused by the controversy than they are with attacking adversaries” (157) and that experts overwhelmingly place blame upon the media for fuelling the controversy. This finding appears as a promising

invitation for key contested studies in the debate – on PCB levels (Hites et al. 2004), sea lice contamination of wild fish (Krkosek et al. 2007, 2008; Riddell et al. 2008), and the effects of chemicals and antibiotics on surrounding marine environments and human health – to be restructured and repeated by teams of researchers with different industry, public, and ENGO affiliations. Chapter 5 is a content analysis of 1,558 print media items from two national and five regional newspapers. The separation of economic and environmental issues in media coverage is emphasized, as is the reliance of the media on a few key industry and ENGO spokespeople.

Perhaps the most valuable and potentially most controversial chapters are contained in the final section of the book, which deals with political economy. Chapter 6 relays the findings of a survey responded to by 275 aquaculture firms across Canada. An estimate of full-time, part-time, and seasonal employment in the industry nationwide is provided: five thousand to six thousand jobs for the 2003–04 year (202). Significantly, the survey finds that three-quarters of the aquaculture workforce is male. Together, these statistics are in direct conflict with claims by the Province of British Columbia that “aquaculture provides about 6,000 jobs” in British Columbia alone and casts doubt upon the claim that “over half the jobs in BC aquaculture are filled by women and First Nations” (British Columbia 2010). Young and Matthews’s research reflects that the aquaculture workforce is divided on gender-segregated lines, with women highly concentrated in seasonal work – a continuation of the traditional gender divide in fishing and fish processing (204; see also Muszyńska 1996).



The final chapter outlines the rationale behind what the Canadian government calls “results-based regulation,” or “performance-based regulation.” This type of regulation is opposed to process regulation, which industry has deemed too cumbersome. Young and Matthews argue that the devolution of regulatory power to corporate actors is based on two assumptions: first, that the “private sector is inherently innovative” and, second, that “flexibility is necessary to remain competitive in global markets” (37). They highlight the contradictions inherent in the simultaneous promotional and regulatory goals of the Canadian government vis-à-vis aquaculture. The jurisdictional complications between federal and provincial ministries and acts are clearly outlined. This is an issue that promises to become more complex in British Columbia as inland container aquaculture is overseen by the BC ministries of environment and agriculture and lands rather than Fisheries and Oceans Canada.

There is only one significant gap in the text that I wish to emphasize. Implicit in the list of issues that Young and Matthews provide is an acceptance of the anthropocentrism that undergirds rendering wild fish into domesticated private property for human consumption. While it might be argued that this focus on human livelihoods simply mirrors a gap in the public discourse that Young and Matthews set out to track, many groups active in the aquaculture controversy attempt to speak on behalf of wild fish or invoke the inherent importance of salmon to BC heritage. The macro-history of environmental movements included in the text completely ignores a vast literature in animal studies and on animal rights that is both central to the logic of many anti-aquaculture

activists and germane to the discussion at hand (see especially Singer 1975, 2006; Shukin 2009). At a time when an ever-increasing portion of the global fisheries harvest comes from farms, the lack of attention paid to how the rights of fish themselves are represented by interested parties, and the naturalization of privatizing a wild resource, deserves more attention and might have been more prominently noted by the authors. Overall, however, *Aquaculture Controversy in Canada* is an important contribution to the aquaculture issue, providing a reliable baseline for public policy debates and academics alike.

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*Historical Dictionary of the  
Discovery and Exploration of the  
Northwest Coast of America*

Robin Inglis

Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press,  
2008. 512 pp. \$108.00 cloth.

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THE FOURTH IN A series of historical dictionaries from the Scarecrow Press, Robin Inglis's *Historical Dictionary* meets the standard set by

its predecessors. In a good, general introduction (there are no citations or notes), Inglis traces the history of the region as Europeans both imagined and came to know it. As one would expect, the Northwest Coast, taken as extending from northern California to Alaska and, in some instances, Kamchatka, is introduced as the home of many peoples and the object of imperial designs by Russians, Spanish, British, and US Americans; however, French voyages are also included, and there is a wee entry about Asian voyages. Readers will be divided on whether a work bearing this title requires a Native perspective; at any rate, one is not attempted. Although an extensive, seventy-five-page bibliography – with its own table of contents (355-58) and divided into twenty-four parts, ranging from an introductory section (that includes, among other things, reference works, maps, and "key monographs") to a section on the Oregon Treaty – is too often not up to date, descriptions found in various entries are solid and accurate, maps of the coast drawn for the volume helpful, and the Chronology satisfactory as far as it goes (1494-1867).

Notably error-free for the most part, the text for entries uses bold font for names of people, places, and events that have their own entries, so the resource serves its reader well as far as it goes. A considerable disappointment is the volume's lack of an index (other titles in this series lack one as well). Few illustrations – four – are included, none in colour. This aspect of the book, together with the absence in the bibliography of a section on artists who accompanied expeditions, is a surprise given a prefatorial emphasis on their contribution (ix) and entries for many of them.

The "historical" in *Historical Dictionary* is exhibited in the emphasis

on the role that a person or place played before 1867. For example, Vancouver Island's Friendly Cove, "a small but well-sheltered harbor at the entrance to **Nootka Sound**" (132), derives its significance from being home to "Mowachaht" people and having hosted Cook (1778), the Nootka Sound Incident (1789), and Malaspina and Vancouver (early 1790s), all of whom/which have entries of their own (the Mowachaht excepted). The entry for "Nootka" mentions Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations (238) but does not indicate the Mowachaht Muchalaht as one of them. An index could have provided clarification. Without one, the reader likely puts down the book and embarks on an internet search.

Entries on luminaries of exploration, such as Bering and Chirikov, Bodega y Quadra, Cook, Malaspina, Vancouver, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, and Thompson are factually accurate and sufficiently detailed (e.g., in terms of the inclusion of dates) and are buttressed by solid entries on lesser lights such as Dimitrii Bragin, Peter Puget, Ivan Fedorovich Kruzenshtern, Zachary Mudge, and the remarkable Cossack Semen Dezhnev, "the first to sail around the northern edge of Asia, now Cape Dezhnev, and through what was later named Bering Strait" (102). As one would perhaps expect in a reference book, the entries offer no groundbreaking historical interpretation.

There are few sins of commission, but sins of omission abound. There is no entry for Chinook Jargon, arguably the foremost product of Pacific Northwest discovery and exploration, yet there is a short one on the labret, which is inaccurately associated only with Tlingit and only with Tlingit women. That no entry exists for David Douglas or for Charles Pickering (the foremost

naturalist on the US Exploring Expedition) would be defensible if there were not entries for George Wilhelm Steller, the naturalist on Bering's second Kamchatka expedition of 1741; Dufresne, on La Pérouse's 1781 expedition; Tadeo Hanke, on Malaspina's expedition; and Archibald Menzies, on Vancouver's expedition. Similarly, fur trader Gabriel Franchère, known because he published a book about his time on the Pacific Slope, has an entry, but fellow trader Ross Cox, who published a better book, does not. Among other traders on the Columbia River, Peter Skene Ogden, John McLoughlin, and James Douglas rate an entry; William Fraser Tolmie (whose name appears in the entry for Fort Nisqually), John Work, and Samuel Black do not. Despite placing the end point of the Chronology at 1867 (marking the date not of Canadian Confederation but, rather, of Russia's selling of Alaska to the United States), neither the Fraser River (1858-59) nor the Cariboo (1862) gold rushes have entries, nor do New Westminster, Yale, Fort Langley, or Fort Rupert. San Francisco receives an entry, but the California gold rush (1848-55) does not. The 1859 Pig War on the San Juan Islands is remarked on in the Chronology (xliii), but it is only discussed in the entry entitled "San Juan Boundary Dispute," which does not appear in the Chronology.

This marks another instance of how an index would have enhanced the volume, and yet another occurs in an attempt to sort out which First Nations have entries and which do not. Although the entry on Natives does as good a descriptive job as is possible in nine hundred words, only general groups are identified. Elsewhere in the volume, Haida, Tlingit, Chinook, and Makah have their own entries, but Nisga'a,

Kwakwaka'wakw, and Songhees – or any Coast Salish group – do not, and neither do Interior/Plateau Salish. As to individuals, Wickaninnish, Maquinna, and Cunneah have entries, but Comcomly and Casenov/Cazenove/Cassino, the Chinook leaders whose rule of the lower Columbia River during the height of the fur trade at Fort Vancouver was considerable, do not. Some Spanish missionary activities are mentioned, and Eusebio Francisco Kin and the Carmel Mission have entries, as does the Russian Orthodox Church, but the volume has nothing about Belgian, French-Canadian, British, and USAmerican missionaries (such as François Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, Pierre-Jean De Smet, Cushing and Myra Eells, Henry Spalding, Asa Bowen Smith, Elkanah and Mary Walker, Daniel Lee, and Marcus and Narcissa Whitman).

Yet, while there is no comprehensive entry for missionaries, there is one for artists and for each artist who accompanied expeditions of exploration – for instance, John Webber with Cook, Atanásio Echeverría with Revillagigedo and Bodega y Quadra, Luka Voronin with Joseph Billings, Gaspard Duché de Vancy and Blondela with La Pérouse, Tomás de Suría with Malaspina, Robert Haswell and George Davidson with Gray, Henry Humphrys with Vancouver, Louis Choris with von Kotzebue, William Smyth with Beechey, and Friedrich Heinrich von Kittlitz with Litke/Lütke. (Alfred Agate, Joseph Drayton, and Henry Eld – who served on the US Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes – are listed in the entry for him.) However, no entries exist for other early European or Euro-North American artists who came overland, so Paul Kane, John Mix Stanley, and Gustav Sohon are absent. There is nothing about animals, birds,

or fish (an entry for Monterey Shells is one exception) or fishing and hunting. The design of watercraft, whether of Native or non-Native manufacture, attracts no entries, an exception being *baidarka* (Aleutian open boats, larger than kayaks).

A few surprise entries are welcome. One is for early historians of the region, such as Hubert Howe Bancroft and Frederic W. Howay. An entry occurs for geographer and speculative cartographer Philippe Buache, who, on his 1752 map, plotted Buddhist monk Hui Shen's fanciful kingdom of Fusang in British Columbia. An entry for cartography provides a good, brief history of its evolution with respect to the region, and entries for Aaron Arrowsmith and Alexander Dalrymple suggest that the author is particularly interested in the history of maps. Brobdingnag, Jonathan Swift's imaginary realm in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), has an entry, which is meritorious for noting that Swift "exploited the Pacific as a region outside the sphere of reality, approachable only in fiction and satire, as indeed it remained for another generation" (51). Entrada de Hezeta has its own entry, as it should, for this first European name (1775) for the delta of the Columbia River is seldom recalled. The entries for health and disease are troubling in that the former is reserved for whites and the latter for First Nations. The "vanishing Indian" motif, which ends the section on First Nations and disease, concludes that, in the hundred years between 1774 and 1874 "the native population of the Northwest Coast fell by up to 80 percent from 188,000 to 38,000" (104). Entries occur for artefacts, navigation, and running surveys as well as for cannibalism and violence (principally, between whites and Natives) but not for religions or the relationship between

evangelizing and exploring (let alone Native belief systems). Meanwhile, however, scientists garner an entry, presumably because much European exploration of the region occurred during the Age of Reason (290).

This is, taken altogether, a fairly comprehensive dictionary, exhibiting some wide gaps and some genuine strengths. Suturing people, places, and events together is perhaps still a necessary scholarly and publishing activity, but it is fast being outflanked by contributions to Wikipedia, the cross-referencing capability of which enables many links to be drawn that no reference source without an index can achieve.

*Profit and Ambition: The North  
West Company and the Fur  
Trade, 1779-1821*

David A. Morrison

Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum  
of Civilization Corporation, 2009.  
64 pp. Illus., maps, \$19.95 paper.

MARIE ELLIOTT

*Victoria*

THIS BOOKLET was published to accompany the Canadian Museum of Civilization's current exhibition (by the same name), which ends 6 February 2011. It is more than just a catalogue because, in addition to the superb graphic layout of maps, paintings, and artefacts, most in colour, the text provides a succinct overview of the history of the North West Company (NWC).

There were so many twists and turns to the progress of the NWC that it is impossible to include all the main characters and plots in a

brief publication. But it is too bad that a little more weight could not have been given to its affairs west of the Rocky Mountains. In little more than forty years the company extended its influence from Montreal to the Arctic and south to Fort George (Astoria) at the mouth of the Columbia River. Modern British Columbia owes its existence to four great NWC explorers: Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, Simon Fraser, and John Stuart (Fraser's second-in-command). Omitted is the important fact that, for almost half of the NWC's forty years – until its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1821 – the NWC trading posts in New Caledonia (Fraser's name for British Columbia) shipped up to four tons of superior furs by annual fur brigades, thousands of kilometres east to Fort William. During the final terrible six years brigades were forced to run the gauntlet of HBC traders fighting hard to gain a foothold in Athabaska and New Caledonia.

Looking closely at the illustrations, one finds a definite preference for the east side of the Rockies: a brass and iron kettle, assorted guns, Native dress, and ornaments. Even the romantic vistas by Frances Anne Hopkins are of voyageurs on eastern rivers, and Paul Kane's *The Mountain Portage* is of Kakabeka Falls near Fort William. The maps provide some glimpse of New Caledonia and the Columbia River, but those on page 48 appear to be post-1960. Fraser did not portage around the Peace River Dam and canoe up Williston Lake, nor did Thompson travel across Kinbasket Lake. The map on page 62 shows too many forts west of the mountains for 1817; there were only three in New Caledonia at that time.

This publication fills the void in a dearth of fur trade resources

available for social studies teachers in elementary and high schools and also serves as encouragement to conduct further research. Lest we think that the fur trade died out long ago, the Fur Council of Canada assures us on their website that, “thanks to modern wildlife management and trapping regulations, there are as many beavers and muskrats in North America now as when the Europeans first arrived in the continent.”

*Peter O'Reilly: The Rise of a  
Reluctant Immigrant*

Lynn Stonier-Newman

Vancouver: TouchWood Editions,  
2010. 278 pp. \$19.95 paper.

COLE HARRIS

*University of British Columbia*

PETER O'REILLY, third son of a landed Anglo-Irish family with estates in County Meath (Ireland) and Lancashire (England), immigrated to Vancouver Island early in 1859. He was thirty-two years of age and had served for six years in the Irish Revenue Police, from which, when it merged with the Royal Irish Constabulary, he had been honourably discharged. A lover of horses, he then became a stable hand responsible for the health of pedigreed horses in a prestigious stable, but he resigned when his father considered the position socially unacceptable – it diminished his daughters' marital prospects. The family estates were not prospering, and, in these circumstances, a grandfather recommended emigration. India after the mutiny seemed dangerous, and career prospects in the British Caribbean seemed limited. No one in the family knew

much about British Columbia, but a son (Chartres Brew) of a family friend was known to be forming a constabulary there. With no more information than that, but armed with letters of recommendation from important people, O'Reilly immigrated to British Columbia. Governor Douglas, then struggling to find minimally qualified colonial officials, appointed him a stipendiary magistrate and provisional gold commissioner.

O'Reilly flourished in British Columbia. He became a county court judge; a member of the Legislative Council; briefly the commissioner of BC Land and Works; and, for eighteen years from the summer of 1880, the province's Indian reserve commissioner. In December 1863, he married Caroline Trutch, sister of Joseph Trutch, who, when Douglas retired a few months later, became the colony's chief commissioner of lands and works. He lived in a fashionable house – Point Ellis House – on the outskirts of Victoria, entertained lavishly, and moved comfortably in the highest social circles. He had become a prominent figure among the small group of men who dominated the social hierarchy and political agenda of early modern British Columbia.

Such a man deserves a biography, and Lynne Stonier-Newman has provided a lively, readable one intended for a general readership. It situates O'Reilly within the main political events of his day – the Chilcotin War, the amalgamation of the colonies, Confederation, arguments over the railway, the Indian land question – but particularly within his family life and social relations. He emerges most clearly in this account as husband, father, and friend.

For those less interested in this domestic O'Reilly than in his fit with



the larger events of his day, this book may be frustrating. For one thing, it is barely footnoted. Lynne Stonier-Newman has worked hard in many archives, but, with next to no footnotes, the status of most of her information is unclear. Governor Douglas, she says, granted Native fishing reserves near Yale in the summer of 1858. If so, this is important information, previously unknown, but what is the evidence? He certainly granted a reserve at Yale in the summer of 1858, the first reserve on the mainland, but one reserve is not fishing reserves. Her claim deserves to be tracked down, yet the tracking is not simple. Similarly, she suggests at several points that O'Reilly held a more generous view of Native land allocation than his brother-in-law, Joseph Trutch, a claim that, without accompanying evidence, cannot be evaluated. There are similar uncertainties on virtually every page.

Nor is Stonier-Newman much aware of O'Reilly's official doings or of their implications. She has, for example, very little sense of O'Reilly's work in the Nicola Valley in the summer of 1858 as, on his brother-in-law's instructions, he laid out reserves of ten acres (4.05 hectares) per family, or of the effect of these allocations on the Nicola. Similarly, she ignores the on-the-ground results of O'Reilly's eighteen years as Indian reserve commissioner, when, more than anyone else, he created the reserve map of British Columbia, the principal work and legacy of his life.

On the other hand, hers is an intriguing glimpse of elite society in early-modern British Columbia. It reveals the opportunity the province offered a small group of men to achieve a social and political prominence that could not possibly have been theirs in Britain. It reveals the close web of social relations that bound this group

together as well as the Britishness of their outlook and aspirations. It shows how effortlessly they assumed their right to live in and govern a part of the world that, a few years before, few of them knew anything about. As for Peter O'Reilly himself, it reveals a considerate husband and father, and a trustworthy official who did his superiors' bidding, thought within the values of his class, and would never espouse a cause that risked his social standing or the well-being of his family.

*Inside Chinatown: Ancient  
Culture in a New World*

Robert Amos and  
Kileasa Wong

Victoria: TouchWood Editions,  
2010. 160 pp. \$44.95 paper.

LARRY WONG  
*Vancouver*

**T**HIS BOOK IS LIKE an open house for all benevolent and family associations to Victoria's Chinatown, the oldest in Canada. The reader is introduced to each society and its purpose, through many photographs, some never before published, and histories in both English and Chinese.

The founding of the societies is integral to the history of Chinese in Canada, as is shown very well in this book. The societies were set up to help newly arrived immigrants. In general, the benevolent and family associations were meant to help new immigrants from China in the twentieth century, such as the Hook Sin Tong Charity Association, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and the Lee Association.

Later, service clubs such as the Lions Club and the Chinatown Intermediate Care Centre came into being. Politics also played an important role in the establishment of the Chinese Young Men's Progressive Party and the Chinese Canadian Cultural Association. There were also martial arts clubs such as the Sheung Wong Kung-Fu Club and the Dart Coon Club; for the ladies there were the Lung Kong Women's Association, the Victoria Chinese Ladies Club, and the Chinatown Lioness Club.

Nods are given to outstanding individuals who helped shape Victoria's Chinatown, such as David Lai, Kileasa Wong, and Alan Lowe, the former mayor of Victoria. But Jack and Bessie Tang, who contributed so much to Chinese opera in Victoria, are not mentioned.

It may have been outside the book's scope, but I would have liked to have seen mention of the Mission Home for Girls, which became an orphanage, a school, and a safe haven for Chinese girls in the early twentieth century.

Though the book focuses on Victoria's Chinatown, the stories of the societies apply to any Chinatown in Canada. In fact, some societies' headquarters moved to Vancouver early last century. This shift led to the growth of Vancouver's Chinatown, which explains the bond between the two communities of Victoria and Vancouver.

*Chinese Community Leadership:  
Case Study of Victoria in Canada*

David Chuenyan Lai

Singapore: World Scientific  
Publishing, 2010. 250 pp. Illus.  
\$50.00 paper.

LARRY WONG  
*Vancouver*

I AM PARTICULARLY interested in this volume, having been born in Vancouver's Chinatown in 1938 and having a father who was treasurer of a district association. He was a shirt tailor, and I remember in the 1940s and 1950s his friends were on the boards of the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) and other societies. I didn't realize how community-minded and influential these people were until much later in my life. One outstanding friend of my father's was Wong Foon Sien, then national president of the CBA in Vancouver. For many years in the 1960s he regularly made pilgrimages to Ottawa to lobby for the opening up of immigration laws for Chinese.

In his book, David Lai examines the persistence of early Chinese organizers in helping those in need and providing community leadership. He provides rich details about early Chinese history in Canada, illustrated by the reproduction of original documents, other records, and a seven-page bibliography. Lai's focus is on the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association in Victoria.

It was March 1884 when a group of Chinese merchants in Victoria wrote to the Chinese consul-general in San Francisco requesting the establishment of a consulate in Canada. The Chinese had first arrived in Victoria in June 1858, yet, for almost thirty years, there had been no representatives of their

homeland other than clan associations. Why? Because the Manchu simply didn't have a consulate in Canada. The consul-general in San Francisco obviously thought it was a good idea and gave the go-ahead for the Victoria merchants to form the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), allowing it "the power and authority to 'govern' Chinatown and Manchu subjects in Canada" (28).

The following month, a temporary board of directors in Victoria sent out a notice to all Chinatowns in British Columbia about the formation of the CCBA, which sought a minimum of two dollars from each Chinese and offered special recognition to those who gave more than three dollars. In addition to fundraising, the CCBA wanted to function as a collective voice to fight against the ten-dollar provincial head tax and the fifteen-dollar gold-mining tax (as well as against other discriminatory practices then in place).

The next step was to draw up a constitution written in both English and Chinese, with the former being sent to the Registrar of Companies as part of an application for incorporation. On 18 August 1884, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association became a legal entity; for the next twenty-five years it was the official voice of the Chinese communities in Canada, until a Chinese consulate-general was finally installed in Ottawa.

We know about the Chinese labourers who helped construct the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) but not about their misery and poverty. Things were so bad that merchants sent a discouraging message to China, warning labour recruiters that two thousand Chinese had died not only from accidents but also from the cold climate and beriberi. The message was ignored, however, and more Chinese labourers came to

Victoria in June 1884. Once the CPR was completed, an economic slump set in, and all of the Chinese railway workers became unemployed. Workers drifted to Victoria in large numbers, making merchants uneasy. There was no Chinese consulate in Canada, and it became increasingly important to have community representation such as that provided by the CCBA.

Twenty merchants sat on the CCBA provisional board. Their mandate was to look after the sick and poor, arbitrate disputes, police social vices in Chinatown, and fight racial discrimination. Board members were mostly in the import and export business as well as in labour-recruiting, land development, and opium-manufacturing. Opium was legal then and profitable, particularly for the province, which collected taxes on it.

In 1885, the CCBA purchased property on Fisgard Street and built a three-storey brick structure: "the street façade displayed a double tiered projecting balcony with wooden supporting posts, decorative corner brackets, fretwork and turned balusters, dividing and decorative canopies" (39-40). The street level was for commercial use; the second floor housed the association office; and the third level was a temple.

Merchants in Chinatown enjoyed a certain amount of prestige during the 1880s. They were mostly immigrants from poor backgrounds; however, in "Gold Mountain" (a name Chinese used when referring to California and/or British Columbia), by working hard, these people could enhance their social status through honorary official titles and ranks awarded by (or purchased from) the Manchu government. This was a means for the latter to acquire the loyalty of overseas subjects, particularly through their fundraising for investment in China or

for the provision of relief from drought or flood in the home country.

By the 1890s, CCBA members had nine broad functions: they worked for the consulate-general in San Francisco; fought discriminatory laws; sought protection of Chinese citizens from abuses; enforced the integrity of Chinatown; arbitrated internal disputes; operated the Chinese hospital, cemetery, and school; shipped bones back to China for burial; fundraised for relief work in Canada; and fundraised for relief from disasters in China (64-65).

In a surprising revelation, David Lai notes a letter from the CCBA to the Tung Wah Hospital in Hong Kong, warning it not to send more Chinese to Canada, not because of the impending federal head tax of fifty dollars but because of the high unemployment rate among Chinese railway workers upon completion of the CPR and Vancouver Island's Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. The hospital – for the CCBA the equivalent of a Chinese charitable organization – responded that there was nothing it could do to stop the flow of immigrants as the Manchu government was under pressure from the British government to encourage Chinese labourers to emigrate from China and to work in British colonies despite the infamous head tax.

Chinese immigration to Canada therefore continued. By 1901, the CCBA had established a code of conduct. Most immigrants were from poor villages and were unfamiliar with Western culture and customs. The following rules were drawn up so as not to offend Western passengers and, perhaps, to save face:

whether being met by relatives or by friends at the pier in Canada, make sure you have five dollars for travelling after you go ashore; buy dresses, trousers, hats, and socks in Hong

Kong before boarding the ship, and put them on before disembarking. Then you will not be disgraced in front of Westerners; on board the ship, do not undress and catch fleas. Go to the toilet and never urinate overboard. Westerners will not excuse you if you commit this offence; line up for meals and do not jump the queue; when Westerners are eating inside their rooms, do not pop your head in and look, otherwise you will be chided; after the ship docks, a Western doctor will come aboard to check the health of passengers. Listen to the interpreter and disembark in an orderly fashion. Clean yourself first and put on new clothing before disembarking. (76)

David Lai also documents other aspects of Victoria's Chinatown, such as the Chinese school, the Chinese hospital, and the Chinese cemetery. He describes how bones were collected from all over British Columbia after seven years' burial and stored in Victoria. He also provides a detailed map of the province, with the locations of gravesites.

He himself participated in the mass burial of bones and the national designation of the Chinese cemetery in Victoria at Harling Point. Other interesting subjects appear in the chapter entitled "Organizational Growth, 1890-1930s," which addresses the short-lived Chinese Empire Reform Association, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Revolutionary Party, and the expansion of the clan and county associations.

When Canada recognized China in 1970, the CBA in Vancouver was divided into two camps: the pro-Taiwan camp moved out of the 108 East Pender Street building in which it had been based and established the Chinese Benevolent Association of Canada at 537 Main Street in December 1978; the other

camp became the Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association. Recently, there has been talk about reintegrating the two groups.

David Lai brings his book up to the present time, allowing both a retrospective look and a glimpse into the future. *Chinese Community Leadership* is generously illustrated with original documents, such as circulars, regulations, lists of directors, and minutes of the CCBA and other organizations. Thanks to his long involvement in Victoria's Chinatown and decades of research, Lai offers insights no one else can provide. Unfortunately, this is his last book – a testimony to his endless curiosity and his passion to record history. It will stand proudly next to my copy of Edgar Wickberg's *From China to Canada: A History of Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982).

*A Thousand Dreams:  
Vancouver's Downtown Eastside  
and the Fight for Its Future*

Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd,  
and Lori Culbert

Vancouver: Greystone, 2009. 230 pp.  
\$24.95 paper.

GORDON ROE  
*Langara College*

*A THOUSAND DREAMS* is a very thorough, if partisan, overview of the events in the Downtown Eastside (DES) over the last twenty years. The partisan aspect is due to the overwhelming voice of Larry Campbell and the resulting emphasis on what he did and what he considers important. This is an important perspective,

since the impact of Campbell and the political machine he headed is evident throughout Vancouver today. He and his co-authors provide an indispensable summary of how external and internal forces influenced the problems of the DES. However, as involved outsiders, they are less successful in representing the DES as a community and rely too much on the official voices of the activists and service providers with whom they have worked. While this limits the book's ability to speak *for* the DES, it does not detract from the value of its information in speaking *of* the DES.

Thanks to Lori Culbert, a veteran Vancouver reporter, the book is well-written, well-researched, and well-organized. And Simon Fraser University (SFU) criminologist Neil Boyd provides a researcher's perspective on the origin of many of the problems facing the DES. However, the main author and main subject of the book is Larry Campbell. As a police officer, a coroner, a municipal and federal politician, a contributor to many research and policy reports, a member of many community service agencies, and a media darling, Campbell was there when things were happening. He provides the story behind the story, and his first-person accounts of pivotal people and events make the book lively. To students of Vancouver's political history and policy development, his perspective on events in and around the DES is golden.

Unfortunately, too much of the book is devoted to the defence of Campbell's legacy. There are annoying omissions and inclusions. For example, the book states that, as Vancouver's chief coroner, he tried not to take official notice of many cases of "assisted suicide" among terminal AIDS patients, but it passes over his unsuccessful attempt to subpoena SFU student Russel Ogden's research on exactly that. And while the section

on *Da Vinci's Inquest*, a TV show based loosely on Campbell's time as coroner, is interesting, devoting an entire chapter to it is a tad excessive.

Much of the book is devoted to supporting the vision of a "mixed" community, developed by Campbell's political ally Jim Green, as a solution to the DES's problems. Private developers are now required to incorporate subsidized units and street-level retail spaces into market developments, and both the municipal and provincial governments are funding the repair or building of new social housing units. Social service agencies, most from the DES, manage this social housing for the residents of the area. The result is two-pronged: although there has been a substantial increase in the number of better-quality subsidized and supervised housing units, there has also been an overall decrease in the number of simply affordable housing units in the area. Large numbers of current residents of the area are being displaced. The lucky ones get the new subsidized and affordable housing; the unlucky ones move to the steadily increasing number of emergency shelters or live rough on the streets and in doorways.

A consequence of this "Public-Private Partnership" (P<sub>3</sub>) development policy is that the existing community has become redefined as one of service providers and service receivers. Many of the social service and community organizations in the area have become either partners in development or developers themselves. There is a growing divide in the DES between the newly arrived and revitalized market-oriented community and the current residents, many of whom are being moved to social service-supervised housing "reserves." The book acknowledges that there are individuals and organizations critical

of the P<sub>3</sub> solution, and some of their voices appear, but there is no question that, for the authors, this is the future of the DES.

The book is enjoyable to read and very informative, and anyone interested in the DES in general and the events of the last twenty years in particular should read it – but critically. If the DES has a thousand dreams, it also has ten thousand voices, and not all of them are in this book.

*Burlesque West: Showgirls, Sex,  
and Sin in Postwar Vancouver*

Becki Ross

Toronto: University of Toronto  
Press, 2009. 368 pp. \$29.95 paper.

LARA CAMPBELL  
*Simon Fraser University*

**F**EATHER BOAS and glamorous stage shows, breast implants and stripper poles: these images of postwar Vancouver nightlife in *Burlesque West* reflect the contradictory cultural status of striptease. Although striptease was defined by various experts as sexually deviant, Becki Ross convincingly argues that it was at the same time a popular and profitable part of Vancouver's postwar economy. Dancers lived with and negotiated this contradiction. As female-dominated work that was fairly lucrative, striptease offered women a degree of independence, control, and sexual empowerment. Yet dancers also worked in an environment that was structured by patriarchal and racist assumptions about women's sexuality, and they suffered from occupational hazards that were hard on their bodies and lives.



Becki Ross places erotic dancing soundly in the category of work, carefully showing how dancers, like other female workers in the postwar era, had to negotiate gender inequality, assumptions of heteronormativity, and sexual harassment. Other historians and sociologists have analyzed striptease as labour, but Ross pushes further to explore the association of striptease with cultural constructions of race, ethnicity, and gender; the relationship of dancers with male clients and club owners; and the connections between dancers and the second-wave women's movement. Her book is centred around interviews with retired dancers, club owners, musicians, and other workers in the industry, and Ross deeply respects their experiences and perceptions. Supplementing oral histories with newspapers, magazines, images, and booking diaries, Ross paints a complex and rich historical snapshot of Vancouver nightlife and argues that the industry was fundamentally important to the city's burgeoning economy.

Neither Ross nor the dancers she interviewed understand the industry in simplistic terms, and the result is a book that portrays stripping as having a messy and complicated relationship with women's sexuality. For example, Ross critiques anti-pornography feminism, arguing that it contributes to a simplistic and unfair perception of dancers as dupes of patriarchy or victims of male oppression. Many of the dancers defined themselves as feminist: all of them claimed that dancing was empowering (132). Feminist historians and theorists need to take these claims seriously and explore the historical failures of both middle-class and working-class feminists who did not make alliances with erotic dancers, many of whom, Ross points out, were involved in activist collectives, and all of

whom challenged restrictive definitions of female sexuality on a regular basis.

Attentiveness to race and ethnicity allows Ross to explore how ideas about race shaped the geography and ownership of nightclubs, and the experiences of both dancers and spectators. The spatial divide of Vancouver, with East End clubs that were racially diverse, stigmatized, and heavily policed, and West End clubs that were frequented by "higher-class" Anglo dancers and clientele, adds to the story of racism and segregation in Vancouver's urban history. Ross shows how black dancers, for example, had to embody racist stereotypes of primitive sexuality, yet did so with awareness, forethought, and remarkable humour (124-26). Her willingness to take seriously the stories of "men behind the marquee" allows her to place their stories within Canadian labour history, showing how club ownership was an "occupational enclave" for non-Anglo men who were discriminated against in the labour market and who struggled with stereotypes that portrayed them as pimps or mobsters.

Interviews with male owners, in particular, open future avenues of research in the history of masculinity. It would be interesting to see a historical study of men who frequented the clubs and to explore their complex perceptions of the women they viewed onstage. A short but intriguing section on touring in northern and small resource towns suggests that rural and urban experiences differed, and further research of this divide would contribute to a history of gender and sexuality in rural British Columbia. Ross is not entirely convinced that the current revival of neo-burlesque and female-friendly striptease classes will lead to a larger cultural shift, one that destigmatizes erotic dancing

and sex work in general. Women who make a living from erotic dancing do so in an environment that has been deprofessionalized since the 1970s, particularly with the advent of small stages in hotel bars, graphic nudity, and the decline of live music and elaborately choreographed shows. Whether the industry itself will survive in the era of cheap internet pornography remains the next chapter in the fascinating history of striptease.

*Bravo! The History of Opera in  
British Columbia*

Rosemary Cunningham

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2009. 208 pp. Illus.  
\$34.95 cloth.

JANE O. HASTINGS  
*Central Saanich*

**I**F YOU THINK THE drama of opera takes place primarily on the stage, *Bravo!* will open a new world to you. In her finely documented history Cunningham takes us from the Bianchi Italian Opera Company of San Francisco's first opera excerpts in Victoria's Royal Theatre in 1867 to anticipation of the current production of *Lillian Alling*, the Vancouver Opera Association's 2010 season-opening world premiere. She begins with a brief history of opera itself in order to show the state of the genre when European settlement on the BC coast had reached the point at which, in the 1870s and 1880s (while Verdi was still composing), the touring opera companies found a visit to Victoria worthwhile. Vancouver had its first professional production in 1891; opera has been a feature of life in these coastal cities ever since, despite barren

periods in Victoria due to the First World War and the Great Depression.

Cunningham manages to illuminate what goes on in boardrooms, drawing rooms, and backstage to make opera productions possible, and she makes these ancillary dramas interesting to anyone involved with or committed to the performing arts. In these times of ever-lessening funding for the arts, her lively discussions of the financing of opera productions are major revelations to those of us who buy tickets, attend performances, and assume (as we should not) that a sold-out house can offset the costs of production. At the end of the Second World War both government and private philanthropic foundations began to make grants available to all the arts. From this point on, the story of opera in British Columbia is one of feast and famine, peaks and troughs, all accompanied by backroom dramas over funding.

In 1959, the Grand Opera Society of BC changed its name to the Vancouver Opera Association (VOA), engaged the young Irving Guttman as director, and launched itself as the only professional opera company in British Columbia. Cunningham traces the fortunes of the VOA through the Guttman years, the Bonyngé years from 1974 to 1979, and on to the present, offering extensive documentation from newspaper articles and reviews, interviews, and other sources as, numerous times, the association rode the roller coaster from the brink of bankruptcy and back again. Pacific Opera Victoria (POV) was launched in 1980, defying the odds in succeeding in a city of fewer than the necessary million people to support a professional opera company. This year the VOA celebrates its fiftieth season, the POV its thirtieth.

In addition to her thorough account of these two major opera companies, Cunningham devotes space to "five