

BOOK REVIEWS

*The Museum of Anthropology
at the University of British
Columbia*

Edited by Carol E. Mayer and
Anthony A. Shelton

Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and
McIntyre, 2010. 237 pp.
\$40.00 paper.

JONATHAN A. CLAPPERTON
University of Saskatchewan

ON 23 JANUARY 2010 the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia celebrated completion of its ambitious \$55.5 million “Partnership of Peoples” renewal project. The expansion included the MOA Centre for Cultural Research, Multiversity Galleries housing more than ten thousand objects, an extra gallery for temporary exhibitions, a “MOACAT” digital catalogue system, and – the first of its kind – the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN), a digital platform providing access to First Nations items from the Northwest Coast. MOA has certainly come a long way from its humble 1927 beginnings as a cramped space in UBC’s library. Carol E. Mayer and Anthony A. Shelton’s edited

collection, *The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia*, celebrates both the new renovations and MOA’s lengthy history. The book is an introduction to, and showcase of, the museum’s collections: it is not a critical monograph such as Michael Ames’s *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (1992). Nevertheless, this work will be of interest to museum scholars.

The Museum of Anthropology, after an insightful and concise foreword, introduction, and history of MOA (including its most recent expansion), is organized geographically. It begins with British Columbia and highlights MOA’s famous and extensive Pacific Northwest collection before turning eastward, moving across North America, Central America, and South America to the circumpolar regions, then to Europe and Africa before progressing to Asia and then Oceania. The final chapter is dedicated to MOA’s archives, specifically its substantial photography collection. Each chapter includes a general history of the collection and its importance in relation to other holdings in MOA as well as to other museums. However, by far the greatest amount of attention is paid to the specific objects and photographs showcased in the book.

Nearly every page features an image, each of which comes with one or two brief descriptive paragraphs and each of which is categorized according to its origin and date of creation and acquisition (if known).

The two driving, intertwined themes that the contributors to this volume continually emphasize are cutting-edge development and collaboration with the diverse peoples and communities represented by MOA's collections. According to the authors, MOA's mandate as both a teaching/research and a community museum, its location on Musqueam First Nation traditional territory, and its "visionary" (ii) directors has ensured that MOA has always had an inclusionary atmosphere. Absent is discussion of the sometimes bumpy road fraught with tensions between MOA and its communities, as well as among its staff, which has marked the museum's history. Yet, I think it is the willingness of MOA's personnel to continually re-evaluate MOA in light of severe criticisms that gives it an incredibly rich and fascinating history and makes it one of the foremost institutions of its kind. Nonetheless, in fulfilling its purpose as a celebratory overview of MOA's philosophy, history, and collections, *The Museum of Anthropology* is a beautifully executed success.



*Challenging Traditions:
Contemporary First Nations
Art of the Northwest Coast*

Ian M. Thom

Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas &
McIntyre, 2009. 176 pp. \$60.00
cloth.

MEGAN A. SMETZER
*Emily Carr University of
Art and Design*

THIS GENEROUSLY illustrated exhibition catalogue introduces the work of forty contemporary First Nations artists, ranging from emerging practitioners such as Shawn Hunt and Alano Edzerza to internationally renowned individuals such as Robert Davidson and Susan Point. The author, Ian M. Thom, a senior curator at the Vancouver Art Gallery, selected each artist based on her or his technical abilities, exhibition record, and use of traditional Northwest Coast aesthetics. Thom also required that the artists "have a clearly developed style of their own" (i). Interviews provide the basis for the brief biographies that introduce the influences, materials, and techniques used by each artist.

The biographies document the multiple paths taken to becoming an artist, including being self-taught, apprenticeship, art school, or a combination of the three. Artists supplement their practice by reading ethnography and art history, conducting museum collections research, and interacting with other artists and mentors. Predominant biographical themes include the significance of dance, storytelling, and ceremony in relation to art making. The influence and impact of urban life and residential school, as well as environmental activism,

are lesser themes, though no less important. Many of the artists continue to utilize materials conventionally associated with Northwest Coast art production, such as cedar, copper, and mountain goat wool, while others have incorporated glass, bronze, canvas, and paint.

The title of the book, taken from a series developed by Sonny Assu during his years as a student at Emily Carr Institute (now the Emily Carr University of Art and Design), creates an expectation for the reader that is not met through the textual framing of the biographies. Though Thom touches on the deeply troubling history of colonialism and its impact on “Northwest Coast art” production since the mid-twentieth century, *Challenging Traditions* reinforces rather than challenges many of the biases that have been in practice since that time. Most striking is that, of the forty artists included, only three are women. This gender imbalance is particularly problematic as Thom selected male artists to represent genres traditionally associated with women. There is no doubt these artists excel at what they do; however, there are many talented female artists who would just as easily fit Thom’s criteria for inclusion in the catalogue. This disparity reflects the larger societal biases endemic to Northwest Coast cultural practices since the early years of colonialism, when the traditional balance of power between men and women was damaged through paternalistic legislation and conversion to Christianity. Despite these pressures, female artists have continued to practise and expand upon traditional art forms, and it is unfortunate that this continuity and ongoing innovation is not expressed here.

In addition, the vast majority of artists included here identify with central and northern communities, and only one currently lives beyond the borders of British Columbia. This selection is consistent with the way in which “Northwest Coast art” has been perceived and received since the 1960s – focusing primarily on northern style and privileging the colonial border over the ongoing indigenous relationships that continue to exist in spite of it.

Although *Challenging Traditions* fails to live up to its title, it does bring together often difficult to find biographical information with images of beautifully executed work by talented artists.

*The Power of Promises:
Rethinking Indian Treaties in
the Pacific Northwest*

Edited by Alexandra Harmon

Seattle: University of Washington
Press, 2008. 358 pp. \$28.95 paper.

PAULETTE REGAN
Vancouver

THIS multidisciplinary, transnational volume is a welcome addition to treaty literature in Canada and the United States. Situating treaty-making in the Pacific Northwest within a broader global context of imperialism and colonial indigenous-settler relations, the various authors convey the historical importance and contemporary relevance of treaties on both sides of the border. In the introductory essay, editor Alexandra Harmon makes a convincing argument for the need to study the treaties negotiated in the Pacific Northwest between 1850 and 1856 (the Stevens

Treaties in Washington State and the Douglas Treaties in British Columbia) through a “wide-angle geographical lens” that transcends “present national borders and political jurisdictions” (11). For Harmon, the importance of a scholarly rethinking of the treaties lies not only in their practical significance for litigation – the outcomes of which have very real political, economic, and legal consequences for indigenous peoples – but also in the new insights they provide into treaties as “modern origin stories” (26) that shape collective ethno-historical identities and form the foundational mythologies of national narratives. Treaty stories are often highly contested stories – conflicting indigenous and settler interpretations of the colonial past told in a courtroom setting. At the same time, treaty stories conveyed in public settings have the potential to re-story the history of settler states in decolonizing ways. The “power of promises” that lay at the heart of treaty relationships can then be a catalyst for political and socio-economic change.

The book is structured thematically to guide the reader through an impressive range of topics. Part 1, “Colonial Conceits,” examines the macro and micro techniques by which indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their lands and resources. Kent McNeil questions the political and moral legitimacy and legal validity of international imperial treaties, such as the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which were signed without the consent of sovereign indigenous nations. Paige Raibmon explores the genealogy of settler land settlement practices and intermarriage between settlers and indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest to remind us that, while policy and law may prescribe, colonial practices shift power and identity in complex and sometimes

unintended ways. In Part 2, “Cross-Border Influences,” Hamar Foster and Alan Grove argue that colonial officials in Oregon and Washington and British Columbia who comprised the “administrative and judicial elites” maintained “close ties” (90) across the border that help to explain why treaty-making in British Columbia ceased after the Douglas treaties were signed. Douglas C. Harris examines the strong influence of US court decisions, particularly the *Boldt* decision, on Canadian jurisprudence related to Aboriginal fishing rights.

In Part 3, “Indigenous Interpretations and Responses,” Chris Friday looks at how indigenous oral traditions and treaty-making practices involving public performance adapted over time to become acts of spoken and embodied resistance that disrupt the settler version of the treaty story. The essays by Andrew H. Fisher and Russel Lawrence Barsh, respectively, provide ethnohistorical interpretations of how US court decisions on treaty and fishing rights have reconfigured Indian identity and, in some cases, exacerbated intra- and inter-tribal conflict. In a case study of the Kennewick Man controversy and subsequent court ruling against tribes that sought the repatriation of the remains for burial, Bruce Rigsby argues that, in ceding treaty lands, indigenous peoples did not cede their sovereign rights over burial sites. In Part 4, “Power Relations in Contemporary Forums,” Arthur J. Ray offers an insightful look at the challenges he faced as an academic expert witness charged with educating the Canadian courts about the history of the western Canadian fur trade as it relates to Aboriginal title and treaty rights. He explains the shortcomings of the litigation process, concluding that the courtroom makes a poor classroom for understanding the complexities of

history when attempting to determine the rights of indigenous peoples. The final two essays in this section analyze modern treaty or land claims agreements. Ravi de Costa argues that the modern treaty negotiation process currently underway in British Columbia, with its boilerplate, highly technical agreements, bears little resemblance to treaty-making of the past. Treaty-making in democratic states is a “consent-seeking” process, which requires ongoing negotiations between indigenous peoples and the state, rather than a striving for unattainable “certainty” (315). Robert T. Anderson examines the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the Nez Perce Water Rights settlement agreement to argue that, despite the discourse of self-determination that emerges in the United States in the 1970s, modern claims agreements and water rights settlements are modelled on nineteenth-century treaty negotiations in which mandates were determined by the federal government and tribal representatives were at a distinct disadvantage.

Together, these essays provide a comprehensive, thought-provoking overview of treaties in the Pacific Northwest, along with fresh perspectives on their significance for indigenous-settler relations today. *The Power of Promises* is highly recommended for undergraduate and graduate courses and will be of interest to indigenous peoples, scholars, and policy-makers in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

*Visions of British Columbia:
A Landscape Manual*

Edited by Bruce Grenville and
Scott Steedman

Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and
McIntyre; Vancouver: Vancouver
Art Gallery, 2010. 256 pp. Illus.
\$40.00 paper.

*Solitary Raven: The Essential
Writings of Bill Reid*

Edited, with commentary and
notes, by Robert Bringhurst.
2nd expanded edition

Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and
McIntyre, 2009. 240 pp. Illus.
\$24.95 paper.

KAREN DUFFEK

University of British Columbia

THE DIVERSITY that characterizes historical and modern art practices in British Columbia belies the simple dualities within which they are often framed. Common among these dualities is the division between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal art, which rests in turn on an understanding of Aboriginal and Western cultures as distinct monoliths. Both of these books, seemingly unrelated in their subject and scope, contribute in complementary ways to more complex discourses about British Columbia’s art and artists.

Like the exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery for which *Visions of British Columbia* was published – a show aimed at local and international audiences during the 2010 Winter Olympics – this book’s purpose is to provide an introduction to the province through the eyes of its artists. It does so by

presenting a multiplicity of media and narrative strategies as it pairs works by thirty-seven of the province's artists with excerpts of texts by BC writers, poets, and orators. This gathering together forms the "manual" of the book's subtitle: visions for negotiating how we, as British Columbians, may apprehend and, at the same time, define this place. Many of the selections of artists and wordsmiths are not surprising since they are drawn from the acclaimed and the well known. Yet the pairings, made by editors Bruce Grenville and Scott Steedman, are inspired and seldom predictable. Opening the book near the middle (an approach that its non-linear structure invites), I find Daphne Marlatt's powerful lament, *generation, generations at the mouth* – poetry that hooks straight into the plea for salmon underlying Susan Point's sculptural work, *Consonance*, with which it is paired. Elsewhere, while it would have been refreshing to place Robert Davidson's work in dialogue with a writer other than Bill Reid, juxtapositions such as Brian Jungen's *Cetology* with Douglas Coupland's *City of Glass*, and Emily Carr's *Scorned as Timber* with Charlotte Gill's *Eating Dirt*, create provocative dialogues across genres and through time.

In his introductory essay to *Visions*, Grenville points to works that "consider the long and often problematic role of art in the documentation of social history and the construction of the heroic figure" (7). Certainly the late Haida artist, Bill Reid (1920–98), became such a hero, and although he may ultimately receive greater recognition for his intercultural role in global art worlds (see *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*, edited by Karen Duffek and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, 2004), he is more commonly celebrated in the Canadian landscape

as the quintessential Haida responsible for the "renaissance" of his mother's culture. Reid is best known for his gold and silver jewellery featuring Haida motifs, and his monumental public sculptures in wood and bronze. Yet *Solitary Raven: The Essential Writings of Bill Reid* places into the foreground Reid's creative output as a writer and former broadcaster: his essays, articles, lectures, and unpublished manuscripts, which were previously widely scattered and difficult of access. Compiled and edited with both scholarly rigour and tenderness by Robert Bringhurst, this book was first published in 2000 and has since become an indispensable resource: a kind of archive for critical and ongoing analysis of the narratives created by and around Reid. Now, for this second edition, Bringhurst has added two early texts to the original collection of thirty, spanning almost four decades of Reid's career, from 1954 to 1991. "This book is many things," Bringhurst notes in his updated introduction, "but one of the most important things it is, in my opinion, is the story of a long and conscious journey from one pronoun to another" (ii). How Reid wrestled with that journey from "they" (in which he mourned the apparent death of Haida culture) to "we," where he took a prominent role in advocating for Haida land rights while still arguing, controversially, that Haida art belongs to the world, is a major thread linking Reid's own narratives to one another – and to the larger, multi-voiced stories of twentieth-century art and history in British Columbia and beyond.

The Maquinna Line:
A Family Saga
 Norma Macmillan

Foreword by Alison Arngrim;
 Afterword by Charles
 Campbell

Victoria: TouchWood Editions,
 2010. 288 pp. \$19.95 paper.

K. JANE WATT
Fort Langley

WHAT DO CASPER the Friendly Ghost, the co-founder of Vancouver's Totem Theatre, *Jeopardy's* Shakespeare lady, the former editor of Vancouver's *Georgia Straight* newspaper, and the nasty Nellie Oleson of television's *Little House on the Prairie* series have to do with BC history and its emerging fiction?

Quite a bit, as it turns out, for each of these players from popular culture and Vancouver's arts scene had a role in bringing Norma Macmillan's historical novel, *The Maquinna Line*, to print. Born in Vancouver in 1921, playwright and actress Macmillan was best known for her voice talents - breathing life into Casper in *The New Casper Cartoon Show* of the early 1960s and into Pokey's steadfast, green sidekick Gumby in the late 1960s animated show of the same name - acting, and raising her family with husband Thor Arngrim in Vancouver, Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles. From their meeting at work in Vancouver's Totem Theatre in the 1950s, they travelled together the journey that comprised their long and eclectic professional lives.

In the early 1970s, Macmillan began to write what her daughter Alison Arngrim (best known for her portrayal of the shopkeeper's daughter, Nellie,

in the TV dramatization of Laura Ingalls Wilder's novels) called, "the Canadian version of *Roots*" (vii). This lusty family saga begins in Friendly Cove in 1778 and performs a riff on BC history up to the Second World War as it follows a clutch of established Victoria families anchored together by tendrils of attachment to two female descendants of fabled Mowachaht chief Maquinna of Yuquot. Cinematic in scope, *The Maquinna Line* takes the polite world of Victoria and turns it on its side, showing the underbelly of British Columbia's politest city, its institutionalized racism, and its selfishness.

Norma Macmillan died in Vancouver in 2001. After her death, Thor Arngrim pulled her voluminous manuscript out of their closet and set to work to get it published, conscripting Vancouver journalist and teacher Charles Campbell (former editor of the *Georgia Straight*) and Barbara-Anne Eddy (five-time *Jeopardy* champion) to get it typed and revised for publication. This multi-handed journey to press explains some of the inconsistencies between the promise of the novel and its final form. Created through a rigorous editing process that reduced Macmillan's original manuscript by half, this novel attempts a great deal as it seeks to write a First Nations story on and over British Columbia's founding mythologies of white settlement, exposing its pretentious "Englishness" as a violent sham.

Maquinna's heirs, Elaine and her daughter Sahndra, are equated with the trickster raven, their presence unsettling but ultimately enriching the life of the staid Julia Godolphin and the families that ripple around her. In Macmillan's hands, their story is as fascinating as it is repellent: as characters, they are the wanted, the

looked upon – never the lookers. They are presented as lithe, animalistic representatives of their race, aware of their beauty, driven by their desires and an inchoate something handed down through their genes. But they remain one-dimensional, unfinished, their fate as characters mirroring the genesis of the novel.

Macmillan approaches the accomplishments of BC writers Jack Hodgins and Ethel Wilson in her conception of place and time. Yet because her sure hand falters stylistically, the full evocation she sought is not realized, and it is the promise of plot that keeps *The Maquinna Line* afloat, even, at times, unputdownable. Macmillan's sombre representation of coastal British Columbia nevertheless yields a variety of enlightening returns as metaphorical and real violence makes possible surprisingly tender turns of forgiveness, acts of atonement that embrace a new kind of future for British Columbia.

*The Business of Women:
Marriage, Family, and
Entrepreneurship in British
Columbia, 1901-1951*
Melanie Buddle

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. 224 pp.
\$32.95 paper.

TINA BLOCK
Thompson Rivers University

DESPITE THE rich historiography of women and work in Canada, we know very little about the history of female self-employment in this country. Historians have tended to focus on women who worked for

wages, overlooking those who ran their own businesses. The historiography of women and work also varies by region: we know far less about women's working lives in British Columbia than in most other provinces. In her analysis of self-employed women in twentieth-century British Columbia, Melanie Buddle thus offers a welcome addition to the existing historiography of gender, labour, and business in Canada.

The Business of Women is divided into two main sections, the first of which is based primarily on census data. In this section, Buddle traces the intersections between gender, age, class, family status, and self-employment among BC women in the first half of the twentieth century. Using figures from both the published census and a 5 percent sample return prepared by the Canadian Families Project, Buddle challenges many common assumptions about women and business during this era. Self-employed women should be studied on their own terms, Buddle argues, as their characteristics and concerns were distinct from other groups of working women. For instance, census figures reveal that self-employed women were more likely to be older, married, and mothers than were wage-earning women. The significance of regional context is highlighted as women in British Columbia were more likely to choose self-employment, and to remain in the labour force after marriage, than were their counterparts in other provinces. According to Buddle, such distinctions reflect the frontier characteristics of British Columbia, most notably its gender imbalance and masculine character. Buddle bases the second half of her study mainly on the records of the first two business and professional women's (BPW) clubs formed in British Columbia. Despite their respectable public image, BPW

clubs functioned as spaces for women to negotiate, and occasionally contest, the gender inequities of the male-defined business world. Self-employed women challenged gender norms by their very presence in the masculine world of business. Nonetheless, they, along with the wider cultural media, sought to assuage public fears about women in business by highlighting the womanliness of female entrepreneurs.

The Business of Women fills a major gap in BC history, and, through comparative analyses, demonstrates that place matters to Canadian history. It provides a much needed corrective to business history, which has tended to overlook gender, and to women's history, which has tended to overlook the specific experiences of self-employment. Gender shaped the lives of all working women, but, as Buddle convincingly argues, it worked in distinct ways for those who were self-employed. While acknowledging that family was central to women's decisions around self-employment, Buddle very firmly situates women's entrepreneurial work within the business world. In so doing, she challenges the ingrained view of women's self-employment as primarily an extension of homemaking. Buddle's work makes a significant contribution to the historiography of gender, labour, and business in Canada. The second half of her study is, however, somewhat limited in its focus on the relatively privileged BPW club members. Her work would be enriched by greater attention to how working-class and marginalized women encountered and negotiated the masculine world of business. It would also be enhanced by further analysis of how race, and particularly race privilege, determined the options and experiences of self-employed women. Despite such limitations, Buddle offers rich insights into the characteristics

of female self-employment during this period and lays the groundwork for future explorations of gender and business in Canada.

Buddle demonstrates that self-employed women were part of the business world and that their history was distinct from that of wage-earning women. She reveals that female entrepreneurs at once challenged, and conformed to, prevailing gender norms. She also shows that businesswomen in British Columbia were in some ways unique and that region matters to our understanding of Canadian history. This important book is thus recommended reading for those interested in the history of gender, labour, business, and British Columbia.

*Women on Ice: The Early Years
of Women's Hockey in Western
Canada*

Wayne Norton

Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2010.
163 pp. \$21.95 paper.

DAVID MILLS
University of Alberta

IN JANUARY 1997 the *Gateway*, the University of Alberta's student newspaper, reported on the first game played by the Pandas, the women's hockey team: "it was fascinating to watch these women playing their hearts out, trying to break into a field that has been dominated solely by the male species since hockey was born." Although women's hockey was seen as a recent development, it has been around for a long time. In the 1890s, Lady Isobel Stanley, the daughter of the governor general, was a noted "hockeyist" and had her picture taken

with a hockey stick and puck on the pond next to Government House in Ottawa. Women's hockey was also played in Edmonton in that decade, and the University of Alberta iced teams from the First World War into the 1940s. The problem was not the limits placed on women's participation in the sport but, rather, the limits placed on our historical memory.

Wayne Norton's *Women on Ice: The Early Years of Women's Hockey in Western Canada* tells the story of women's hockey in British Columbia and Alberta from its beginnings to the mid-1930s when, due to declining popularity, most teams in both provinces ceased playing. Women's hockey was largely forgotten until its revival in the 1990s. Norton restores our historical memory by telling us how the early game was played, following its development by focusing on specific teams. In the West Kootenays women's hockey was played in Rossland, Nelson, and Grand Forks. Although teams sometimes scrambled to assemble a complement of seven players, competitive women's hockey was played in these communities until 1916.

The organization of women's hockey was undertaken by one of hockey's famous families – the Patricks – who had moved from Montreal to Nelson to establish a lumber company. While we know about the exploits of Frank and Lester Patrick, Norton describes how the three Patrick daughters began the Nelson Ladies' Hockey Club in 1910. After the Patrick Lumber Company was sold in 1911, the family moved to the coast and founded a men's professional league and built arenas with artificial ice in Victoria and Vancouver. Women's teams quickly appeared in Victoria, New Westminster, and Vancouver, and they played in the new arenas. By 1918, the teams from Victoria and

New Westminster had folded, but the Vancouver team, who had begun playing with hand-me-down uniforms from the Vancouver Millionaires and were later called the Swastikas, were challenged by a newly formed team that would become the dominant local squad over the next decade – the Amazons. The latter team included such notable players as Kathleen Carson, goalie Amelia Voitkevich, and Norah and Phebe Senkler, whose mother was the daughter of a former lieutenant-governor of British Columbia and whose father was a prominent Vancouver lawyer and Liberal Party official. The team was supported by Frank Patrick. The team's reputation was made at the annual Banff Winter Carnival, where teams from British Columbia met rivals from Alberta, including the Calgary Regents and Edmonton Monarchs. The Amazons won the Alpine Cup in 1922, which was given to the "lady champions of western Canada," and would appear in it each year, facing new opponents (with varying degrees of success) until the team disbanded in 1933. Norton also has chapters on women's teams from Calgary, Fernie, and Edmonton, including the Rustlers, the only squad to defeat the Preston Rivulettes, the best women's team in Canada during the 1930s.

The author does an excellent job narrating the early history of women's hockey in western Canada and describing a number of the teams that were formed. Norton has thoroughly mined the newspaper archives of this period, and *Women on Ice* includes almost forty superb black-and-white photos, many previously unpublished, which show many of the teams (with most of the players, unfortunately, left unnamed). This is the book's strength and weakness. Like the sports reporters who commented on women's hockey,

Norton devotes sections to discussions of the cute or stereotypical team names, like “the Kewpies,” “the Hollies,” and “the Amazons.” There is a very good explanation, though, for why some women’s teams chose “Swastikas” as their team name and wore sweaters with that symbol (which meant good fortune) emblazoned on them. There are also more descriptions of what the players wore (e.g., the colours of the sweaters and skirts and the types of toques) than of the games themselves. As a result, while there is a detailed history of the Vancouver Amazons because newspaper sources are readily available, other teams, particularly those from smaller communities, are not so fortunate. Moreover, Norton is unwilling to speculate about the decline of women’s hockey in the 1930s and 1940s. It is clear that the pool of female athletes who were young and single, or married but childless, largely dried up during the Great Depression because of social pressure for women to embrace their domestic and maternal roles rather than to participate in sporting activities. By the time of the Second World War, arenas and gymnasiums were unavailable because of the military demands for space. It was too difficult for women’s sports to flourish.

Because it is a popular history, it is perhaps unfair to criticize the book for not referring to the body of scholarly literature on women’s sports in general and on hockey in particular. Nancy Theberge’s *Higher Goals: Women’s Ice Hockey and the Politics of Gender* or Laura Robinson’s *She Shoots, She Scores: Canadian Perspectives on Women in Sport* might have been consulted in order to develop the importance of gender attitudes in the early twentieth century.

The author’s approach is similar to that of male spectators at a women’s hockey game around 1900. At that time

a reporter wrote: “Both teams played grandly and surprised hundreds of the sterner sex who went to the match expecting to see many ludicrous scenes and have many good laughs. Indeed before they were there very long, the men’s sympathies and admiration went out to the players and they became wildly enthusiastic.” The issue was not whether women could play – they could. In fact, as Norton points out, the sport was popular enough that the Edmonton Ladies Hockey Club was chosen to advertise Starr “Acme Club” skates in 1899. While the image associates the glamour of the players with the product, there is also some recognition that, given that women players were used to sell hockey skates, the women’s game had been accepted.

It appears that the women who played hockey also challenged traditional notions of femininity and the myth of female frailty. Sports have traditionally been seen as a means of turning boys into men. Sports are not meant to turn girls into women. Moreover, many Canadians in this period were alarmed by the idea of women’s going to university, entering the workforce, or playing sports. Doctors argued that such activities would jeopardize the female reproductive system. It was a scandal for women to ride bicycles, for example, because it was simply too strenuous for the female body. Then what to make of women who wanted to play hockey, which was clearly a “man’s sport”? Especially when women played with an intensity similar to that displayed by men? One early game saw a disputed goal that led to an altercation on the ice involving players, the referee, and spectators. Body-checking was also discouraged in the women’s game. It was reported that a player “was ruled off for one minute for being a bad girl. She checked one of the other girls real hard.”

However, at the 1920 Banff tournament, it was reported that the female hockey player, “not to be outdone by her big brother, has donned the knickers and the hockey sweater and is fast becoming a most proficient exponent of the very fascinating and contagious sport of hockey.”

Yet female hockey players were admonished: “Remember, young ladies, participation in sports may foster manlike qualities, like boldness, initiative, pride and a spirit of independence.” And, as late as the 1960s, Clarence Campbell, former University of Alberta grad and, later, president of the NHL, said that “hockey was too rough for gals.” Hockey was a gendered arena that defined male and female roles. But it is also clear that, if playing hockey was perceived to be a threat to femininity, then the young women of the Amazons, Kewpies, and Swastikas did not believe it. They could play the game skilfully and maintain their femininity.

Women on Ice: The Early Years of Women's Hockey in Western Canada provides an interesting, well-written, and detailed description of women's hockey in British Columbia and Alberta before 1940. While it doesn't answer all the questions an academic historian might ask, it is a highly readable and entertaining popular history. It identifies some of the pioneering women hockey players and acquaints us with many teams. Since the 1990s, the numbers of girls and women playing hockey have increased significantly. Women's hockey has come a long way: there are local leagues in communities across the country and there is hockey in schools and universities. The Canadian women's hockey team has won gold medals at the last three Olympics, although the celebration in Vancouver was marred because, after their victory,

some players were seen smoking cigars and drinking champagne on the ice. The International Olympic Committee was appalled: “I don't think it's a good promotion of sport values,” according to the executive director. “If they celebrate in the changing room, that's one thing, but not in public. We will investigate what happened.” Maybe attitudes towards women's hockey haven't come that far after all.

Terrain of Memory: A Japanese Canadian Memorial Project

Kirsten Emiko McAllister

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. 293 pp.
\$90.00 cloth, \$34.95 paper.

COLE HARRIS

University of British Columbia

AFTER THE Second World War, most of the Japanese relocated in camps in the interior were sent to Ontario or to Japan, while many of those who remained in British Columbia, largely the elderly or the ill, were collected in New Denver. There the houses in the main camp (the Orchard) were not demolished, and in 1957 those still occupied by people of Japanese descent were deeded to them. A Japanese presence remained in this Kootenay village: one of their number became its mayor, and interracial marriage became common. Well aware of the passage of time and encouraged by the Redress Agreement of 1988, the Japanese elders in the village, and particularly Mrs. Kamegaya, an educated Japanese woman of Samurai background, laid plans for the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre, which would treat the uprooting of the Japanese from their coastal communities and their

lives in an internment camp. The centre – two relocated houses with period furnishings, a new community hall containing relevant exhibits, the Kyowakai (Working Together Society) Hall, and Japanese gardens – opened in 1994. From inception to completion and then as a much-visited centre it has been a contested site of memory.

These memories are the subject of Kirsten Emiko McAllister's book. For those of Japanese descent in New Denver, she, a *sansei* (third-generation Japanese Canadian) raised in Ontario and PhD candidate in sociology at Carleton University, was both insider and outsider. Her mother, a *nisei* (second-generation), had been interned during the war, but McAllister was a young academic from away. She came with the assumption that the memorial centre was little more than a tourist attraction carrying disciplinary and theoretical baggage that seemed increasingly irrelevant. She turned to the elders, listened to and recorded their stories, and came to see the Japanese settlement in New Denver not only as an internment camp but also as a home. From those whose home it was had come the impetus and direction that created the Memorial Centre, and from those who visited it came a full range of responses. The site provoked arguments and evoked different memories: it was far more than simply a tourist attraction.

McAllister engages these memories in a way that brings her own self and values very much to the fore. She is introspective about her own position as a researcher and examines it closely. She considers herself both academic and critical social activist, and she strongly identifies with the objectives and achievements of the redress movement. She is quick to identify victims and their oppressors. At the same time, she is

well aware that pasts are constructed in various and changing ways. These are different and perhaps incompatible positions. On the one hand, McAllister tends to view the centre as a locus of instruction about the suffering that state-backed racism inflicts. It embodies a lesson to be learned. On the other, she seeks to be open to many stories, and to avoid completion and finality, yet a diversity of stories can only dilute the lesson imparted by any one of them.

For my part, I wonder how a site like the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre, situated as it is in two complex movements of people and social power, can avoid a multitude of different stories. Behind the relocation of the Japanese during the war were both racism and fear. Racism was particularly in the air in new and predominantly British settlements where the future was not yet established and the Orient was only an ocean away. And, after Pearl Harbor, people were frightened; Japanese submarines were thought to be along the coast. Racism, fear, and war: out of that mix came the internment camps. They were also situated in a process of social and cultural change that had begun as soon as Japanese people began to settle in British Columbia. These migrants had left Japan behind and were being recontextualized in new settings. Life could not continue as it had: when they were forced to move again, change was accelerated. None of this complexity is well served by simple, didactic storytelling. Japanese Canadians themselves, as McAllister knows, tell very different stories about the camps.

I have always felt that the Nikkei Centre has negotiated this complexity well. It engages not only the brutality of removal and the harshness of camp life but also the ongoingness and, to some

fair degree, the creativity of life. The internment camps in British Columbia were not places of barbed wire and guns. My own stories come into play. My aunt and uncle on Harris ranch, one of the relocation sites around New Denver, did what they could to make life easier for the Japanese, many of whom were in their kitchen, listening to the radio, when an atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki. As a lad on the ranch in summer, I played with the Japanese boys there and was astonished by the mosaic of miniature flower gardens created by the elderly Japanese men who lived in the ranch house. Later, Mrs. Kamegaya, who had come to New Westminster to teach Japanese and was caught by the war, became a friend. I once asked her why she did not return to live in Japan, where her prosperous family would have welcomed her. She could not, she said, live in Japan because it had become too North American. She, more than anyone else, was responsible for the Nikkei Centre, and I can only wonder what stories she wished it would tell.

*Asian Religions in
British Columbia*

Edited by Larry DeVries, Don
Baker, and Daniel Overmyer

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. 310 pp.
\$85.00 cloth, \$32.95 paper. Library
e-book

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THE CITYSCAPES of British Columbia have changed dramatically over the last two or three decades. Alongside the high-rise towers and sports stadiums have risen new religious buildings. Very few of these are churches. The new buildings are temples, mosques,

and shrines built by congregations of people originally from Asia – Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Daoists, Zoroastrians – of many different national origins and many distinct religious traditions. Number 5 Road in Richmond is now lined with large religious establishments, almost all of them serving congregations of Asian origin. The road is known colloquially as the Highway to Heaven and is famous well beyond British Columbia.

This wonderfully detailed and comprehensive volume provides the first study of Asian religions in British Columbia through a series of portraits of specific religious communities. It brings together the work of a number of scholars who know intimately the religions they describe. They tell stories that are old and new. Asian religious groups have been established in British Columbia since the beginning of outside settlement a century and a half ago, and they have been joined by successive waves of immigrants. The stories may come as a surprise to many people in an increasingly secular, postmodern society in which religious observance seems to be declining. British Columbia's Asian religious communities, by contrast, are flourishing in a richness and variety hard to grasp without reading this book. Many of these communities practise religions of Asian origin, but Christianity, too, is flourishing in several Asian communities. In 2006 there were 110 Protestant parishes in Greater Vancouver whose congregations were largely Chinese. Presbyterianism, the stern faith of Canada's forefathers, is alive and well in the Korean and Taiwanese communities in British Columbia: it was taken to Taiwan and Korea by Canadian missionaries and brought back to Canada by recent immigrants.

The Asian religious congregations function not only as places of worship but also as centres of community and social life, and their extensive buildings reflect these roles. These are places where families gather together to keep their customs and languages going. They are places to which new immigrants turn to help get established, to find jobs and social contacts. Food is an integral part of community: the congregations are places where the best food of a culture can be found.

Besides these benevolent religious activities there are secular issues associated with places of worship. Taiwanese Presbyterian churches are closely associated with the Taiwanese independence movement. Zoroastrians, many of Iranian origin, anguish over what should be their attitude towards the Islamic state in their homeland. And some Sikh places of worship have had complex involvements with the movement to create a Sikh state – Khalistan – in India. *Asian Religions* does not focus on the secular activities associated with religious groups in British Columbia; rather, it stresses the peaceful mix of religions in this province. To quote Daniel Overmyer, the humane and dedicated scholar who has done more than any other to promote the study of Asian religion: “British Columbia provides a positive example for the future of the world.” He points to the tolerance between religions in British Columbia – religions that elsewhere in the world are at war with each other – as well as to the larger society’s acceptance of a wide range of beliefs and customs. These religious groups have played a key role in the maintenance of cultural traditions that matter to many people. It would seem that the Asian religious groups in British Columbia are a true realization of the multiculturalism promoted by Pierre Trudeau.

Vancouver Special

Charles Demers

Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press,
2009. 271 pp. Illus. \$24.95 paper.

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IN *Vancouver Special* Charles Demers presents a unique portrait of his hometown of Vancouver, where he continues to live and work as a writer and a comedian. In a series of essays that explore the neighbourhoods, people, recent trends, and “sundry civic idiosyncrasies” that for him define Vancouver, Demers offers a personal reading of the city that dips occasionally into the distant past but mainly focuses on the period since Expo ’86, which he considers the city’s “most important experiential borderline.” He writes as someone savvy about “alternative” culture and self-consciously leftist in perspective. *Vancouver Special* is an urban portrait more in tune with the “hipsters” of South Main and the denizens of the Downtown Eastside than with the owners of “tiny, yapping dogs” – the “pocket rats,” he calls them – that characterize yuppie Yaletown (230).

The book presents Demers’s impressions in thirty-one chapters organized into three broadly defined sections entitled “Neighbourhoods,” “People,” and “Culture,” respectively. For instance, the author speaks knowingly of Commercial Drive, where ethnic diversity, anarchist traditions, and a rich café scene have created a distinctive community marked by such local peculiarities as a “pathological culture of jaywalking” (27). Demers also ruminates sadly on the decline of 4th Avenue from its high tide as a “hippie beacon” to its new life as centre of “hedonistic consumption”: from the

Naam to Lululemon (55)! Chinese, South Asian, and black areas of town are featured; Dunbar, Point Grey, and South Granville are not. The satirical insights of the stand-up comedian stand out particularly in the second half of the book where Demers moves from place- and group-specific subjects to more general themes such as “nature,” “pot,” “crime,” “dogs,” and what he calls Vancouver anarchism, or “Vanarchism.” The author’s comments on the drug scene, bus travel, Uncle Fatih’s pizza shop, and gourmet doggy treat shops are funny and instructive.

As in any edgy comedy routine, some of the material is likely to be more effective than others. *Vancouver Special* is no exception. I particularly liked the insights that Demers presents regarding the importance of the Burrard Street Bridge as a key site in the history of public protest in Vancouver, a history that peaked during the huge peace marches of the 1980s. One of the real strengths of the book is the successful way the author draws on his extensive knowledge of contemporary culture, from restaurants and movies to novels and blogs, to draw readers into interesting and often unfamiliar corners of Vancouver life. For instance, he introduced me to Jen Sookfong Lee’s “dark novel of Chinese Vancouver,” *The End of East*, and Lee Henderson’s story of the early city, *The Man Game*. I was impressed as well with his understanding of the role of First Nations peoples and culture in present-day Vancouver. Less compelling is his sense of history, which tends to draw on recycled ethnic stereotypes and to emphasize continuity in race relations rather than to reflect on the fundamental changes that have taken place in the city since its days as an Anglo-dominated outpost of empire. The Vancouver of 2010 is a

very different place from the city that spawned race riots in 1907 and expelled its Japanese residents in 1942. I can’t help but comment as well on what I consider to be a lost opportunity for a book entitled *Vancouver Special*: an exploration of the meaning of that iconic form of house construction that flourished on the city’s east side for a generation starting in the mid-1960s, producing houses marked by simple, utilitarian dimensions and known as “Vancouver Specials.”

Demers’s essays are enhanced by hundreds of bold, striking, and often very effective black-and-white images of Vancouver life by photographer Emmanuel Buenvaije. Designer Derek Barnett has made particularly effective use of double-spread photos to introduce and set the tone for each chapter. Together the writing and design contribute to a book that will be read in the distant future as an important snapshot of life in Vancouver during the era of the Winter Olympics.

*Speaking for a Long Time:
Public Space and Social Memory
in Vancouver*

Adrienne L. Burk

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. 212 pp.
\$29.95 paper.

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MIKE DAVIS claims that ours is a time when the lived geographies of privilege and marginality intersect with an ever-diminishing regularity.¹ If he is right, then critical urban research

¹ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 119.

that attempts to understand how new productions of space might militate against this isolation is both relevant and politically urgent. Adrienne Burk's *Speaking for a Long Time* is exemplary in this regard. It demonstrates how three alternative monuments in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside operate to disrupt prevailing complacencies by making visible certain forms of violence and precariousness that are routinely disregarded in the discourses of the broader society. These monuments are not venerations of the Great Men of History designed to interpellate national subjects: they are grassroots-driven installations that function as sombre sites of commemoration for victims of endemic forms of predatory misogyny, racialized marginalization, and socio-economic deprivation. Yet Burk insists that they do more than simply memorialize, and she demonstrates how each functions to disrupt naturalized interpretations of space by inscribing a material counter-narrative into the geographies of everyday life.

Speaking for a Long Time is divided into three sections. The first (entitled "Act") examines the processes that led to the construction of the three monuments. It assesses the complex institutional and interpersonal negotiations that preceded the installation of *Marker of Change* (honouring the victims of the 1989 École Polytechnique massacre in Montreal), the Crab Park Boulder (honouring the murder and disappearance of dozens of Downtown Eastside women), and *Standing with Courage, Strength, and Pride* (honouring those who have been marginalized in the Downtown Eastside, with an emphasis on the disproportionate number of Aboriginal people among them). Particularly thoughtful is Burk's consideration of the contentious politics

of memorializing the victims of the Montreal Massacre in a neighbourhood in which women were still disappearing with an alarming frequency. The second section (entitled "Frame") develops the relationship between monuments and public space more generally. Burk argues that these alternative installations demonstrate how the permanence of the monument form can be appropriated as a means of disrupting prevailing *ways of seeing*. Public visibility, she writes, "is a powerful force for negotiation and contesting hegemonic relations" (106). The third section (entitled "Forge") proposes that a "politics of visibility" (exemplified by the monuments but not limited to them) might help to counter the all-too-common obscuring of acute forms of social suffering. Her most interesting suggestion in this section is that interventions in public space can play a key role in reclassifying nominally "private" crises (e.g., the classification of violence as a "personal and gender-neutral crime") as problems for the broader body politic (175).

The book's most important achievement is its nuanced assessment of the complexities of urban marginalization. Burk adeptly demonstrates how hegemonic forms of domination are naturalized and embedded in the rhythms of everyday life without losing sight of the contingent and contradictory character of such patterns. This is particularly true where she considers the acute levels of social suffering that have long plagued the Downtown Eastside. She breaks with the conventional journalistic insistence that the neighbourhood can be understood as a kind of collection zone for the addicted, the downtrodden, and the criminally inclined (e.g., the *Toronto Star's* Rosie DiManno describes it as magnet for "lost souls" while the *Globe and Mail's* Gary Mason sees

it as a “delirious lure for the drug addled”).² In contrast to such odious simplifications Burk emphasizes the plurality and political maturity of the neighbourhood’s cultures. In this sense she challenges those who understand the Downtown Eastside as an afflicted zone that can only be cured by the cleansing might of the wrecking ball (standard rhetoric for those who seek to rationalize the twin violence of eviction and “redevelopment”). She emphasizes the capacity of neighbourhood residents to imagine and build alternative futures without romanticizing their resistance (nor does she overstate the significance of monuments as political tools). She is acutely aware of the limits that constrain her “politics of visibility” and recognizes it as a single element in a long-term *war of position*.

Burk’s emphasis on coordinated resilience goes a long way to disrupting the dangerous assumption that spaces of socio-economic deprivation are always spaces of unruliness, chaos, and disorder. The trope of “disorganization” has a long and problematic history in North American urban research (especially in studies of the African-American ghetto). From the pre-war studies of the Chicago School of urban sociology through to more recent debates about the existence of an American “underclass,” the equation of inner city deprivation with “unruliness, deviance, anomie and atomization” has privatized public crises and explains systemic forms of dispossession as

individual failures.³ The acute forms of racialized poverty that prevail in the Downtown Eastside are markedly different from those that have taken root in the United States, but a similar rhetoric of disorganization and chaos is routinely mobilized to describe the neighbourhood.⁴ Burk’s discussion undermines these problematic assumptions by demonstrating that it is space *ordered* by a different set of principles, many of which are responses to outside restraints and restrictions.

In spite of this significant achievement, however, the political potency of Burk’s contribution might have been amplified if she had asked tougher questions about the kind of visibility that would be required to thoroughly disrupt hegemonic interpretations of the problems of the Downtown Eastside. While she adroitly reveals how systemic forms of misogyny and racism are central to the production of precariousness in the neighbourhood, she leaves the culpability of the state largely unexamined. Burk’s commitment to a “politics of visibility” aimed at indicting the “inadequacy” of previous approaches to violence and marginalization is laudable, but it would have been strengthened if it had included a more explicit examination of how, in recent decades, transformations of the state (particularly retrenchment of key forms of social provision) have operated to accelerate vulnerability. It seems to me that this should be made *visible* in our

² See Rosie DiManno’s “For Eastside Girls Nothing’s Changed,” *Toronto Star*, 22 January 2007; and Gary Mason’s “Business as Usual in the Wretched District,” *Globe and Mail*, 24 January 2007. Both are quoted in David Hugill, *Missing Women, Missing News: Covering Crisis in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2010), 88–93.

³ Loïc Wacquant, “Three Pernicious Premises in the Study of the American Ghetto,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21, 2 (1997): 345–47.

⁴ For a full discussion of how mainstream journalists have attributed the trope of disorganization to the Downtown Eastside, see Hugill, *Missing Women, Missing News*, 86–91.

efforts to recalibrate private suffering as a public problem.

*Imagining British Columbia:
Land, Memory and Place*
Edited by Daniel Francis

Vancouver: Anvil Press, 2008. 216
pp. \$18.00 paper.

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Imagining British Columbia: Land, Memory and Place, edited by Daniel Francis, is a collection of twenty creative non-fiction essays contributed by members of the Federation of British Columbia Writers. The federation invited writers to submit essays “with a strong sense of place that capture the writer’s connection or interaction with a specific geographical landscape, community or setting in British Columbia” (8). Francis chose eighteen out of about one hundred submissions and invited two additional authors to contribute. The anthology is offered as a “gift of self-awareness” to the province on its 150th birthday (9).

Each writer has thought deeply about his or her relationship with a particular landscape, and, as a result, this book achieves its goal of capturing a sense of place. Aside from two essays set in Vancouver, and three in which part of the action takes place in Vancouver or Victoria, the majority focus on rural, or “wilderness,” sites that writers have visited on holiday (alone or with minimal company) or where they have carved out a living for themselves. In this sense, the collection captures an “imagined British Columbia” that residents might escape to rather than the urban spaces in which most of us spend

our daily lives. Even if we experience them only fleetingly, these landscapes are essential to British Columbia’s identity: they offer solace, inspiration, or a new vision to the authors, and their descriptions are a gift to readers. Some writers refer to problems such as global warming, overfishing, and consumerism, yet a more balanced portrait of British Columbia would also have examined landscapes altered by industrial development and resource extraction.

Several writers explore themes of community and memory by sharing their own family histories as they relate to land settlement, the Depression, war, and postwar social movements. Other writers use family as a jumping-off board to broader community histories, such as Mona Fertig in her excellent essay on the postwar Vancouver art scene or Jan Drabek in his entertaining take on modernization on Bowen Island. Margaret Thompson and George Fetherling’s research on the fur trade and gold rush, respectively, has resulted in imaginative and engaging narratives, but the role of Aboriginal peoples, which should have been a major part of these histories, is underdeveloped. In addition to stories of families with deep roots in this province, *Imagining British Columbia* includes five essays by authors who have come to British Columbia from elsewhere and who describe the challenge of finding home. Shannon Cowan, part of a generation of wanderers, compares herself to the Himalayan blackberry: “a foreign invader that naturalizes in disturbed areas. It doesn’t belong here, but it’s been successfully adapting to the landscape” (26).

Bringing together so many voices to imagine such a broad topic raises expectations that this anthology will attempt to capture the complexity

and diversity of this province, yet essays by Aboriginal or Asian British Columbians are absent. Representations of Aboriginal residents tend to be marginal, which seems surprising for a collection compiled by the author of the critical and influential *The Imaginary Indian*. Though *Imagining British Columbia* offers a partial vision of this province, the essays it presents are thoughtful, well-crafted, and lyrical explorations of individual relationships with nature and family in British Columbia. This collection introduced me to a variety of authors, and the short descriptions of their work placed at the end of each essay is a gateway to further reading. In a second non-fiction anthology, the Federation of BC Writers could further contribute to our self-awareness by addressing the social and environmental challenges facing British Columbia's communities and landscapes, and by presenting a more inclusive and diverse selection of authors.

