BOOK REVIEWS

Breaking Ground: The Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe and the Unearthing of Tze-whit-zen Village

Lynda V. Mapes

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009. 288 pp. $35.95 paper.

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Breaking Ground, by journalist Lynda Mapes, is a compelling, well told story of a Coast Salish tribe in Washington State – the Lower Elwha – and its fraught relations with the settler community that grew up around it. The pivotal event that has drawn Mapes's attention, and which she described in previous years in the *Seattle Times*, is the rediscovery of a 2,700-year-old ancestral village site, *Tze-whit-zen,* and, eventually, hundreds of burials at Port Angeles, the location selected by the state for the construction of a massive dry dock facility. These developments, after $90 million had been invested in the site, precipitated several years of anguish and debate over how to understand Aboriginal heritage and how to determine the state's obligations to American Indian communities. Eventually, the state abandoned the project and provided funding for the reburial, at the original location, of the remains of the ancestors.

To make this contemporary drama meaningful, Mapes describes the events and processes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that came to dramatically alter the circumstances of the Lower Elwha. Early chapters give broad-stroke glimpses of Spanish and English exploring expeditions in the region; the coming of epidemic disease, particularly smallpox; the imposition of a US legal regime; and the 1855 Treaty of Point-no-Point. But Mapes also examines the smaller and more localized, including the history of successive, relatively short-lived settler construction projects on the village site in the decades prior to the dry dock. One such project was one of the world's biggest lumber mills. Mapes never loses sight of how the gradual alienation of their territory and resources has affected the Lower Elwha both individually and collectively, and she moves deftly between the historical and the personal.

Mapes is concerned to make clear the historical amnesia of the settler population regarding the Aboriginal

historical presence on the landscape. This loss of social connection is a pervasive and perplexing issue in settler societies, and *Breaking Ground* is at its best in tackling this subject. Mapes reveals that the village site had been documented, even as recently as 1991, by archaeologists and is clearly indicated in an 1853 US coastal survey map of False Dungeness Harbor, which is reprinted on popular decorator items and shows up in many Port Angeles homes and stores. There is a long history, Mapes reveals, of digging into burials during various construction projects. Yet there was a only brief, inadequate archaeological examination of the site before construction started.

Mapes's approach to this issue is to avoid creating yet another misleading binary of bad camps and good camps. She reveals the intense pressure on all parties to come to quick, often thoughtless, resolutions about archaeological projects and tribal patrimony when money is at stake. She notes that tribal members still carry oral histories about the village site, yet were not consulted by project managers, even after burials were found. She points to the alienation many Aboriginal people feel in their relations with the mainstream community and their disinclination to share information about their own community history. But Mapes also notes the differences of opinion within the Lower Elwha community and the failure of the tribal council to adequately consult its own people. She makes clear that oral tradition is hard to hear and to comprehend, and she emphasizes the mainstream's devaluation of this important form of knowledge.

When the story of the *Tze-whit-zen* village hit the press I was among those who wished to learn more about the site. Mapes's own accounts in the *Times* provided tantalizing information – a photo and short description – of eight hundred etched stones, some more than a thousand years old, which are said to contain a wide range of information, including weaving patterns and possibly ways of treating epidemics or handling a breech birth. But *Breaking Ground* indicates that money is no longer available for an analysis of the artefacts unearthed by a contract archaeology firm. The artefacts themselves remain in the Burke Museum, at the University of Washington, their story untold. *Breaking Ground* is not an academic work, although it contains a great deal of value to the scholarly world as well as to the general public. It is unfair to ask the book to do the work of another sort of publication. Still, I remain anxious to learn more about this site.

Mapes has handled historical and anthropological information carefully and prudently, but there are a few inaccuracies with regard to detail as well as instances of inadequate interpretation. For example, on page 49, George Gibbs, an important figure in nineteenth-century west coast history, is merely described as a lawyer, implying, I think, that he was a sharpie in his dealings with tribes during the buildup to treaty negotiations. The Duke of York (Chits-a-mah-han), another key figure and a Klallam leader, is noted as being "beloved by whites for his propensity to dress in their clothes – and signal them of trouble brewing" (50-51). This is an unfair characterization of a complex man who developed his own strategic approach to accommodating colonialism. Finally, there is no index or bibliography, and this hinders scholarly use.

Cascadia: The Elusive Utopia – Exploring the Spirit of the Pacific Northwest
Douglas Todd, editor

Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2008.
326 pp. Illus. $21.95 paper.

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Fourteen individually authored chapters (and several supplements) reflect on a shared and bifurcated bioregion and, in the process, assemble the varied ways in which the designation "Cascadia" has been applied. Among the surprises in the collection, one, attractive partly because of its relative daring, amounts to a history of the International Peace Arch at the Blaine, Washington/Douglas, British Columbia, crossing. Author Eleanor Stebner comes to this topic by way of a brisk search for a symbol of Cascadia. For all the obviousness of the Douglas fir, salmon, and so on, she lights, with only the slightest trace of irony, on the Peace Arch. Because I have twice written a little about this site, I was pleased to discover here several details I did not know; for example, that "it was one of the first structures along the Pacific coast to be built earthquake resistant" (197). I like the way Stebner sets the monument into an architectural history of monuments – usually celebrating military triumph. Her summary of the "two-way" symbology of the gateway Arch might also describe the dynamic of the book as a whole: "It was a portal … having the role of moving people from one reality into another reality: people crossed from one country into another country, and from conflict into peace" (201).

The sections in this collection – often overlapping, even repetitive – are less essays than printed talks. They retain, that is, much of the tenor of a fairly informal not-too-academic conference (one I unfortunately could not attend) convened by editor Todd at Simon Fraser University in 2006.

Cascadia – repeatedly recognized in the collection as concept and dream rather than as mappable territory – is identified by the relative absence of affiliation to the institutional church and a strong sense of allegiance to a spirituality discovered in non-human nature. In this secular but spiritual world we find reiterated in various forms the importance of rivers (though not much, oddly, on cascades), salmon, and proximate mountains; coffee and fleece also take a turn. Cascadians are concerned for the integrity of the natural world, inclined to a slightly separatist scepticism about tradition, and in love with novel freedoms.

This complex of shared characteristics predictably attracts a few resisters whose comments open portals from one reality into another reality. I liked Patricia O'Connell Killen's caution that a Cascadian sense of unconstrained freedom may lead to the eroding of memory. Her call for a biocentric memory that includes human history in a larger storying of "all living things" (82) seems thoughtful and is a useful analytical tool. Speaking of history, Jean Barman's overview review of borderlands finds an Aboriginal peoples' "cascadian" region precontact and deftly connects its functional region to the northwest economic region that existed before any political lines were drawn. Phil Resnick is decidedly more cautious about the Cascadian notion: he emphasizes, quoting Conrad Cherry, the US belief "'that America has been elected by God for a special

destiny'" (116), which inhibits much impetus towards a binational culture. Resnick does, however, if only hesitantly, endorse "coastal mountains and Douglas firs" as a significant "common denominator" (120). And, perhaps most resonantly for readers of this journal, he urges that more attention be paid to the "territorial [mountainous] divides" that create "two BC's, two Washingtons, two Oregons" (118).

Resnick flirts here with a concept of double centres that is, to my mind, the one that a reader of this collection might most want to develop: that is, that the imagined Cascadia might invert the heartland/hinterland dichotomy to a centre/centres imaginary (and that means many more than two). The idea is introduced in this book most tellingly in Mark Shibley's reflections, especially when he quotes David Oates: "'two-mindedness is what I'm after.'" Which is to say that we each have our cherished (read local and immediate) "Sacred Spaces" but that we must realize that "they speak for everywhere" (48). Resnick's centres overlap, and two-mindedness is not a dichotomy, as Peter Drury urges. For Drury sustainability might be found simply in "contemplative walking" (151) which is deeply spiritual while simultaneously honouring nature.

One aspect of *Cascadia* seems odd to me: a book that purports to be "exploring the spirit" pays very little attention to the arts. One essay, by Paulo Lemos Horta on magic realism, focuses on literature. Beyond that, there's but the occasional reference to Jack Hodgins, David James Duncan, and John Muir. Even Nicholas O'Connell's study of the sacred in Pacific Northwest writing gets only passing mention. The potential for including more references to painters, architects, composers, and writers is particularly evident when we find, in a supplementary section titled "Contemplations," George Bowering saying perhaps more in a page and a half than what is said in the rest of the book combined: "In Cascadia, in the Pacific Nation," Bowering writes in his ironic and spare musings, "we prefer spirituality to religion. We like to be breathed into, to be, as they say, inspired" (266). Then he argues the spiritual advantages of being lost – walking.

I happened to start reading this book when I was at the midway point of a thirteen-week course devoted to Pacific Northwest writing. My students were trying to create *deep maps* of such topics as surfing, avalanches, and the fabric arts. Several of them had already discovered *Cascadia: The Elusive Utopia* and were quoting it in class and in drafts of their term projects. They found it a useful support, one worth reacting to. So do I. Students of British Columbia should have this book in their personal libraries.

Falsework
Gary Geddes

Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane Editions, 2007. 120 pp. $19.95 paper.

Tragedy at Second Narrows: The Story of the Ironworkers Memorial Bridge
Eric Jamieson

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2008. 272 pp. $32.95 paper.

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Probably few occupants of the 120,000 vehicles that daily take the Ironworkers Memorial Second Narrows Crossing know its full name or the story behind it. Of those who do, a significant portion still resents the name change from the prosaic "Second Narrows Bridge" in 1994. But when an unfinished section of the bridge collapsed and took seventeen ironworkers to their deaths, the tragedy seared the province. These two books demonstrate the impact on workers, their families, and the larger community as well as the modernizing project the bridge represented. The books also represent very different, though equally powerful, ways of dealing with the past, which is obvious even in the titles.

The title of Gary Geddes's book – *Falsework* – is a direct reference to the temporary structures put in place during bridge construction. It was this falsework that fell on 17 June 1958. Geddes's book is a series of poems, stories, and photographs that use falsework as a metaphor for the false promise of modernity; for the engineering mistakes, flawed material and procedures, and inappropriate safety standards that led to collapse and death; for the vagaries of historical memory; and for the complicated family relations that Geddes sketches. He combines his craft with that of the historian and with his personal connection to the tragedy to use poetry, as Octavio Paz suggested, to build a "bridge suspended between history and truth." The result is not a documentary history but, rather, as the author puts it, an "intimate, and largely fictional, portrait" of the people and society that were rent when the span went down. Geddes uses all the tools of literature to forge an emotional connection to the past that may be fictional but that is not false.

Eric Jamieson's *Tragedy at Second Narrows* is an example of non-academic, popular history at its best. It is deft, professional, and rigorous. The handling of the sources, ranging from government reports to oral history to photographs, is thorough and sophisticated. The writing is crisp and compelling as Jamieson explores the companies, unions, governments, and technology of the day in order to lay out the building of the bridge and the disaster of 17 June. While this forms the centre of the book, Jamieson also deftly sketches the optimistic boom of the period and takes us past the collapse and deaths and inquiries to discuss the labour issues that followed. Jamieson is even-handed in his assessment of the causes and consequences of the disaster, noting the series of errors that led directly to the events while remaining cautious in attributing blame and guilt.

Like the builders of the bridge itself, the two authors start at opposite sides of historical practice, yet meet somehow in the middle to provide accounts that are carefully constructed, deeply moving,

and convincing. Though neither Geddes nor Jamieson is writing labour history as such, each forces us to reflect upon the collective labour that lies behind our daily lives yet so often remains hidden from view and analysis. Jamieson concludes by quoting the chaplain at the service for the seventeen dead workers to argue that the bridge is "a reminder of the hazards faced daily by the men and women 'who strive so brilliantly and dangerously to give us a modern world.'" If that lesson was learned at great cost in 1958, it seems largely forgotten in our brave new postmodern world, where over a thousand workplace deaths go largely unnoticed in Canada each year.

Becoming British Columbia: A Population History
John Belshaw

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008. 288 pp. $85.00 cloth; $32.95 paper.

Forrest D. Pass
Ottawa

If Canada, as William Lyon Mackenzie King once quipped, has too much geography, John Belshaw might well reply that Canadian historiography has too little demography. Regional historical writing, including that found in British Columbia, has emphasized the geographical basis for regional character, from the problems of overcoming distance by means of transportation and communication technologies to the cultural and political implications of natural resource extraction and, more recently, the various manifestations of human interaction with landscape. Demographic assumptions have played a significant role in shaping impressions of British Columbia. Imprecise estimates of its population provoked animated discussion when Canadians considered the admission of the Pacific colony to Confederation. In the minds of historians and contemporary commentators, British Columbians and outsiders alike, the province has been variously defined by its maleness, the transience of its population, the ephemeral character of its resource communities, its racial diversity and patterns of racial segregation, the prevalence of miscegenation, and its high level of urbanization. Yet, as Belshaw observes, population history seldom excites the public or academic imagination.

Belshaw's contribution to the field is a study that is at once revelatory to the academic historian and accessible to the educated non-specialist. *Becoming British Columbia* succeeds, in part, because it is engagingly written, a rare feature among works of demographic or quantitative history. The author never loses sight of the fact that population history is first and foremost about people; although he employs a wealth of statistical evidence to construct his population history, both in the text as well as in a series of appendices, it is balanced with illustrative details, intriguing anomalies, the occasional amusing anecdote, and evocative metaphors that enliven his narrative. A description of the crumbling sand-mortared foundations of Kamloops' Victorian houses serves as an apt allegory for Belshaw's conception of demography as the undervalued foundation for the edifice of history and, more obliquely, of demographic assumptions as the foundations of the "British Canadian domestic-cultural values" extolled in the triumphalist history of an earlier generation (3).

Even more intriguing is his characterization of the Canadian Pacific Railway as the "double-helix" of the nation, an observation that evokes both the railway's physical appearance and its talismanic place in Canadian memory (42).

Taken on their own, statistics can simultaneously exaggerate and obscure historical phenomena, and his attention to diversity leads Belshaw to challenge some of the stylized facts of BC history. After an opening chapter that concisely presents the broad contours of BC demographic history, the remainder of the book presents a series of problems or case studies. The first case, a critical evaluation of the ways in which scholars from a number of disciplines have estimated precontact populations and postcontact smallpox mortality rates, illustrates the shortcomings of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sources for demographic information and also emphasizes that the political manipulation of demographic statistics is not limited to colonizers. Although reliable numbers are elusive, Belshaw does present compelling evidence that British Columbia's demographic history during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was defined by death and depopulation rather than by settlement and growth. Considering British Columbia's population as a whole, and not just the European minority, thus presents a very different version of the province's early history from the once-dominant pioneering narrative. Conversely, his acknowledgment of the reality of ethnic divisions leads Belshaw to qualify the long-standing perception of the BC frontier as an overwhelmingly male community. While raw census data point to a peculiarly asymmetrical gender ratio before the First World War, the near-impermeable division of marriage between the province's Asian and Caucasian communities precluded random marriage, and, among the latter, the ratio of men to women was considerably lower than it was among the former. This re-evaluation has obvious implications for patterns in nuptiality and fertility, both of which, along with mortality, Belshaw addresses at length. He does not fall into the trap of assuming that circumstances and experiences were identical throughout the province. British Columbia's urban character distinguishes it from other, predominantly rural, parts of Canada, but its urban centres vary significantly in size, structure, and importance. Belshaw's previous scholarly work gives him a familiarity with two regional centres – Nanaimo and Kamloops – that underlies his analysis of urban growth and demography, and he also shows how the relationship between urban and exurban population trends has evolved over time, as the Lower Mainland conurbation increasingly exhibits demographic traits that are very different from those observed in the provincial hinterland.

As its title suggests, *Becoming British Columbia* tells a story about the process of region formation and, thus, contributes to the ongoing discussion of the utility of regionalism as a framework for BC history. For Belshaw, a self-described Marxist, British Columbia's occasionally dramatic departures from demographic trends observed elsewhere in the Western world involve differences of timing and degree rather than evidence of far-western exceptionalism, and can be explained in terms of the extension of industrial capitalism. British Columbia is distinctive to be sure, but its distinctive qualities make it a "splendid laboratory" for the study of the broad demographic trends of which it is occasionally an extreme example. This is regional history at

its best, grounded in local experiences and exhaustive reading of local sources, having a deep respect for the specificity of place but being well attuned to national and global developments.

For regional historians, *Becoming British Columbia* will prove a valuable complement to the standard surveys of provincial political, economic, and social history, with which it should be read in tandem. For students and scholars in British Columbia and beyond who are unfamiliar with the fundamentals of demographic history, it is an accessible introduction to the field's methodology and concentrations.

Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890-1920
Ian McKay

Toronto: Between the Lines, 2008. 656 pp. $49.95 paper.

Gary Teeple
Simon Fraser University

It took a mountain of labour to write this book, but the result is a molehill of meaningful history. This is the second volume of Ian McKay's planned multi-volume history of the left in Canada, the first being *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Between the Lines, 2005). Claiming a dearth of work in this area, McKay has taken it upon himself to begin to write that history. It is not clear, however, that his books do what he thinks they do.

Reasoning Otherwise is a title whose ambiguity points to many of the problems encountered by the reader. McKay wastes no time establishing his "challenge": with minor exceptions, he states, a history of the Canadian left does not exist, and his task is to begin to write it. Such is the content of the first two paragraphs of the book. There follows, however, no critical review of the literature on the left. There is no attempt to establish the strengths, weaknesses, or omissions of the studies that do exist or to show how his work relates to them. This is no minor oversight: it implies that nothing worthwhile preceded McKay's work on this subject.

The oversight is all the more striking because the book has no thesis, no argument, no unifying theme. There is no attempt, for instance, to reopen the question and to address the arguments first posed by Werner Sombart in *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* – the seminal work that informed many subsequent studies of the left in the United States (by Michael Harrington, Daniel Bell, William Appleman Williams, among others) and that easily could have framed McKay's study in Canada.

The reason for this curious omission appears to be twofold. First, McKay dismisses previous writing as "'scorecard history' in which the historian assigns stars and demerit points based on his or her present-day politics" (1). Not only does he not give examples of this type of history writing, but also he provides no awareness of the variety of historical methods that might not be so easily snubbed as "scorecard history." The dismissal is too brazen to be left unchallenged: it is an unsupported flippancy that trivializes the various works that offer different approaches from McKay and that precede his work. It also allows him to escape the difficult task of addressing other arguments and methods.

Second, the approach McKay wants to follow does not require taking a

position; it does not need an argument or theme. The method, if one can call it that, seems to be his own invention: "I engage in what I call a mission of reconnaissance" (1). To explain, he provides a straightforward dictionary definition: it is "a preliminary examination or survey" or "the act of obtaining information of military value." And he suggests that this intellectual scouting is part of the Gramscian "war of position," which amounts "to recognizing and learning all we can about the ruling regime's strengths and weaknesses" (1). McKay's focus, however, is not at all on the ruling regime, an analysis of which does not appear in his book; rather, it is on the Canadian left between 1890 and 1920. Reconnaissance, moreover, is generally carried out with a purpose in mind; it is not merely the gathering of tangentially related yet discrete bits of data, which is what we find in *Reasoning Otherwise*.

This "reconnaissance," McKay writes, is "post-polemical," implying that earlier work on the left is marked by a certain polemic. Again, he provides no evidence of such writing (in fact, Canadian historiography is relatively free of debate); however, if we take polemic to be, at bottom, the making of an argument, then it is something to be welcomed rather than derided. What is a "fact," after all, outside of a perspective, a logic, a reasoned position? To write history as though it could merely record the "facts" is a questionable endeavour, to say the least; to write history framed by polemic, controversy, and debate is the only meaningful way of grasping the past, not to mention the present.

There is more to the method, McKay insists: "The point of reconnaissance is to provoke a network of focused investigations" (3). But if "focused investigations" are just more "reconnaissance," then there is nothing to be gained – except more data without meaning. No theoretical framework, no meaning. This does not stop McKay from making some grand claims: "reconnaissance knows itself to be just one step in a cooperative struggle to understand a contested terrain, just one step in the struggle to reclaim left history from the 'enormous condescension of posterity'" (3). He wants to use a "post-polemical" method to fight in a "contested terrain," to "reclaim left history," which apparently has suffered as the object of polemics. Seemingly unaware of the contradictions in this position, he then maps out his method for "reclaiming" a history that, earlier, he had said was by and large absent (1).

The practice of "reconnaissance" makes writing history very easy. It reduces it to a set of personal observations that do not need to be defended by argument. At the end of Chapter 1, for example, McKay summarizes his findings through a series of personal observations: "This reconnaissance has found something different." Following this statement are numerous sentences beginning with the first-person singular: "I see this time and place not as a toxic waste dump but as a freshly planted field." Ignoring his peculiar imagery, we read two pages marked by a series of personal assertions: "I find not," "I find," "I generally do not find," "I do not see," "I see," and so on (76, 77). McKay's approach allows him to make individual observations and to present them as though they have a greater importance than they would have were they merely his particular views. Beyond these assertions, there is no argument, theme, or framework by which to judge whether or not these observations are meaningful to this "history" of the left.

Because "reconnaissance" is not a method, but rather a seeming justification for picking and choosing whatever people, texts, and events McKay wants to examine, it raises questions about what constitutes valid methodology and what comprises history. It is the absence of method parading as method that characterizes McKay's approach. And, in the end, it is the absence of a history of the left that characterizes *Reasoning Otherwise* and that reveals the emptiness of his method. We are given a clue as to the depth of his understanding of history writing in the first lines of the book: "When I embarked on writing this book … I thought it would be a rather easy job. I would just generalize on the basis of all the histories that we have" (1). But these histories, he says, do not exist. For that reason, we are saved from his generalizations as history, only to be treated to a "reconnaissance" of the field. In the end, we get history as anecdotes, book reviews, empty generalizations, brief biographical sketches, superficial commentary, and rhetorical flourishes.

McKay's writing style is commensurate with his invented methodology, that is, it is descriptive. "Reconnaissance" provides no analysis worthy of the name. There cannot be analysis without a thesis; – what he provides is a stream of reports and accounts of theories, individuals, parties, movements, and trade unions – all examined superficially and descriptively. The style, as a consequence, is impressionistic, discursive, chatty, and journalistic, interspersed with assertions and broad generalizations accompanied by little or no evidence. For the most part, the book is written as reportage.

McKay's concepts lack the rigour necessary to write meaningful history. Perhaps the closest he comes to having a hypothesis is the concept of "Canada-as-project," to use the expression that appears in his essay entitled "The Liberal Order Framework" (2000). In *Reasoning Otherwise*, it appears as "Canada as a liberal project" (518). It is this "project" that the "left" under scrutiny resisted and to some degree reshaped. But what is a project? The term was widely used in Britain in the 1990s, but its use has since fallen away, probably because it is so lacking in precision. A project implies a directing force, but this is identified only as "a state." It also implies a goal, purpose, and strategy, but these are left vague: "a vast archipelago of societies, nations, and communities … [is] brought together but loosely by a state designed to implant and enforce classical liberal conceptions of liberty, equality, and property" (518). This appears to be the project, which I take to be the creation of a marketplace society. But this development has a long, staged, and strife-ridden history. And so, if it is to be meaningful, the concept of project can hardly be left, as it is, at this level of abstraction.

Those who struggled against this "liberal project," the left, are the subjects of the book. McKay defines a leftist in Canada as "anyone whose words and deeds can be plausibly connected with these four key insights – into capitalism's injustice, the possibility of more equitable democratic alternatives, the need for social revolution and the ability to see the "preconditions of this social transformation" in the contemporary world (4). Again, the level of abstraction makes this concept effectively useless. On the one hand, it embraces divergent and contradictory views, bringing together Marxists; anarchists; religious, utopian, and secular communitarians; social gospellers; and followers of Owen, Ruskin, Spencer, and George,

among others. What they have in common other than a certain opposition to the status quo is unclear. Their respective analyses of the system and proposed solutions are so different as to make their abstract commonality meaningless in any practical sense. The real issue is why a given period gives rise to these different analyses, forms of resistance, and proposed solutions. To lump them all together as the "left" and to treat them as if they constituted a commonality is to allow only the most general conclusions to be drawn. McKay's definition of the left, moreover, does not include social democrats, red Tories, or others who are opposed to the extremes of market capitalism and on the left of the political spectrum, albeit not interested in revolution.

There is another problem with McKay's definition of the left: it is not consistent. We have the above definition on page 4, but on page 5 we have another. "Left formations" he writes, are "engaged in pushing forward left ideals of equality, democracy, and freedom championed since the 1790s." Unfortunately for McKay, the left of the 1790s became the right of the industrial era; these "left ideals" of the 1790s are bourgeois ideals, left of the monarchical/feudal camp, but they embody the ideals of the "liberal project" (to use McKay's term). It is true that their expansion to include the rising working class was the subject of many struggles, but these ideals have nothing to do with the ideals of nineteenth- and twentieth-century working-class opposition to marketplace society.

In the same paragraph, the definition of a "left formation" is cast so broadly as to defy meaningful use. This becomes obvious when McKay writes that what unites this "constellation of parties, people, issues and texts" is "an overriding political objective – that of *reasoning and living otherwise*"(5). It is from this expression that he derives the title of the book, but it is so general that it provides no sense of specific content. Presumably, it would include all those who are not supportive of the liberal status quo. The phrase "reasoning and living otherwise" borders on the meaningless; without giving it some specific content, it is both vacuous and banal.

"Leftism" is another problematic concept. I assume it means a generalized set of ideas belonging to "leftists." However, just as the concept of leftist is so general as to be only marginally useful, so, too, is the concept of leftism. This seems to be confirmed when McKay writes: "An inclusive narrative of a given moment of leftism in Canada can be written in terms of the major figures, parties, currents, texts, and debates" (9). It appears that leftism, for McKay, is simply a compilation, in any given era, of all the ideas on the left. If nothing else, he here tells us how he will write his history of this "moment of leftism." We are subjected to numerous vignettes of the lives of a few selected thinkers/theorists, and short descriptions of their ideas, but we get almost nothing to relate them in a meaningful way to the political economy of Canada or to a coherent view of the development of this elusive left.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the question of class. At the end of this long section, we know little else other than what a few individuals or organizations said about class at the time. There is nothing to allow us to assess the significance of class in the ideas or actions of the people, parties, or movements examined; there is nothing on the import of class in political or union organizing; and we learn nothing about the era's changing class structure.

Chapter 4 is concerned with "the religion question," but there is no attempt to assess this question or to determine why it arose and its significance to "left formations" at the time. There is simply a series of descriptions of various commentators' positions, during that period, on the left's attitude towards religion. We have no clear picture of the nature of the issue.

Chapter 5, which addresses "the woman question," provides no sense of the actual social, legal, political, and economic plight of women at the time. There are reviews of books and articles, and many pages of individual stories, but disparate reviews and anecdotes do not leave the reader any the wiser when it comes to determining the nature of the "problem" in general or to determining just how representative those stories actually are. Similar comments may be made about Chapter 6 on "the race question." We learn nothing about why the race question became the issue that it did or what race meant in those times.

The last two chapters – on the First World War and the Winnipeg General Strike (and subsequent trials) – follow the same pattern. There is no review of the literature, and the text rests on biographical sketches, anecdotes, and unsupported generalizations and commentary, offering no significant analysis of the political economy of the day.

At the beginning of *Reasoning Otherwise*, McKay asserts that a comprehensive history of the Canadian left does not exist and that this book will contribute to its development. After more than five hundred pages of his skipping and jumping over a wide range of materials without the guidance of a thesis, we arrive at the end. Despite the labour entailed, this book, unfortunately, does not help to fill any gaps. The better part of it is made up of synoptic descriptive reviews of the work of certain figures on the left in the period, chosen without a stated rationale and without an overarching argument.

One looks in vain for more of what generally comprises the left and its activities – that is, for chapters or sections on the labour movement, strikes and the struggle for labour legislation, the women's suffrage movement, the questions of living wages and work conditions, business cycles, state repression, and so on. One also searches in vain for a review of extant studies that focus on the Canadian left between 1890 and 1920 – a task necessary to establishing what has yet to be done – not to mention a rationale for these dates.

Instead, *Reasoning Otherwise* provides us with data – masses of detail – without criteria for assessing any of it. McKay graces the approach that produces this collection of data with the name "reconnaissance." It is paraded as a novel historical method but appears to be but a pretext for a personal and arbitrary selection of data vaguely pertinent to the history of a poorly defined left in Canada. History, however, is not a mass of data; rather, it is a series of events that must be given coherence by the historian, and, for this, an argument is required. McKay has given us over five hundred pages without an argument.

If most Canadian history is about the status quo, it would be good to have an antidote in the form of a history of resistance to the mainstream. This book is not it. From the banality of the title to the empty claims for his method to his mere assemblage of data, Ian McKay has failed to write what he thought he was writing. In the end, *Reasoning*

Otherwise provides nothing of a history. Fittingly, it ends with a platitude.

River of Gold
Susan Dobbie

Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2009. 199 pp. $19.95 paper.

Now It's Called Princeton: Songs and Poems of BC's Upper Similkameen
Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat

Princeton: Princeton Traditional Music Society, 2008. $20.00 CD and booklet

John Douglas Belshaw
North Island College

Both of these works step outside of conventional history, and to very good effect. One is a novel in which the principal characters participate in that mid-nineteenth-century mass movement, the BC gold rush. The other is a CD containing no fewer than twenty-seven songs and poems relating somehow to the Similkameen. Precious metals are a common denominator; otherwise, these two works are like chalk and cheese. They do, however, succeed in doing what they set out to do, thereby making a genuine contribution to the field.

With very few exceptions, the CD avoids boosterist schlock and focuses instead on working people's songs (as distinct from *union* songs). Some people love this kind of heartfelt, banjo-laden thing. Not me. But the selection of songs and poems – traditionals, rare vernacular poetry from the pages of the *Similkameen Star*, and a few modernish contributions – are entertainingly grim. These are not anthems to the nobility of work, province/nation-building, or the brotherhood of man; rather, they are principally about back-breaking and dangerous work, drinking, stupid politicians, dirt and grease, sneaks, suckers, and death.

The theme is, at bottom, the daily round. Even the poem "In My Dreams" is about predictable routines. The everyday struggle with troublesome people, machinery, and stuff cries out for a medium (like song and poetry) that is, itself, built for repetition. The whole is organized into subject sections (Mining, Logging, Railways, Prohibition, and Settlement) and the jewel box contains a hefty little booklet that describes the region's history, the topic material, and a little about the individual pieces. At the end of the day, however, the whole depends on the performers. Bartlett's voice is rich and oaky; Ruebsaat's has a kind of intensity that holds one's attention by the lapel. There are some nice insights here, and a song about the Hope Slide brings the project significantly closer to the present time than is usually the case.

Susan Dobbie has written a sequel to *When Eagles Call*, both of which centre on life in the colonial era. The year is 1858, heading into the winter of '59. Opportunity beckons two Kanaka men in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley. They are joined by a just and strong Afro-American who may or may not be on the run from a Yankee lynch mob, and the foursome is rounded out by a Q'eyts'i woman who is freed from slavery by the principals of the story, Kimo Kanui and his chum Moku. There's something encyclopaedic to *River of Gold* in that just about everyone who might make an appearance does, and those who don't

probably sent their regrets. There's a man named Cook, who has a ferry; there's that fellow Spence, who dreams of building a bridge; there's a stealthy Tsilhquot'in raiding party spoiling for a fight.

By focusing on the painful details of the trek up the Fraser Canyon, the psychological uncertainty of men and women launched into a career of enormous risks, and the gruelling toil associated with a short, sharp season of mining – building shelter, constructing flumes, keeping competitors at bay, and so on – Dobbie does an excellent job of conveying monotony, fear, and exhaustion. This is, one feels, how it must have been.

What obviously sets this account apart is the positioning of the Kanakas, the African-American, and the Aboriginal at the centre of the story. Yes, they encounter plenty of whites (*Haoles* to the Hawaiians) and Chinese, but it is resolutely their perspective we experience. Having decentred the familiarish story, the author can take us places we may not have gone before. Two of the gold crusaders have been at the sharp end of slavery. The river is nearly choking with corpses, casualties of war around the forks. Aboriginal communities get their proper names, and yet the author is not wholly beholden to political correctness: mostly, the Natives are "Indians." The four travel to the Cariboo, but they have little to do with Barkerville: their time is almost wholly spent in their isolated claim on a tributary of the Quesnel River. A good choice, in my opinion – another horse opera set in Barkerville is not what the world needs. The irony is that Dobbie reinforces at least one old saw: her protagonists meet with Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie and leave us in no doubt that they are in the presence of a Great Man.

Do these two approaches work? As an account of the gold rush, *River* successfully reminds us that there were many participants and that, despite unifying experiences, their stories cannot be distilled into one straightforward narrative. *Princeton* conveys something different: sounds of the past, textures of the daily grind, and a black sense of humour in the face of it all. An undergraduate class wrestling with historical narrative, voice, and the skills necessary to conveying a sense of time and place could do much worse than inspect these ambitious projects.

Legacy in Wood: The Wahl Family Boat Builders

Ryan Wahl

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2008. 222 pp. $32.95 cloth.

Forrest D. Pass
Ottawa

For almost half a century, the Wahl family boatyard near Prince Rupert produced high-quality wooden boats for the coastal fishing fleet. Founded by Norwegian immigrant Ed Wahl after the First World War, the boatyard built gillnetters for cannery fleets and trollers for independent fishers, as well as other craft, until the 1970s. Ryan Wahl, the founder's great-grandson, mixes thorough research with affection and a little nostalgia to produce this work, a valuable contribution to the history of the BC fishery and its ancillary industries.

Wahl effectively documents the history of his family and its involvement with the fishing boat industry. The technical descriptions of boat building, especially the epilogue, which

documents in text and photographs the construction of the last Wahl craft, are informative for the non-specialist, and the author has performed a valuable service in collecting the reminiscences of family members as well as of the Wahls' employees and customers. The prevalence of sidebars is at times distracting, but none of the information they provide is superfluous. Even the family history element, which at times overshadows the history of the company, is intriguing for the detail it provides regarding life in the BC outports.

Assessing the Wahl boatyard's historical significance is difficult. Certainly the fact that several Wahl boats are still cruising the BC coast attests to the quality of workmanship, and primary documents, occasionally reproduced *in toto* in the book, indicate a high level of customer satisfaction throughout the firm's history. Yet, Wahl does not demonstrate as effectively as he might have the inextricable connection between the family company and the fishing industry. The broad context promised in the introduction (xv) is implicit rather than explicit, and some questions about the connection between the history of the company and broad themes in the history of commercial fishing are left unanswered.

Wahl certainly does address these themes occasionally, though. While the book is a celebration of his family's successes, he does acknowledge some darker forces at play, for example the boost in business the Wahl boatyard received as a result of the internment of local Japanese Canadian competitors during the Second World War. In other areas, however, more explanation might be in order. After the Second World War, the Wahls shifted their focus from the gillnetters favoured by canneries to the trollers preferred by independent fishers. Although Wahl does mention that trolling was much more attractive to fishers than was the indentured servitude of working for cannery fleets, he does not offer possible reasons for the significant increase in trolling in the postwar years. When explaining the decline of the family business, Wahl cites two broad phenomena – the consolidation of canneries and the emergence of new materials (such as fibreglass, aluminum, and steel) – that challenged the dominance of wood in fishing boat manufacturing. However, perhaps there was something about the structure of the family firm itself. Certainly, one of the oral history sources Wahl mentions suggests this as it indicates that small shops like the Wahls', integrated not only with the fishery but also with the forest industry, lacked either the will or the capital to make the shift to fibreglass construction and thus lost market share to large shipyards in Vancouver.

Although the Wahl boatyard was sold in 1976 and closed for good in the 1980s, several members of the family carry on the tradition, continuing to build custom wooden boats. Moreover, the original Wahl craft that are still afloat have been refitted as recreational vessels. In this sense, the fortunes of the Wahl company and the fishing boats it produced do indeed illustrate, in microcosm, the process of challenge and adaptation that has reshaped the west coast fishery and the communities and families it once supported.

Spirit of the Nikkei Fleet: BC's Japanese Canadian Fishermen

Masakao Fukawa with Stanley Fukawa and the Nikkei Fishermen's History Book Committee

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2009. 256 pp. Illus. $39.95 cloth.

Patricia E. Roy
University of Victoria

As I was reading this book in the late summer of 2009, I was struck by the sharp difference between the heyday of British Columbia's fishing industry as portrayed in *Spirit of the Nikkei Fleet* and today's concerns over the decline of the resource. Although focusing on the Nikkei (people of Japanese descent), this well researched book is a good introduction to the history of the industry. It clearly explains, for example, different fishing techniques (such as purse-seining and gill-netting), the various kinds of boats, and the complicated and controversial licensing policies. The fishing industry, of course, also employed shore workers, boat builders, and labour contractors, and their stories are here, too.

The word "Spirit," as used in the title, is well chosen: the theme of triumph over adversity is clear. Accounts of the "traumatic events" after Pearl Harbor occupy about a quarter of the pages, and the brief biographies of many individuals include their prewar occupations, their wartime locations, and their return or non-return to the industry. Interviews with individuals provide poignant first-hand accounts of how fishers were given no time to prepare and were ordered to take their boats under naval escort from all along the coast. Because of December storms, the journey from upcoast points took many days and the fishers had little food and inadequate clothing. When they were allowed to return to the coast and to re-enter the industry in 1949, many fishers secured boats and gear from the canners and gained the cooperation of the leadership of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union; however, they faced intimidation from some Caucasian fishers. The fishers never forgot their wartime experiences, but they often chose not to share them with their children. Yet, as was true throughout the Japanese Canadian community, it was often the younger generation that campaigned for redress, while their elders feared a backlash and wanted to forget the past.

Nevertheless, *Spirit* is upbeat. A striking feature of the Nikkei was their initiative, innovativeness, and adaptability. They, for example, developed the salt herring and salmon industry, perfected the use of the spoon as a lure, improved the design of boats, and imported nylon nets from Japan that were more efficient fish catchers than were linen nets. They formed a variety of groups to arrange health care, negotiate fish prices, protest prewar efforts to drive them out of the industry, and market their catches.

Fishing was often a family occupation. Women worked in the processing plants and mended nets, some served as crew, and a few operated their own boats. Teenagers often served as deckhands. Some loved the industry and made it their career; others hated it but fished seasonally to finance their education. As a result of depleted runs and government policies of buying back boats and licences and of giving precedence to the Aboriginal food fishery, by 2008 only forty-four Japanese Canadians remained in the industry.

The two youngest, then in their early thirties, came from fishing families and, reflecting the assimilation of Japanese Canadians, both are *hapa* (half), or mixed-race – children of a Japanese and a Caucasian parent.

The large format, glossy paper, and many excellent photographs suggest that this is a coffee-table book. It may be that, but it is also a fine history of the Nikkei and of the coastal fishing industry. And it is a superb tribute to the Japanese Canadian fishers who, for so long, were an important part of that industry.

Surveying Central British Columbia: A Photojournal of Frank Swannell, 1920-28

Jay Sherwood

Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2007. 184 pp. Illus. $39.95 paper.

Frank Leonard
University of Victoria

In *Surveying Central British Columbia*, Jay Sherwood offers us the second instalment of the exploits of provincial surveyor Frank Swannell, who spent nine seasons creating and connecting a survey network in the Upper Nechako country during the 1920s. Largely following the format of his 2004 volume on Swannell's expeditions before the war, the author bridges excerpts of the surveyor's diaries, field books, and formal departmental reports to fashion a narrative of each of these expeditions from camp to camp. On this base, Sherwood mounts a striking series of Swannell's photographs – images not only of the landscape through which he travelled but also of his crew members and Aboriginal people.

The photos are for the most part large and crisp, and each is tagged with a BC Archives file number. Their organization and coherent presentation in the text is a testament to the author's perseverance in reconciling at least three different file systems for hundreds of photos. But the mechanics and method of Swannell's image creation deserve more attention. The diary for one expedition contains a "Photo Register," which indicates that the surveyor used nothing more elaborate than a Kodak Brownie camera. It also lists time of day, aperture, and shutter speed for each photo of the season and sometimes direction and lighting. Where it is available, this information should be provided for each image. The register reveals that Swannell was a craftsman, fashioning photographs as carefully as he drew his maps from survey calculations. Even shots of his crew frolicking appear staged, the subject frequently staring intently at the camera, presumably on instruction from the photographer.

The remarkable images of Aboriginal people and artifacts invite reflection. A series of photos of a potlatch at Takla Lake in 1923, including one image of a smiling Swannell enjoying a meal with old Aboriginal friends (83), merits only a single brief diary entry: "potlatch taken in … by us as guests" (84). Sherwood uses another series of photos to document the original location of a G'psgolox mortuary pole, which was later removed to Sweden and only recently returned. But it appears that the surveyor made no written comment about the pole beyond labelling these photos as "Indian Camp – Mouth Kitlope River" (41). This gap between Swannell's selection of images and his account(s) of these activities deserves more than the observation that the sur-

veyor did not use the term "Siwash" in a derogatory manner (2).

It is surprising that in a book concerning surveying, it is difficult to locate some places. Each chapter begins with a plan displaying Swannell's route for the season, but these routes have been marked on small-scale maps, several from a Department of Lands highway map published in 1930, which display few of the streams, mountains, and passes that are the stuff of the narrative. *Surveying Central British Columbia* does contain segments of three of Swannell's detailed maps, but these appear at the end of chapters and are not magnified enough to reveal most of the places that the narrative mentions. Just where is Bennett's store on Ootsa Lake, which Swannell visited so often? More detailed sketch maps from Swannell's diary and field book, such as an illustration of the traverse from Whitesail Lake to Eutsuk Lake (8), would help outsiders follow the surveyor's path.

Swannell's career did not end after the 1928 season. In the following decade, he participated in an ambitious Pacific Great Eastern resources survey of the Peace River country and served as geographer on the ill-fated Badeux expedition. If the written and photographic record of these years remains as rich as that which is offered in the present volume, one hopes that Sherwood will produce a third instalment.

Seeking Balance: Conversations with BC Women in Politics

Anne Edwards

Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2008. 282 pp. $28.95 paper.

Tina Block
Thompson Rivers University

BC women have made important gains in electoral politics over the past century. In the national context, British Columbia has led the way, being the first province to elect a female premier, the first to vote 10 percent of its legislative seats to women (in 1941), and the home of Canada's first female prime minister. Nevertheless, as Anne Edwards points out in her engaging new study, women have yet to achieve even 30 percent of the seats in either the BC legislature or the federal Parliament. Despite their relative success, female politicians in and from British Columbia have struggled to make inroads into Canada's male-dominated political realm. According to Edwards, such struggles have much to do with the fact that women "approach the political world much differently than men" (14).

Seeking Balance is based on information gathered from a total of eighty-one interviews with BC women who served as MLAs or MPs between 1918 and 2008. Edwards asked each of her informants a range of questions relating to such issues as their decision to become involved in politics, the impact of gender on their experiences, and the reaction of family members to their political work. Although it opens with a brief historical overview and outline of the struggle for women's suffrage in British Columbia, the book is organized more thematically

than chronologically. Edwards weaves together women's reflections on the nature of political leadership, the media, family relationships, feminism, and a range of other issues. Throughout the book, Edwards foregrounds the narratives and perspectives of her informants themselves. The women tell compelling stories of their efforts to juggle family and career, to cope with the isolating effects of political life, and to carry on in the face of sexism and frequent criticism. Despite the diversity of their experience, these women shared in confronting a political culture made by, and for, men. Canadian politics, Edwards contends, has been organized along military lines, with a focus on "winning battles" (66). With their greater socialization in the skills of collaboration and consensus-building, women have had difficulty making gains in a political world defined by rivalry and competition. For many women, such as former MLA April Sanders, the male-dominated legislature seemed like "a foreign country" (42). While Edwards highlights the achievements of British Columbia's female politicians, she clearly shows that gender balance in the political realm remains elusive.

Seeking Balance makes an important contribution to the history of women and politics in British Columbia and Canada. The gendered nature of Canada's political culture has drawn little attention from historians. Edwards offers new insights into the subtle, and not-so-subtle, ways in which gender operated to exclude women from, and constrain them within, this culture. From rancorous question periods to hastily converted washrooms, the masculine character of Canada's political domain was, and remains, quite evident. Drawing on fascinating and often poignant personal narratives, Edwards provides a unique lens on Canadian and BC politics from the perspective of women who entered, and frequently excelled within, this masculine world. She bases her work on interviews with a diverse group of women whose lives varied according to party affiliation, age, ethnicity, and other categories. Edwards suggests that, despite their diversity, these women shared a common experience based on their gender. Female politicians shared in navigating a sometimes hostile masculine terrain, but they also forged strong alliances with men and differed from each other in significant ways. While Edwards' book emphasizes the influence of gender, it would be enriched by further attention to the ways in which party allegiance, historical context, and other factors shaped, and at times differentiated, women's approach to and experience of electoral politics.

Seeking Balance is a highly readable, popular history filled with stories of obstacles encountered and overcome, or at least weathered. In it, Edwards sheds light not only on the masculine environment of Canadian politics but also on the many BC women who have survived, and indeed thrived, within this environment. It is worthwhile reading for anyone interested in the history of Canadian politics, women, and British Columbia.

I Am Full Moon: Stories of a Ninth Daughter
Lily Hoy Price

Victoria: Brindle and Glass, 2009. 180pp. $19.95 paper.

Patricia E. Roy
University of Victoria

About a decade ago, I wrote a review article in this journal in which I expressed the hope that more first-hand accounts of growing up Japanese or Chinese in British Columbia would be published.[1] Gradually, that wish is being fulfilled. The latest contribution, *I Am Full Moon*, is a delightful memoir of childhood in Quesnel in the 1930s and 1940s. Lily Hoy, the author, was born in 1930, the ninth of the ten daughters of C.D. Hoy and his wife, Lim Foon Hai. She also had two younger brothers. Her father is well known as the photographer who documented life in Quesnel and the surrounding area in the 1910s, and the book is generously illustrated with his photographs of the family. By the time Lily, whose Chinese name means Full Moon, was born, he was the proprietor of a general store that prospered even during the Depression because of the revival of gold mining at Wells. Yet, while the family lived in a large stucco "Hoy-built" house, there were few luxuries apart from special treats on occasions such as Chinese New Year.

Quesnel had a Chinatown composed mainly of elderly bachelors to whom the children delivered special food for New Year and, in return, received red envelopes with a small amount of money. The only Chinese children appear to have been the Hoy siblings, who participated fully in school activities, plays, and sports. Lily "embraced Caucasian friends, the English language and culture." "At one point," she recalled, "I envied my friends' English noses and clipped on a clothes peg to enhance my flat nose. Overall, I did not experience racial discrimination" (80). This supports a hypothesis that, in communities with few Asians, integration was more common than discrimination.

As teenagers the girls attended local dances but were not allowed to date non-Chinese boys. That posed a problem because the few Chinese boys nearby belonged to the same Chow clan and so were ineligible for marriage. The eldest daughter had an arranged marriage with a young man from Powell River who learned of the Hoy girls and came courting. When almost ten years passed before the next wedding, the parents allowed the girls to marry when they wanted and who they wanted. Three daughters, including Lily, did marry Caucasians.

The emphasis of the book is not on growing up Chinese but on a generally happy childhood, marred chiefly by the death of one brother at age fifteen. It was a childhood of simple pleasures, of skating on the backyard rink or the lake, of fishing expeditions with Pa-pah and berry-picking trips with Ma-mah, of playing in the snow, of swiping green apples, and of seeing the buttercups in spring. It was not all play. The children were expected to help in the store waiting on customers and unloading supplies and to do home chores, such as feeding the chickens and keeping the sawdust bin filled. "Chores for children," Lily How Price observes, "can only help them grow into strong dependable adults" (129). Her memoir

1 "'Active Voices': A Third Generation of Studies of Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 117 (Spring 1998): 51-61.

is evidence of this, and it is a charming contribution to our understanding of the lives of the Chinese in British Columbia.

Where the Pavement Ends
Marie Wadden

Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre
2008. 263 pp. $24.95 cloth.

Shelly Johnson
Thompson Rivers University

Marie Wadden is a non-Aboriginal investigative journalist/network producer for CBC Radio who is based in St. John's, Newfoundland. In 1981, she shared her home with two Innu youth who came to the city from Sheshatshiu, Labrador, to complete high school, and she subsequently developed a relationship with their families. Wadden writes that she was "goaded" into action by a 2005 *Globe and Mail* op-ed piece by John Gray that described Innu suicides, solvent-abusing Innu children, and financial corruption related to the relocation of Innu peoples to Natuashish from the Labrador community of Davis Inlet. "The disaster of Davis Inlet and Natuashish – and there are other Aboriginal communities across the country similarly afflicted," Gray writes, "is that nobody knows what to do" (3). Whether due to her relationships with Innu people or to her professional interests, Wadden became determined to speak with people who, she thought, "do know what to do" (3) with regard to the Aboriginal recovery movement and the need for reconciliation between Aboriginal and non Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

To finance the research, Wadden received support from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation (2005) and spent 2006 visiting First Nations and Métis communities from Labrador to British Columbia as well as Inuit communities in the Arctic, educating herself about the healing work that Aboriginal people are developing, implementing, and struggling to continue. "I want to know whether Canadian public policy is helping or hindering the process of recovery," Wadden told the 2005 Atkinson jury. According to a document from the Atkinson Foundation (2005), "There's a lot of public money being spent to heal aboriginal communities yet there is still so much suffering."

According to Statistics Canada (2006), Canada's Aboriginal population has reached 1.17 million and is increasingly urbanized, with over 54 percent living in urban centres. It is problematic that *Where the Pavement Ends* overwhelmingly focuses on Canadian public policy and federal spending on reserve or land-based First Nations and Inuit communities (which comprise less than half of the Aboriginal population in Canada) and ignores the urban realities of the majority of Canada's Aboriginal population. This focus highlights a need to broaden the policy and funding debate to include the perspectives and needs of all Aboriginal peoples in Canada, *wherever* they live, a concept expressed and long advanced by urban Aboriginal leadership and Colin Hanselmann (2001).

Over and over, Aboriginal people told Wadden of their belief that Canada's government, Indian Act legislation, consultants, and bureaucracies represent the major barriers to Aboriginal healing. In fact, Chapter 16 is entitled "Health Canada: Addicted to Control." Wadden makes explicit sentiments privately expressed by many Aboriginal people in Canada, who feel that Aboriginal misery is "big business" and that "maybe the government wants us to fail. If we

succeed and our people are healed, many bureaucrats will lose their jobs" (177).

Wadden's year-long research project and journey across Canada were first published in a series of short stories in the *Toronto Star* and then developed into *Where the Pavement Ends*. Well sourced and researched, through twenty-one short stories the book offers a clear and compelling introductory overview of the historical, political, economic, and social issues associated with Aboriginal addictions. It also provides successful healing examples and a twelve-point recommendation/action plan to advance a wide range of global, national, provincial, and local healing strategies.

In addition to conducting interviews with non-Aboriginal politicians (such as BC premier Gordon Campbell), judges, bureaucrats, physicians, priests, and consultants, Wadden took obvious care to include the diverse voices of Aboriginal activists and to prioritize their perspectives on healing. A comment in the first chapter, "Healing the Spirit," from Dr. Marjorie Hodgson, a Nadleh Whuten Carrier from northern British Columbia, sets the tone for the entire book: "Healing is not an Aboriginal issue, it's a Canadian issue" (17). Yet, throughout the book, it is obvious that, while there are many non-Aboriginal people who can (and who want to) assist in the reconciliation effort, it is Aboriginal people, working in many sites and in many ways, who have responsibility for conducting healing work - one person, family, and community at a time.

While government is called upon to provide a fair share of healing funding to support Aboriginal efforts, Aboriginal peoples have a responsibility to address the overwhelming amount of welfare dependency created by Canadian policies. Wadden is careful to include the controversial perspectives of Aboriginal Australian Noel Pearson (2000) and Canada's Tsimshian lawyer Calvin Helin (2007) as important voices. These authors argue that it is critical to advance Aboriginal self-reliance rather than passively and naively to wait for Ottawa to address Aboriginal traumas.

One example of Aboriginal self-reliance occurred in 2007, when the Inuit peoples of Nunavut funded their own $600,000 inquiry into what they believe was a deliberate government policy to destroy twenty-thousand Inuit sled dogs in the 1960s and 1970s, the purpose being to make the Inuit easier to control and to render them economically dependent upon the South (151). Clearly, Wadden believes that this book has the potential to educate and to inform mainstream Canadian society and hopes that it will result in positive changes in the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. If it encourages two people from either side of the issue to develop a relationship, as Wadden did with the families of the Innu youth who came to live with her all those years ago, it will have been worth writing.

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