

Book Reviews

Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography and Guide, by Alan F. J. Artibise. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1978. Pp. 312; *illus.*; \$17.50; \$6.95 pa.

Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography and Guide "is designed to provide students, teachers, researchers, librarians and the general public with a ready and reliable guide to significant literature dealing with Western Canada." Western Canada in this case means the four western provinces, not just the prairie provinces, and this bibliography should become an indispensable source for anyone interested in the social history of Western Canada as a whole or any of the four provinces individually or comparatively.

Artibise includes books, pamphlets, periodical articles, and unpublished BA essays and MA and PhD theses in history, political science, geography, economics, anthropology, sociology, urban and environmental studies, but excludes fiction and government publications except for a few of the more important works. The criteria were based on "the relative significance of one item as compared to another" and "the relative amount that has been written about any one topic."

The volume has been organized into sixty-three categories and subdivisions, which are guides to the subjects, with separate indexes to Authors, some Select Subjects (Ethnic Groups, Political Parties and Politicians, Miscellaneous), and Organizations, Institutions and Serial Index. There are seven major categories. The first is General, which has ten subdivisions: General, Immigration and Settlement, Indians and Ethnic Groups, Government and Politics, Railways, Agriculture and Rural Development, Economic Development and Labour, Education and Social and Cultural Development, Urban Development, and Bibliographical and Methodological. The next two categories are Riel Rebellions (subdivided into General, 1870 Rebellion, and 1885 Rebellion) and

Northwest Territories to 1905. The remaining four categories are Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, each with eight subdivisions for: General, The People, Government and Politics, Agriculture and Rural Development, Economic Development and Labour, Education and Social and Cultural Development, Urban Development (including General and one or two major cities), and Bibliographical. Appended is "A Brief Guide to Western Canadian Studies," which lists Newsletters and Journals, Archives and Libraries, Organizations and Societies, and Specialized Series.

The book does have a few faults, aside from the usual minor typographical errors, which it is hoped will be remedied in a second edition. The first problem is the 1870 starting date, which marks the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay territories east of the Rockies by Canada, and the entry of the small colony of Manitoba into the Canadian Confederation, but it has no significance for British Columbia, and it ignores the fact that Western Canada does have a history prior to Confederation and that it is significant in Canadian history. Many of the items included in this bibliography cover the pre-Confederation period as well as post-Confederation. There is much valuable material in government publications, such as reports appended to departmental annual reports in the federal and provincial Sessional Papers, and Royal and other types of commissions. An invaluable bibliography of Canada Royal Commissions is already available in G. F. Henderson's *Federal Royal Commissions in Canada 1867-1966: a Checklist*, but provincial commissions are not as accessible. A general guide including these types of government publications would be most welcome.

On the whole, the selection of items is good, but as a guide it would be greatly improved with a critical comment on each item, although an analysis of 3,662 items might enlarge the book to such an extent that it would be out of the price range of the average student. At least five library catalogues published by G. K. Hall in the last few years could have been included in the General Bibliography section. The two most valuable ones are the *Dictionary Catalogue of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia*, which includes useful analytics to books and periodicals relating to Western Canada, and the *Catalogue of the Glenbow Historical Library*. The *Dictionary Catalog of the Pacific Northwest Collection* of the University of Washington Libraries and the Bancroft Library catalogue have much western Canadian material. The newest and one of the largest catalogues is the fifteen-volume *Catalogue of the National Map Collec-*

tion, *Public Archives of Canada*. Some of the thematic catalogues published by the Public Archives could be included, such as the *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories* and the *Fire Insurance Plans in the National Map Collection*. Little attention has been paid to maps and historical cartography although a few items of historical geography have been included.

The Brief Guide to Western Canadian Studies, in its Section B, gives a detailed list of major archives and libraries "with the exception of urban archives and museums," but institutions such as the Kamloops Museum and Archives and the Vancouver Maritime Museum are included, and some university and college manuscript collections act as municipal archives, such as Simon Fraser University for Burnaby. It would have been useful to include the major urban archives and museums, such as the Vancouver City Archives, which has valuable holdings not restricted to city records, and little more space would have been required.

A major fault of this bibliography is the lack of a proper subject index. An item about a place might be found by looking through the whole section on the province in which it lies, but with a subject not tied to a specific place one can search the various categories and not be sure of not missing it. The indexes to Authors and Selected Subjects refer one to item numbers, and the Organization, Institution and Serial Index refers to page numbers. The list of Newsletters and Journals could be expanded to include periodicals which, while popular rather than scholarly, frequently contain important articles. Some of the items in the Specialized Series list are included in the appropriate place in the bibliography and others are only in the Series list. The reason for the different treatment is not clear.

Despite its faults, which for the most part are minor, this is an important bibliography which no one in the field should be without. The compilation of this bibliography has been an ambitious project, and Alan Artibise is to be congratulated for undertaking it, and the University of British Columbia Press for making it available to the public.

Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics, by Ivan Avakumovic. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978. Pp. 316.

The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis, by Norman Penner. Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1977. Pp. 287.

During the last several years there has been an encouraging increase in the number of monographs and articles on the history of the labour and left movements in Canada. While much of the recent scholarship focuses on trade union struggles, several authors continue to concentrate on the important question of how the day-to-day class struggle is transformed into political parties and political strategies. The latest books of both Ivan Avakumovic and Norman Penner address themselves to this question.

Norman Penner's *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* is an important addition to the literature on Canadian socialism. The book covers the history of socialist ideas and movements from the beginnings of Canadian industrialization to the present. The groups and issues dealt with are not new: the Socialist Party of Canada, the Winnipeg General Strike, the Communist Party, the CCF/NDP, the New Left and the Québécois Left. But Penner's close analysis of the organizations and ideas of the Canadian Left reveals insights that more detailed monographs on these various groups have ignored.

Penner is at his best in his analysis of the pre-Russian Revolution Canadian Left and in his sections on the Canadian Communist Party. The early Canadian Left has been studied previously by Martin Robin and Ross McCormack, as well as others, as an interesting but marginal working-class phenomenon which required a degree of deradicalization and an infusion of middle-class radicals to give it respectability and a chance to take power. Penner, however, rejects the notion, often implied rather than directly stated, that the early Canadian socialist movement lacked intellectuals because it lacked the support of middle-class paid intellectuals which the CCF/NDP was, to a degree, to enjoy. While he regards the availability of such formal intellectuals as an asset to a movement, Penner asserts that the workers who led the early socialist parties were self-educated intellectuals, many of whom believed that educating the workers was the chief task of socialists. Though the Marxism of many of these worker-intellectuals was rigid, "their emphasis on education made

them stand out among their fellow-workers as exceptionally gifted people” (p. 43).

Penner maintains that socialism in Canada before the 1920s was a solely proletarian affair, with few middle-class people accepting socialist views or joining socialist organizations. As a result, internal pressures for compromise with the existing order were more muted in Canada than in Europe. Significantly, Penner places doubt on the traditional interpretation that British workers who emigrated to Canada brought with them moderate socialist views which caused a dilution in the militancy of Canadian socialism. The Socialist Party of Canada, led by British-born workers, refused to join the Second International because it accepted “non-socialist bodies particularly the British Labour Party” as members. Parties such as the BLP, it said, “practice openly the most shameless policy of fusion and compromises with capitalist parties” (p. 45). Penner also notes, quite correctly, that many of the American unions that had affiliates in Canada in the pre-1920 period were led not by business unionists à la Gompers but by members of the American Socialist Party. Further, he rejects the usual dichotomy drawn between the syndicalists or “direct-actionists” in the labour movement, on the one hand, and the “political actionists” on the other (p. 55). On the whole, Penner presents an image of Canada’s early socialist movement that is more radical than the traditional view but seems consonant with the militancy of the class struggle in that period as reflected in the number and character of strikes.

Penner’s sections on the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) are particularly interesting since the existing literature in the field consists on the one hand of uncritical hagiography issuing from the Party itself and, on the other, of Cold War diatribes such as Ivan Avakumovic’s *The Communist Party in Canada: A History*. Penner, a former Party member and son of Winnipeg’s outstanding and long-serving Communist alderman, Jake Penner, is sympathetic to many of the aims of the CPC and aware of its accomplishments, particularly in the organization of workers in Canada’s factories and mines. But he is also aware, both as a former insider and as a researcher, that the CPC has severe limitations as a vehicle for establishing socialism in Canada. The Party’s organizational structure followed the Soviet model slavishly and made no concessions to Canadian traditions and culture (p. 84). Worse, in the period of the Comintern, attempts by Party general secretary Tim Buck — a man whose autobiography the Party would not publish — to develop independently a Marxist analysis of Canada’s international position were crushed by Moscow (pp. 86-98).

Penner's sections on the CCF/NDP are weaker than his treatment of the early Left, the Communists and the New Left. But unlike many Marxists, Penner recognizes that social democracy is an inevitable trend in the working-class movement and that the far Left's attempts to dismiss it by smearing its leaders as class collaborationist are self-delusion. Social democracy cannot be transcended if its left-wing opponents fail to recognize its attraction to large segments of the working class (pp. 244-45). Particularly apt is his criticism of Gary Teeple's rather juvenile ad hominem attack on the CCF/NDP in the otherwise important collection, *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*.

While Norman Penner provides an insightful and readable overview of the history of the Canadian Left, Ivan Avakumovic's history of the CCF/NDP is dry and superficial. The intention of this book is unclear. Several studies of the CCF and the NDP already exist; just what this work is supposed to add to the existing literature is difficult to discern. Perhaps Avakumovic, though he is working mainly from primary sources, intends only to draw together the materials available in other secondary accounts so as to present a history in one volume of Canada's social democratic parties. Unless some fresh perspectives are provided, this does not seem to be a worthy project. And Avakumovic is short on synthesis.

Avakumovic's conclusions about the early socialist movement are somewhat different than Penner's. He asserts that the British workers *were* more moderate than the East European emigrants and expresses his own preference for existing Western institutions by noting the "... Britons' awareness [my emphasis] of the advantages of representative government" (p. 15). While Penner pays tribute to the worker-intellectuals of the early socialist movement, Avakumovic sees these people as a brake on the development of a socialist movement:

... the socialist pioneers operated on the fringe of Canadian society. They were lacking in formal education, scattered across the Dominion, and divided both in ethnic background and in their experience of life and work in the New World. Their previous exposure to competing forms of radicalism in Europe or North America also complicated the task of creating a viable socialist movement in a Canadian setting. (p. 281)

Overall, Avakumovic's treatment of the early socialists is cursory and dismissive. The CCFers are congratulated because they made "democratic socialism understandable" to people unimpressed "by shrill radical agitators and turgid Marxist propagandists." Yet the actual content of the CCF's socialism is poorly analysed by Avakumovic. He does not, for

example, deal with the party-movement dichotomy raised by Walter Young in *Anatomy of a Party*, nor does he suggest any evolution or devolution of the party's views on socialism.

The discussion of the NDP in office in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia is a particular disappointment. The assessment of these governments' performance is shallow and replete with vague, unelaborated comments such as this one about NDP civil service appointments.

Some were NDP hacks being rewarded for their loyalty during the years out in the political wilderness. Others were hired for their professional qualifications. Others again were young university graduates who were strong NDP supporters. Some of them had useful skills; others were a major disappointment to those who had hired them on high salaries. (p. 254)

McClelland & Stewart's copy editors have done a poor job in removing non sequiturs and awkwardly constructed sentences from the book. There is no need for tangled sentences such as: "The belief that the NDP was on the march and about to win new victories also influenced anti-socialist politicians by making them less determined to oppose some of the policies in the NDP program" (p. 241).

It may simply be that, for the moment, there is nothing new to say about the CCF-NDP. Studies of the provincial parties, particularly in office, would be enlightening. Avakumovic's attempt to cover everything results in a book that is vague and unoriginal. The comparison with Penner is notable.

Athabaska University

ALVIN FINKEL

The Japanese Canadians: A Dream of Riches, by the Japanese Canadian Centennial Project. [Vancouver:] The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, 1978. Pp. 190; *illus.*; cloth \$17.00, paper \$13.00.

There is a long tradition in British Columbia of centennials and, now, bicentennials, stimulating the publication of books. In 1977 members of the Japanese community participated in this tradition by celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Manzo Nagano, the first Japanese immigrant to Canada. Among the means used to mark this event was a travelling exhibit of photographs honouring the *Issei* (the first-generation immigrants) and showing the history of the Japanese in Canada. *The*

Japanese Canadians: A Dream of Riches is a permanent record of that display.

Thus this handsomely produced volume consists mainly of pictures. Some, such as the broken windows on Powell Street after the 1907 Anti-Asian riot and the interned fishing boats at New Westminster in 1942, are well known but obviously had to be included as representative of Japanese history in British Columbia. The majority, however, are from private collections. Photos of friends in front of the hollow tree in Stanley Park, of pretty little girls in their dancing costumes, of a proud young man with his new car and of happy wedding parties are similar to those in many Canadian family albums.

Such is the paradox of the Japanese experience in British Columbia. On the one hand, they were badly treated by the majority white community; on the other, they were anxious to assimilate. The project members are critical on both sides of the dichotomy. Although they observe how the white community made pre-war Niseis "exiles in their own land" (p. 65) by denying them civil rights, how politicians agitated for their evacuation and how many "who saw their life's work and security destroyed overnight remain uncompensated to this day" (p. 137), their treatment of the evacuation is remarkably restrained. It occupies about a third of the volume but gains in effectiveness by its presentation as a simple, straightforward account of hardships endured. The editors are less reserved in censuring those Japanese whose legacy of the evacuation "is a 'leave me alone' attitude" (p. 169). They imply such feelings may be responsible for many of today's Sansei (third generation) knowing little and caring less about their heritage (p. 5). It is significant that a Shin Issei (post-war immigrant) initiated the idea of this photographic collection and that, according to project co-ordinator Tamio Wayakama, the Shin Issei acted as "a bridge that led us [the Nisei and Sansei] from the nagging sense of ourselves as the other, the Jap, the lesser being, to the awareness we share today" (p. 4).

Perhaps reflecting the fact that project workers were a mixed group of Shin Issei, Nisei, Sansei and Kika-Nisei (Canadian born who were "repatriated" to Japan in the 1940s but have since returned), the text is published in parallel columns of English, Japanese and French. The last, however, may acknowledge grants secured from several federal cultural agencies.

While the project workers have assembled a fine collection of photographs and supplemented them with a brief text and some extracts from contemporary documents and later interviews, the volume is less useful

than it might be. The sepia-toned photographs — there is at least one and often two or three on almost every page — are not captioned. Artistically this is very pleasing, but practically it is frustrating. The reader must flip to the back of the volume and there he is disappointed to find a very brief description — often only provenance — of the picture. If the volume were to be of real historical use, the captions should, at a minimum, have identified the subject, the time, place and occasion. Nevertheless, the volume and the travelling exhibit from which it developed have undoubtedly accomplished their purposes of reminding all Canadians of the evils of racism and of helping the Sansei to discover their roots.

University of Victoria

PATRICIA E. ROY

Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, The Man for a New Country, by David R. Williams. Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Co., 1977. Pp. 333; \$15.95.

A bronze statue of a striking man on horseback stands in the Union Club in Victoria. The man is Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, one of the founders of the club, our greatest colonial judge and the subject of David Williams' important biography. Instead of the literary background of the professional academic, Williams writes as a learned barrister and bon vivant country squire, imbued with a feel for his subject. His scholarship is nevertheless sound. The result is *The Man for a New Country*. The tiresome and incorrect mythology of Begbie as a latter-day Judge Jeffrey is replaced by Begbie as a man for all seasons.

Williams' biography reveals Begbie as equally at home on horseback or presiding over the Lytton assize. We also discover the versatility of Matthew Begbie as he performs as surveyor and map-maker, advisor to the Governor, ordinance draftsman, baker, raconteur, tennis companion, musician, classical scholar and judge. Williams carries us with Judge Begbie into the roaring Yankee mining camps of the Cariboo during the gold rush and displays the speed and decisiveness with which justice came to an uneasy frontier community. From Ned MacGowan's so-called "war" at Yale in 1859 to the potentially dangerous Indian reprisals known as the Waddington massacres of 1864, Judge Begbie's response was swift and appropriate.

Begbie believed that the assize court must come to the people rather than that prisoners should be carted to New Westminster to be tried by

town juries far from their peers at the diggings. The survival of our modern criminal assizes in this province, both in the majesty and the democracy of these proceedings today, bears his stamp.

Williams' chapter on "Begbie and the Indians" is the most moving piece in the book. Begbie was strongly sympathetic toward the Indian people. In place of the legend of the hanging judge, which has dogged Begbie's memory, we are given poignant glimpses of the real Judge Begbie. We learn that frequently when an Indian was found guilty of a capital offence, Begbie would visit the man in his cell. If Begbie was not convinced that the condemned man understood the nature of the crime he had committed, the judge would endeavour to secure a commutation of the death sentence. For the Indian Chilpikin, he won reprieves from execution on two separate murder convictions. Always balanced, Begbie resolved that Indians must learn to understand and abide by British law; but he maintained a sensitive understanding of native customs and an awareness of the exploitation of the Indians at the hands of the white settlers.

Since the courts were dominated during the colonial period by a small practising bar of qualified lawyers, it was inevitable that all knew each other perhaps too well. Under these circumstances it was as difficult for Begbie not to play favourites as it was for him not to incur the enmity of politicians, particularly so when the leading members of the bar were also prominent politicians. David Williams' chapter on "The Jurist" is fascinating, particularly since the author has unearthed from the judge's bench books remarkably modern views on serious legal problems. The reader hungers for more of Begbie's legal vignettes and wishes that the author had given us more overall analyses of the judge's legal philosophy.

Begbie's outbursts to juries with whom he disagreed and his lectures to prisoners are classic diatribes against original sin. Williams takes these in his biographical strike remarkably well, portraying them as they must be, in the context of a precarious frontier where the judge knew that his over-riding duty was to ensure public respect for the law. In an age where prisoners' rights are loudly advanced and appeal courts may demand perfection in a trial judge's charge to a criminal jury, we shall probably never hear from the bench such gems as these: "Prisoner — you are the most consummate scoundrel that ever graced a dock." This he addressed to a felon who pleaded guilty to stealing from a church collection box. To another of whose acquittal Begbie disapproved, he shouted, "Go and sin no more." His most famous disapproval was of a verdict that reduced a charge of murder to one of manslaughter:

Prisoner — you deserve to be hanged! Had the jury performed their duty, I might now have the painful satisfaction of condemning you to death, and you, gentlemen of the jury, you are a pack of Dalles horse thieves, and permit me to say, it would give me great pleasure to see you hanged, each and every one of you, for declaring a murderer guilty only of manslaughter.

Williams has, in fairness, presented some of the smaller and more disagreeable aspects of Begbie's career, particularly his wrangles with the Colonial Office and his pleas for advancement to the Colonial Chief Justiceship. On the other hand, the author enriches the biography by revealing Begbie in his social dimension. Whether singing operatic duets with the Philharmonic Society in Victoria or entertaining at dinner parties, he brought the same zest that he displayed at the Barkerville assize. Begbie was probably one of Canada's first tennis hosts, entertaining for lawn tennis parties on his three grass courts in 1880, shortly after the founding of Wimbledon. And, of course, Begbie was a founder and the first president of the Union Club a year earlier.

Williams has adopted the somewhat cumbersome and difficult biographical method of organizing the book by subject rather than chronologically. This approach sacrifices some of the drama that chronology gives to the march of historic events. It is a tribute to Williams that he still sparkles through this difficult format. His biography is highly readable for layman, lawyer and historian. In addition *The Man for a New Country* is important primary scholarship; it is a British Columbia biography of first-rank importance. Morriss have done an attractive job with the printing and the selection of photographs is excellent.

Victoria

BRIAN R. D. SMITH

Go Do Some Great Thing. The Black Pioneers of British Columbia, by Crawford Kilian. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1978. Pp. 188; \$12.95.

From the time of the American Revolution until the Civil War, British North America was regarded as a haven for thousands of black Americans fleeing from conditions in the United States. Many of the black fugitives were escaping directly from slavery, while a sizeable minority were freemen seeking an end to the restrictions and humiliations suffered by all American blacks. The blacks, both slave and free, had grand

expectations for their lives in the British territories. They knew they would not be enslaved here, and they believed that they would be free as well from all connotations of colour prejudice and be allowed to participate in all the rights and privileges of a British subject. Compared to the situation in the United States, British North America was seen as the promised land where blacks could expect the earthly fulfilment of their dreams of equality. In symbolic expression of this belief, many of them fell to the ground, kissed the soil, and thanked God for their safe arrival "on the other side of Jordan."

For the early arrivals in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Upper Canada, employment was easy to obtain, for if they did not achieve prosperity at least they found a role in the expanding colonial economies. It soon became apparent, however, that the role assigned to blacks was fixed at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Welcomed as labourers and in the service category generally, they met resistance when they tried to buy a home, rent a hotel room or ride inside a stage coach. The vote and jury service, two overwhelming desires for people denied citizenship in their native country, continued to be beyond their reach in those early years, and certain jobs and even land ownership were sometimes kept from them.

The blacks, despite these disappointments, preserved the hope that things would improve, and meanwhile they set about making themselves valuable and loyal members of British colonial society. They sought land for farms, to become self-reliant proprietors and thus to disprove the contention that blacks could not care for themselves. They expressed their gratitude to the British Crown, joining and sometimes establishing militia units to protect colonial independence from threats of American annexation. When allowed the vote they exercised the franchise diligently, almost always casting their ballots in favour of the government and conservative candidates supporting the British connection. Anxious for an education to improve themselves, they found that white parents and teachers were not inclined to have them share common facilities with white children. In both Nova Scotia and Ontario legally sanctioned separate schools were established for blacks. Christian churches, too, placed restrictions on black members, with the result that most black Christians were forced into all-black congregations. When the Civil War and Reconstruction seemed to promise that the United States, at last, could be a reasonable home for black men, a majority of the fugitives returned south. Their experience had taught them that here was not their Canaan after all. The remnant who remained in the new Dominion

of Canada continued to struggle, largely ignored by the white majority, for the fulfilment of their expectations in a self-declared land of freedom.

Crawford Kilian has written a fine book illustrating the British Columbia chapter in this typical black story. His narrative begins in California in the 1850s, where "free" blacks were persecuted and exploited, denied the vote, unable to testify against whites in court, shunted into segregated schools and churches, and regarded as unworthy of citizenship. The case of Archy Lee, a hitherto free black arrested as a fugitive slave, was the proverbial final straw which inspired a mass black meeting in 1858 to consider migration from California. They sent a Pioneer Committee to Victoria to assess their opportunities, and this committee's favourable report encouraged hundreds more blacks to ship for Victoria during the summer of 1858. Many of the blacks were seen to kneel and pray as they first stepped onto the soil of Vancouver Island, for this was, as committee member Wellington Moses wrote, "a God-sent land for colored people."

Governor James Douglas, himself alleged to be of partial African ancestry, was prepared to welcome the blacks. Labour was scarce, and most of the new arrivals had skills to contribute to the burgeoning town of Victoria. Of equal or even greater importance, the gold rush had attracted gangs of white Americans whose loyalty to the Crown was suspect at least. The blacks were recognized as potential allies in enmity to American annexation, and as permanent residents whose interests could check those of the white transients in support of established law and order. He blithely promised them instant citizenship, including the right to vote and serve on juries. Douglas' accommodating attitude was reflected in the economic opportunities of boom-town Victoria. Good jobs were immediately available, though the service category tended to predominate, and several blacks made considerable profits in real estate as the influx of miners and camp followers pushed property values to incredible heights. In 1860 the blacks expressed their gratitude and satisfaction by voting in favour of the government party and against the reform element led by Amor De Cosmos, and by forming the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Company as an all-black militia unit prepared to defend British Victoria from American incursions. At the time theirs was the only armed force protecting the colony.

It was a pattern that would have been recognized by blacks in Eastern Canada, and unfortunately the pattern was to continue into its familiar second phase. When the Anglican rector Edward Cridge welcomed blacks into his church, some of his white parishioners left, declaring that "the

Creator had made a distinction which it was sinful to ignore." Congregationalist William Clarke, who like Cridge refused to discriminate, lost white members to another Congregational minister, Matthew Macfie, who segregated blacks on one side of his church. Amor De Cosmos, disgruntled at his defeat in the 1860 election (a defeat, by the way, which was ensured by the black voters who held the balance of power), challenged the blacks' right to vote, and commenced a campaign in his *British Colonist* to deprive the "alien blacks" of their citizenship privileges. The courts eventually decided that the blacks did not in fact qualify; the Alien Act of 1861 enfranchised blacks as naturalized British subjects, but they were still not allowed to run for the assembly. In similar contradiction to Douglas' promise, blacks were barred from jury service until 1872.

Saloons, restaurants and places of secular entertainment followed the example of church and government. The most dramatic example was the Colonial Theatre, where blacks were relegated to the balcony. In 1860 a riot occurred when some blacks tried to sit on the main floor, and later a group of the colony's most distinguished black citizens was pelted with eggs and flour during a hospital benefit performance. Blacks were omitted from Queen's Birthday celebrations and from the farewell dinner in 1864 honouring their erstwhile patron James Douglas. Even the loyal Pioneer Rifles were prevented from joining the parade to welcome the new governor, on the grounds that as a military unit they would lead the parade and thus cause humiliation to the whites forced to walk behind them. Not surprisingly, the Civil War had its effect on the West Coast blacks. The earlier promises had been betrayed, and a new free America now offered a better opportunity, or so it seemed. Many blacks, including some of the community's leaders, teachers and successful businessmen, therefore returned to the United States. No longer numerous enough to pose a threat to white sensitivities, the blacks who stayed fell from notice and were left in relative peace, "integrated" into the lower echelons of British Columbian society.

In addition to the basic story of the black pioneers' experience in British Columbia, Kilian provides biographical details on several of the most prominent participants. Mifflin Gibbs is featured, for as the chief spokesman and most affluent member of the black community his career reflects both the opportunities and the disadvantages of being black in mid-century Victoria. Gibbs was one of those to make a fortune in real estate, and he invested his profits in the Queen Charlotte coalfields and later in building the railway to service the mines. In 1866 he was elected

to Victoria city council and even served as acting mayor; in 1868 he attended the Yale convention as the elected delegate of Saltspring Island, thus earning a place as an "uncle," if not a father, of Confederation. Yet he was jostled and insulted at the Colonial Theatre, prevented from running for a seat in the assembly and kept from jury service, and so in 1870 he went back to the United States, where he enjoyed a distinguished career as a judge and diplomat. Also featured is the Stark family, who pioneered on Saltspring Island, and the miners, carpenters, tinsmiths and merchants who participated in the settlement of the mainland colony. Through these personal stories Kilian stresses the contribution made by the original blacks and their descendants to the development of a free, prosperous British Columbia.

And yet, as Kilian explains in his epilogue, the black contribution has gone unrecognized. The Ku Klux Klan claimed 10,000 members in British Columbia during the 1920s, hotels and swimming pools discriminated by colour into the 1940s, and in 1954 the black wife of a white teacher was ordered out of a private boarding school. Above all, white society's attitudes were revealed in black employment patterns, for blacks were considered fit only to serve. The blacks themselves, never content, began to organize for change in the 1950s. The formation of the British Columbia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People is presented as seminal, followed by several other organizations with political, social or cultural purpose. Today, over a century after their initial arrival, blacks are well served by black organizations and by black politicians, and British Columbia in general continues to benefit from their presence. If it ends, in this sense, as a "success story," Kilian's book declares that more remains to be done, and it is not a story from which white Canadians can take much satisfaction.

Aside from its important message, this book is an excellent read. It is very well written and generously illustrated. The atmosphere of pioneer Victoria and the gold rush is charmingly evoked, and the treatment overall is sensitive. There is something here for every appetite — adventure, murder, pioneers, Indians, high ideals, entrepreneurial success, corrupt politicians — all of it presented with taste and style. If there were a British Columbia Book-of-the-Month club, this volume would surely rate as a monthly selection. In any case it can be recommended as a gift for a relative or friend interested in British Columbia's past. Kilian explicitly denies any claim to scholarly merit, and it would therefore be inappropriate to complain of occasional lapses in historical accuracy, or of the limitations of some of the sources used. As a narrative

account it is an admirable example of its genre. In his introduction Kilian expresses the hope that academic historians will pick up the story, and there can be no doubt that he has challenged the professionals most effectively.

University of Waterloo

JAMES W. ST.G. WALKER