

main characters; however, the book's lack of sources undermines its conclusions. The result is that the reader is left, indeed, with only "Glimpses of Dene History."

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Robert Galois, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775-1920: A Geographical Analysis and Gazetteer*, with contributions by Jay Powell and Gloria Cranmer Webster. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994.

review by Frank Tough

This is a large tome with a massive amount of information on Kwakwaka'wakw. It is also the first volume in UBC Press's Northwest Native Studies series. The book begins with contributions from Gloria Cranmer Webster and Jay Powell concerning the politics of research and the Kwakwaka'wakw language. Powell provides a very readable and terse explanation of Kwakwaka'wakw orthographies. This is required because Kwakwaka'wakw place names, as documented by oral traditions, ethnographies and written documentation, are central to understanding the Kwakwaka'wakw settlements. As an overview essay, Galois then provides an intricate account of Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns between 1775 and 1920. Considerable knowledge about the Northwest Coast and the specifics of the history of Aboriginal title in British Columbia is assumed. Readers will need to know the main contours of the maritime fur trade, who Douglas and Sproat were, the purposes of the McKenna-McBride Commission, etc. A detailed gazetteer, organized along regional lines, follows. The book also includes forty-eight pages of appendices (population data, abstracts from the voyages of Vancouver and Galiano, the Nahwitti incidents of 1850 and 1851, salmon canneries operating in Kwakwaka'wakw territory and place names in the U'mista Cultural Centre Orthography). The book includes sixty-one maps, nineteen tables and five other illustrations.

Most of the book (305 pages) is a gazetteer devoted to the reproduction and explanation of the Kwakwaka'wakw place names. The Kwakwaka'wakw gazetteer is organized by regional groupings of tribes (Gilford Island, Knight Inlet, Kwakiutl, Lekwiltok, Nahwitti, Nimpkish, Northern and Quatsino Sound). Each site located by Galois has been assigned a bold-face alphanumeric designation. Histories and descriptions of the sites are also provided. The gazetteer includes information on English and Kwakwaka'wakw place names, the general location of the site, survey information if the site became a reserve or if the site was requested. In each

of the gazetteer chapters, maps showing the territory of these regional tribes and their places or sites help the reader appreciate the specific gazetteer information. The cartography is clean and simple. The maps show old villages, winter villages, forts, resource sites with buildings, other resource sites and burial places. However, the gazetteer maps only show Galois' alphanumeric designations and not the place names. Kwakwaka'wakw stories, relevant to place names, are included in the narrative accompanying the gazetteer. In fact, the general accounts of the regional tribes included with the specific gazetteer chapters are more interesting than the overview essay. More details of claims and reserve surveys give a better sense of the effects of Canadian and British Columbian policies towards Kwakwaka'wakw lands than the overview essay. In these regional gazetteer chapters, Galois also provides historical population data.

The sources for the gazetteer include records from the Colonial Office, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Department of Indian Affairs and missionaries. The Indian Reserve Commissioner (1876–1910) and the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission (1913–1921) records were consulted. Cartographic sources include maps and hydrographic charts, and official maps and survey records held by Canada Land Survey records. Galois also makes use of the published and unpublished ethnographic materials of Boas, Duff and Drucker. His individual descriptions for a site often make reference to Boas' manuscripts. Galois offers and documents corrections to the ethnographic literature. A gazetteer is a wonderful means to synthesize locational information from different sources and such projects provide new methodological challenges. In terms of methods, this book is relevant to ethnohistory and applied claims research.

All too often, the author overemphasizes his concerns about uncertainties of the data. His story includes parenthetical inserts such as: "The picture is obviously incomplete, and, as usual when dealing with this period, a number of qualifiers apply," (p 57) or "... is of uncertain reliability, reflecting gaps and unresolved contradictions in the data" (p. 51) and "Although the data are fragmentary and sometimes contradictory, it is possible . . ." (p. 237). This sort of scholarly stoicism in the face of imperfect data is best left to footnotes. For readers who have not been through all of the same primary sources as the author and have not mused about all the possible interpretations, these frequent flaggings of data problems make for a distractive discourse. This impinges on the narrative. Since qualifications were introduced frequently, any sense of how Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns changed or what forces shaped the new patterns are difficult to appreciate.

The book suffers from some organizational problems. Between the gazetteer and overview essay, duplication and repetition occurs. For example,

demographic issues are discussed in his overview essay, in the individual regional chapters making up the gazetteer part of the book and in a special appendix on demographic data. It can be appreciated that there are advantages in presenting the demographic fragments at different regional levels, but the analysis is blurred. The demographic data are interesting—population declines similar to those in the highlands of central Mexico are indicated. And here Galois' scholarship is finest. Yet despite all the attention to the bits and pieces of censuses preserved in archives, little sense is made of them. In many respects the demographic data are a separate theme for this book. Habitation sites and population numbers are related, but this never comes through. With this data, delving into a little historical geography was possible. Locational and demographic data should have supported some cross-sections depicting the spatial system or the hierarchy of the Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns. To what extent did the ranking or social hierarchy of the Kwakwaka'wakw have a spatial expression? In this sense, neither his essay or the gazetteer explain settlement patterns.

In some respects the organization and presentation of the book tends to understate the research that has been carried out. The site numbers assigned by Galois do not provide a point of entry for searching for place names. The gazetteer needs a separate index; the Kwakwaka'wakw place names should not have been mixed in with the general index for the book. The use of capital letters or truncated abbreviations instead of headings in the tables makes it very difficult to appreciate the data. More significantly, the five appendices at the end of the book do not provide an appropriate means to conclude this study. The overview essay that precedes the gazetteer chapters should have been split into an introduction and a conclusion. The basic background information that the reader needs to know about Kwakwaka'wakw history and geography could have preceded the gazetteer material as an introductory overview. A conclusion, in which the large issues concerning the effects of disease, territorial expansion, changing seasonal rounds, merging of tribal populations and the outcomes of state policies, would have provided a means to bring the specific information of the gazetteer to a focus. The book ends with no definite statement; the research just trickles away.

To some extent and despite the extensive research, some readers will feel that the potential of the project has not been reached. At the start, Galois points out that "These settlement patterns . . . are a culture's inscription upon the landscape—a record of a people's interaction with their environment" (p. 19). Similarly: "For Native peoples in a 'settler colony' such as British Columbia, this interaction has involved coming to terms with the influx of a non-Native population. Native settlement patterns, in this context, are one index of the people's participation in the contact process.

These patterns manifest both adjustment and persistence, change and continuity" (p. 19). The author has named the conceptual issues. Galois' identification of external forces really escapes analysis; one would barely know from this book that a commercial fishing industry ever existed in the region. For no apparent reason, an appendix lists locations of canneries. Seemingly, the commercial fishing industry and state management had no discernible or specific impacts on Kwakwaka'wakw resource use. Given the extensive nature of his research, Galois' few pages in the overview essay on the late "contact" period does not get at "a peoples" participation in the contact process. As a result, he leaves us with this sort of cautious statement: "While it is impossible to be categorical, given the problems of data and the difficulties of establishing an ethnographic baseline, it seems probable that the pace of change increased after contact" (p. 62). Probable, but not categorical, change after contact! Other assertions are made: "After about 1875, the alien logic of the Euro-Canadian world narrowed Kwakwaka'wakw room for manoeuvre" (p. 63). What is really meant by "alien logic" or "room for manoeuvre" is not spelled out, so we cannot be sure what Galois' research tells us about the late 19th century. Rolf Knight's *Indians at Work* claims a serious role for Northwest Coast Indians in the frontier capitalism of the late 19th century, but Robin Fisher in *Contact and Conflict* purports to show a complete marginalization for the very same Indians. While it is not necessary to enter actively into such debates, there are few hints about the place of this study. Galois concludes that, during the first century of contact, "there is no reason to doubt that the Kwakwaka'wakw controlled their own cultural and economic agenda" (p. 62). What choices existed? Is there a difference between control over one's agenda and making the best of a bad situation? Can this assertion really make sense with such horrendous depopulation occurring during the same era? Galois' findings do not break with the conventional wisdom of apprehensive ethnohistorians seeking some sort of balance between change and continuity (p. 62).

Part of the reason that this study falls short of the potential of the records is that some of the key issues have not been diagrammed or mapped. In many respects, the cartography has the look of the conventional ethnographies (simple maps depicting territorial ranges of a tribe). The information on the seasonal round of the Kwakwaka'wakw should have been presented as a diagram (pp. 25–26). Another seasonal round for the late 19th century, showing the involvement of new frontier industries, would provide a means to compare. Some interesting locational changes are discussed (pp. 58–59). A map showing the reserves confirmed by 1920 against all the sites requested would have been useful reference for the reader. In this sense the

Map 1.5 showing the Kwakwaka'wakw territory in 1920 is potentially confusing in light of the state's land policies and competing land uses. Even the demographic data could have taken a graphical form; the huge declines suggested are not always evidenced by numbers in tables. Similarly, the data in Table 1.6 on sex and age should have been depicted as a population pyramid. While Galois refers to the White economy, we have little data on its geographical presence. In Hugh Brody's *Map and Dreams*, the various encroachments on Indian lands are depicted in an imaginative manner. The Kwakwaka'wakw involvement in the "contact process" has not been captured. The study should have made use of reserve survey plans and photographs to provide a sense of place and landscape.

This book is the product of extensive and exhaustive research, and is a different sort of publication. To date, there have been few serious efforts to create a gazetteer of the lands of Indian nations. Few readers will appreciate the enormous amount of tedious work that is entailed in the interpolation of ethnohistoric and ethnographic data onto modern base maps. More of this sort of research should be attempted. The cautious presentation of the book, the author's angst about archival records and reluctance to generalize support a very objective scholarship. To this end, it will be a source that courts will have to take seriously. At the very least, an important and useful effort has been made to preserve, if not also to resurrect, Kwakwaka'wakw toponomy.