

Although the contingency model proved somewhat obscure for some students, more than enough information and examples were provided which allowed them to recognize the successful economic development initiatives currently taking place in Aboriginal communities. Anderson points out that appropriate economic development is important for the futures of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada, and as books on this subject matter are rare, "Economic Development among the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada" makes an important contribution to filling the void.

Chris Arnett. *The Terror of the Coast: Land Alienation and the Colonial War on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, 1849-1863*. Burnaby, BC: Talonbooks, 1999.

Reviewed by Susan Neylan, University of British Columbia

*(Editor's Note: Prof. Neylan's review originally appeared in the previous issue but was inadvertently truncated. We deeply regret the error.)*

In *Terror of the Coast* Chris Arnett seeks to explore how imperial and colonial government policy towards Aboriginal lands on eastern Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands in the 1860s was a violent affair, heavily resisted by First Nations. Given recent land claim settlements in British Columbia, such as the Nisga'a Treaty (1999), after more than a century of the province's denial of aboriginal title, Arnett's study of the collapse of the first treaty process is timely. However, Arnett's attempts are uneven and his strongest interpretative statements are sometimes obscured in narrative detail and description of dramatic events surrounding what he calls the "colonial war" of 1863. The first four chapters of *Terror of the Coast* recount the arrival of *hwunitum* (literally "the hungry people," referring to those persons of European ancestry) to southeastern Vancouver Island and adjacent Gulf Islands, and their ensuing impact on *hwulmuhw* (meaning the Aboriginal inhabitants or "people of the land") sovereignty and jurisdiction. After the fourteen Douglas "treaties" in the early 1850s, there were no further attempts to extinguish Aboriginal title to the land or purchase portions for non-Native resettlement. Arnett is

harshly critical of Colonial Governor James Douglas' half-hearted attempts to address Aboriginal land claims and the encroachment on their territories that ensued. The remainder of the book is devoted to a chronology of events of 1863 when, Arnett argues, "in a little over a month ... assaults on hwunitum transients would lead to military intervention, the elimination of active hwulmuhw resistance and the imposition of British imperial rule over the territories of Hul'quium'num First Nations" (p. 110). The core thesis of *Terror of the Coast* claims the reason there were no other Native land extinguishment agreements in the area was "not for lack of funds ... but through the use of armed end hwulmuhw opposition to occupation of their lands by hwunitum" (p. 11). Douglas was slow to follow through on verbal assurances to various First Nations in the region concerning the level or scope of European resettlement, and outright ignored former arrangements when confronted with petitions of complaint from would-be settlers. Here Arnett contributes to the revisionist perspectives on Douglas' colonial policy historians have been developing over the last two decades. Yet, for all the blame laid on Douglas, Arnett does not deny Aboriginal agency in this matter, which complicates his thesis that it was colonial armed force that ultimately prevented further resolution of land issues. He unequivocally states, "the real reason that land sale agreements were not made was because many Cowichan, Halalt, Lamalcha, Penelakut, Chemainus, and other si'em [upper class] would not sell their people's land at any price" (p. 98). By considering both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal motivations behind conflict over land, *Terror of the Coast* presents a balanced perspective on the events that precipitated the "colonial war." In early April 1863, a German immigrant and his teenage daughter were killed by a party of Lamalcha after stopping on Satuma Island to wait out a storm. Around the same time, two other non-Native men were attacked, one fatally, by a group of Quamichan with whom they had shared an evening meal. Throughout this section of his book, Arnett is consistently effective at illuminating the underlying motivations behind these killings, which must be viewed in the context of Aboriginal culture. "Robbery was said to be the motive behind the attacks, but in reality," explains Arnett, "they were further examples of a clash in jurisdiction" (p. 111). In response, the British assembled men-of-war, gunboats, armed launches and upwards of five hundred men to capture the murder suspects. The only engagement in which this military expedition met with armed resistance from First Nations' warriors was

the Battle of Lamalcha on Kuper Island, which Arnett paradoxically proclaims "the only tactical defeat ever inflicted by a tribal people on the Royal Navy," although the village of Lamalcha itself was utterly destroyed and the British suffered only one fatality (p. 135). In the ensuing weeks, through threat and further destruction of Native villages, physical coercion and humiliation of prisoners or the use of hostages as human shields, and through the co-operation of several First Nations, the British eventually apprehended their suspects. Arnett thoroughly documents the inequity of their murder trial, which, even at the time, was heralded by many Natives and non-Natives alike as a terrible miscarriage of justice. The five Aboriginal men executed for the murders, Arnett concludes, acted 'as a warning to all Hwulmohw people of the futility of asserting their sovereignty in those areas where aboriginal title had not been extinguished" (p. 301).

To be fair, the strength of this book lies in the compelling story, not in Arnett's analysis of its significance. The book's generally poor organization may be partly to blame, although by his own admission it leans towards empiricism. Arnett buries much of his analysis amidst his description and detailing of events and historical players. Few chapters have explicit introductions or conclusions, and I found many of his key arguments in tantalizing statements somewhere mid-stream in his chronology of events. Occasionally, because of his stress on primary historical sources, important scholarly reinterpretations have been omitted. For example, he reproduces the erroneous assumption that the Chinook jargon was invented by Europeans by relying on a 1909 source (pp. 63, 178). Given Arnett's discussion of Aboriginal lands, resettlement, and methods of intimidation, control and subjugation, he might have consulted Cole Harris's interpretations on these very issues in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonization and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), particularly when assessing the violent colonial policies within the wide range of strategies of power invoked by European explorers, traders, miners and settlers. Also missing is a history published by the Cowichan Tribes, which shares many of Arnett's perspectives on Native resistance to European intrusion—Daniel P. Marshall, *Those Who Fell from the Sky: A History of the Cowichan Peoples* (Duncan, BC: Cowichan Tribes, 1999), although its spring 1999 release may account for its exclusion from Arnett's bibliography. *Terror of the Coast* also suffers from a series of

structural problems because of decisions made by Talonbooks. Typeset in a rather small, condensed font with tight spacing, block quotations appear almost indistinguishable from the main text. There is no index, which makes much of Arnett's careful documentation very difficult to access by those researchers and students searching for specific topics. Also absent is a table of contents for the book's forty-nine illustrations. To his credit, Arnett includes Aboriginal interpretations of events, where available in oral and written sources, and diligently employs contemporary spellings for tribal designations (curiously, except the Heiltsuk). Generally, his consistent use of Hul'qumi'num place names and descriptors for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is a direct attempt to correct the tendency of many written histories to Eurocentrism. This is an admirable gesture of respect. However, with no glossary or index, the non-specialist reader must pay careful attention so as not to confuse the true meaning of certain passages. In a similar vein, the first map of the entire region uses only Hul'qumi'num place names (p. 2), and would have been far more effective accompanied by an identical map using contemporary designations. This would allow readers to better locate the many photographs of places connected to events described in the book. The only general map of the entire area using place names that non-Native readers would be familiar with is a difficult-to-read reproduction of an 1865 map, placed two-thirds into the book (p. 211).

In the end, Arnett successfully achieves his goal of counteracting "the colonial myth ... that the British resettlement of British Columbia was benign, bloodless, and law-abiding" (p. 14). However, Arnett did not convince me that the armed response of the British navy in 1863 was the paramount "strategy to alienate hwulmuhw lands" (p. 98). There is little evidence that the gunboat response, in itself, was a land grab. If this truly was the colonial government's preferred method of subjugating First Nations, why did the war end with the executions of the five Native men in Victoria? Nor was I convinced by Arnett's argument that this violent method eliminated "active hwulmuhw resistance" (p. 110). For a thorough assessment of the true impact of the "colonial war" as a deterrent to Aboriginal resistance, Arnett should have examined the post-1863 period in greater depth than his ten-page epilogue allows. Moreover, Arnett offers numerous examples of the continuance of Aboriginal protests, though noncombatant ones, to challenges to their autonomy and lands. My criticisms aside, if we take *Terror on the Coast* as an exposition of an

episode within a larger process of colonialism, then this book has an crucial story to tell.

Carole Blackburn. *Harvest of Souls. The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650*. Montreal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Reviewed by Cornelius J. Jaenen, University of Ottawa

The first reaction to *Harvest of Souls* is "not another study of Jesuit missions!" This more especially so when the subtitle includes *Colonialism in North America, 1630-1650*, a period when, in spite of Bruce Trigger's *Natives and Newcomers* before the newcomers had arrived, as Blackburn admits "New France was characterized by minimal settlement and the absence of either French rule or French dominance." (p.11). The author, consequently, is forced into construing pre-colonization texts into discursive evidence of the politics of colonialism and conversion. It is worth noting how the ethnographical literature has multiplied since the publication of *Friend and Foe* in 1974 and yet how few truly new theoretical frameworks have been exploited since then. This reworked master's thesis does attempt to provide an innovative construct for understanding the evolving Jesuit assault on Native societies and belief systems. The methodological key employed is colonial discourse studies as exemplified by Bernard Cohn, John and Jean Comaroff, Lata Mani and Robert Young - all dealing with other cultures, other social conditions, and other geopolitical situations than those of either early 17th century Montagnais or Huron societies in Canada. Nevertheless, a somewhat new perspective is brought to bear on this Jesuit intrusion.

The question of distortion is admirably approached in the introductory chapter. Nonetheless, an historical distortion continues to trouble the reader's mind: is not the setting atypical and unique in contact terms? The Huron may be a non-representative North American aboriginal community at a time when European settlement, the military presence, and hinterland penetration with resulting contact with new "nations" had not yet taken place. Religious *dévoisme* still triumphed, missionaries still served as diplomatic emissaries, and the civil administration was in the