

If there is a weakness in the volume, it is the over-representation of government records. One of the major goals of public history is "to relate an understanding of past events to the formation of contemporary public policy." The fulfilment of this goal requires an understanding of public records, but records of other sectors should be considered to give a balanced perspective on comprehensive documentation.

With that one consideration aside, the volume stands as a solid contribution to archival literature in its analysis of contemporary issues and their background. Eastwood's article in particular is a must for Canadian archivists, particularly those who joined the profession after 1975. This special issue of *The Public Historian* should provide Canadians with a good example of what can be accomplished through communication with other disciplines. In educating others on archival matters we are forced, as the contributors to this volume were, to drop our jargon and look for the simple yet eloquent turn-of-phrase which will attract support to our cause. A similar special issue of the *Journal of Canadian Studies* could prove most useful on this side of the border.

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A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. E. BRIAN TITLEY. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986. 256 p. ISBN 0-7748-0261-8. \$24.95.

Brian Titley makes clear in his introduction that he has not set out to write a biography of Duncan Campbell Scott, valuable as that work might be. Rather, the author has chosen to make Scott the focus of a study of the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) during a "particularly turbulent and eventful era." Yet Scott, because of his long service with the department — nearly twenty years of which were spent as its top civil servant — is not a benign observer but an active participant who, Titley would have us believe, was in no small part responsible for the turbulence.

The book does not claim to be a comprehensive administrative history of the DIA and Indian policy during Scott's period of influence. Neither is it the "only study of Indian policy in the early 20th century" as the dust jacket comments suggest. It is, however, a most important study. The inter-war period in particular has received less attention by Canadian students of Euro-Indian relations than have the decades immediately following Confederation. A significant proportion of what has been written too often takes the form of unpublished reports to native organizations or relatively unavailable research documents commissioned by the DIA itself. Titley's work will certainly help redress this imbalance.

A Narrow Vision is an admittedly selective analysis of DIA activities. Titley has chosen to focus on issues which, he argues, not only reflect the peculiarities of Indian administration in different regions of Canada, but also have a wider national relevance. Titley begins with an introduction to Indian policy and the Indian Department prior to World War I, a summary which serves to highlight the range and depth of scholarly work that has been published in the field of native studies in the past fifteen years. He then focuses his attention on the treaty-making process, the civilization/assimilation policy (and its

most obvious vehicle, the education system), the nascence of native political organizations, the vexing issue of British Columbia land claims, and the controversial efforts of the DIA to control what were perceived to be the most retrogressive aspects of native cultural expression. Along the way, *A Narrow Vision* introduces the reader to the subject of health care, the impact of wartime and reconstruction policies, the erosion of native hunting, fishing, and trapping rights, and the legislative machinations designed to bring about enfranchisement of a population determinedly unwilling to compromise its "Indian-ness." It even provides what approximates comic relief in its discussion of the ambitions of Commissioner Graham and the petty infighting among DIA personnel.

Although he eschews the mantle of biographer, Titley does provide us with a view of Scott the literary figure as well as Scott the bureaucrat. Best remembered as the contemporary of Lampman, Campbell, and Roberts, Scott has been the subject of considerable research by students of Canadian literature, who have paid much attention to his poetic portrayal of Indian people. His private papers concern almost exclusively his literary career, and it is only through combining them with a reading of the voluminous records of the DIA that we are provided with a full portrait of the man. Titley devotes a chapter to "The Poet and the Indians" in which he discusses Scott's perception of native people as shown in his poetry and historical writings. Portrayed by Titley as an imperialist and Canadian chauvinist who held consistently to the belief that the Indian would, under protective tutelage, ultimately seize the opportunities offered by assimilation, Scott emerges as nothing more or less than a man of his times, holding views consistent with those of contemporaries both in Canada and in other societies where Europeans, schooled in the nineteenth-century doctrines of evolution and the march of progress, encountered aboriginal peoples.

A Narrow Vision is at its best as it leads the reader through the morass that is the history of British Columbia land claims or as it discusses wartime and reconstruction schemes for the use of Indian lands. In examining the former question, Titley uses primary source material from both the federal and provincial perspectives effectively. The issue was, after all, as much a problem of federal-provincial relations as an Indian one. The July 1920 legislation that authorized the cut-offs irrespective of the surrender provisions of the *Indian Act* was a sad comment on the disrespect for the rights of the minority when "more important" federal-provincial concerns were at stake. The reader would be advised, however, to look also at the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission exhibits collection and B.C. field office material recently filmed by the National Archives of Canada, something which a reading of his references would indicate Titley has not done. I believe it will be found that, contrary to Titley's assertion (p. 141), the commissioners did indeed consider the "other concerns" of the Indians and, in fact, their mandate was changed from its initial narrow scope to provide for the taking of evidence on such issues as water rights and fisheries.

In certain other areas the analysis is less satisfying. As Titley judges the motives of both Scott and the government, nineteen-eighties moralizing too frequently intrudes into the story. Titley is obviously sympathetic to the native position, yet he judges the early twentieth-century bureaucrat from the perspective of our present pluralist and multi-cultural society that recognizes the value of a vibrant native community, and accepts that dialogue has replaced dictate in fashioning policy.

Surely it is anachronistic to chide the Fathers of Confederation for their decision to continue an established Indian policy "rather than initiate original or innovative policies."

(p. 8) One might fairly ask whether they gave the matter great consideration at all! What was there to be done with a small and insignificant branch of a department which dealt with a group of people on the margin of society who, it was generally held, were destined to assimilation or annihilation sooner rather than later? Similarly, to suggest that during the first decade of this century the DIA was negligent in its failure to inaugurate "a comprehensive health scheme" (p. 18) is hardly fair comment in light of the health care situation among the non-Indian population. The DIA has always been a client department and might justifiably be considered to be the first social service department of the federal government. Yet, it was not operating in the milieu of the post-World War II welfare state. The over-riding concern of government departments in the early twentieth century was economical administration, and the DIA must be judged in that context. Within these constraints, the DIA under Scott's direction did actually make significant efforts to combat disease, particularly in Indian schools, as Titley's own evidence shows in the chapter on "Schooling and Civilization." Even where the DIA made advances, however, these are treated cynically by the author. (pp. 86-88)

The chapter dealing with the making of Treaty 9 is especially problematic. To typify securing this treaty (or indeed any of the numbered treaties) as a personal deceit on the part of the commissioners and to imply through clever tactics of "misrepresentation" and "collusion" they duped natives out of their birthright does little to advance our understanding of the treaty-making process. Titley is astonished that Scott "seems to have regarded the entire process as a charade." (p. 74) If that indeed was Scott's personal view, he was a particularly perceptive and honest man. The treaty-making process is and always has been "the big lie" of European-Indian relations in this country. Why should it surprise us that Scott "could not accept that the notion of aboriginal title constituted a legitimate claim to the lands"? (p. 74) The highest court had declared (in *Regina v. St. Catherine's Milling*) that the Indian "aboriginal title" consisted of a personal and usufructuary right and not a right in fee simple. Treaties were not contracts between equal parties, one buying what the other owned with both sides working out a profit-sharing deal. In the case of Treaty 9 the delicate matter of federal-provincial relations added an important nuance to the process. The native inhabitants of the Hudson's Bay lowlands had no options. They could accept the treaty or not, but the results would be the same: the dominant society and its laws would triumph.

Historically, contradiction lies at the heart of Indian policy in Canada. Nowhere is this more evident than in the DIA's response to the rise of Indian political organizations and the idea of self-determination. The stated aim of Canadian Indian policy from the 1830s was assimilation. This was never a "hidden agenda;" it was quite clearly stated in successive published DIA reports for anyone who cared to read it. The DIA was a means to an end, an apparatus established to protect the Indian wards of the state until they were ready to assume the responsibilities of full citizenship and full membership in the dominant society. The success of the department was the elimination of the need for its existence. Not surprisingly, it never seems to have occurred to Scott to question the assumption that the Indian would eventually embrace full integration into the dominant society. Scott and his contemporaries did not foresee the multi-cultural state which has developed in Canada today. In their ethnocentric and nineteenth-century evolutionary thinking, the Indian would become White. There was truly a narrow vision, not only of Euro-Indian relations, but also of Canadian society.

The conundrum facing the “wardens” in any system of wardship is, of course, the question: at what point the ward comes of age. Ironically, in suppressing native political organization, Scott and the DIA denied Indians the forum to exercise those rights which, in theory, were the hallmark of the full citizenship which supposedly was the goal of DIA policy. Danger lies always in the possibility that the ward will make a mistake in judgement. As Titley demonstrates, however, it was more than paternalism that led DIA to thwart native political expression. Native leaders of the inter-war years challenged the assumptions on which departmental policy had been developed, and threatened the very fabric of that policy. Here was a danger more real than that posed by itinerant trouble-makers and frauds, and, in this situation, the power of the state was turned against Indian people just as it had been against workers in Winnipeg in 1919. The harassment of F.O. Loft chronicled so vividly by Titley is a sad chapter in DIA-native relations. On the other hand, the story of the Indian struggle in British Columbia for recognition of their aboriginal rights demonstrates the persistence and sophistication of the forces with which Scott had to deal.

Discussion of DIA financial problems in the late 1920s might have proved useful, especially in light of Titley’s portrayal of Scott’s intense concern with limiting expenses. For all the talk of careful fiscal management, research is now showing that the DIA management of and accounting for Indian monies was particularly suspect. The degree to which Scott, the man with the accountant’s mentality, was knowingly responsible for letting this mismanagement of Indian monies go unchecked, remains unknown. Clearly there is scope for further investigation of his administration. On balance, this book makes an important contribution to our understanding of inter-war DIA-Indian relations. It should be recognized as a starting point for any student interested in the period.

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From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery. MELISSA BANTA & CURTIS M. HINSLEY with the assistance of JOAN KATHRYN O’DONNELL. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum Press, 1986. 136 p. ISBN 0-87365-809-4.

The genesis of interest in photography as an archival source has not been without its problems from the interpretive point of view. In the anthropological field, these arguments have been particularly controversial: visually powerful material being integrally bound up with sensitive historical issues such as colonial expansion and representation of indigenous peoples within a Euro-centric framework of values, issues which are still very much alive.

It is to the credit of the Peabody Museum at Harvard that they have tackled these issues in this volume and in an exhibition of the same name. *From Site to Sight* examines the use of photography in anthropology from the mid-nineteenth-century to the present day, and looks at the nature of that visual evidence, its intellectual context, its manipulation, uses, and abuses over that period. After a general introduction and fairly lengthy description of photographic techniques, the authors describe photography as applied to each of the major sub-disciplines: social and cultural, archaeological, biological, and museum