

approaches in constructing abstracts, exhibits, and the staging of events. In the last final two chapters, Zimmerman deals rather extensively with media methodology, the discipline's responsibility to the public, and a plea for professionals to become media-literate. Archaeologists on the whole are deemed to shy away from close involvement with the media that present our views to the public. However, mass media are a major source of public information regarding archaeology and the aim of the discipline must be to understand how the media works, when the story is sufficiently interesting to go public — in effect we must appreciate when archaeology becomes news. Several professional associations have prepared guides for media releases and Zimmerman gives voices to these in the volume. Concluding remarks by the author deal with the profession's relationship to the electronic media, building web sites, web appeal, problems in using the web, CD-ROMs, DVDs, and storyboarding for the media. And the author's parting shot, "We have to let people know about what we find, but also, as important, what we believe to be its impacts for their lives."

In offering a critique of *Presenting the Past*, I submit this volume does serve as an excellent checklist for archaeological communication with various interested audiences. Students, practicing archaeologists and all those avocational individuals faithfully volunteering time to advance archaeological interests will be well served by this volume. Overall, this work is heavily oriented towards communication in terms of the electronic media. If there is a weakness in the volume it is the assumption that all concerned will be totally tuned in to the electronic world, consequently the value and significance of community relationships in archaeological projects, particularly urban sites, appear understated by Zimmerman. However, one might say that in this volume the last two chapters dealing with the archaeologist's relations with the media are worth the price of admission, so all around, *Presenting the Past* is a valuable contribution towards fostering quality communication of archaeological data.

For those interested in the orientation

of archaeology in relation to public outreach and community involvement, I recommend the anthology *Public Benefits of Archaeology*, edited by Barbara J. Little (University Press of Florida, 2002). This volume of 24 essays can well complement Zimmerman's work by providing insights into the public benefits of archaeology, as well as how archaeology can interface with the general public.

**Trelle Morrow**

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**Trelle Morrow is in an Interdisciplinary MA program at UNBC, Prince George. He is interested in historical archaeology and his thesis will be researching the stoneware record of the overseas Chinese in the Pacific Northwest.**

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### **Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia**

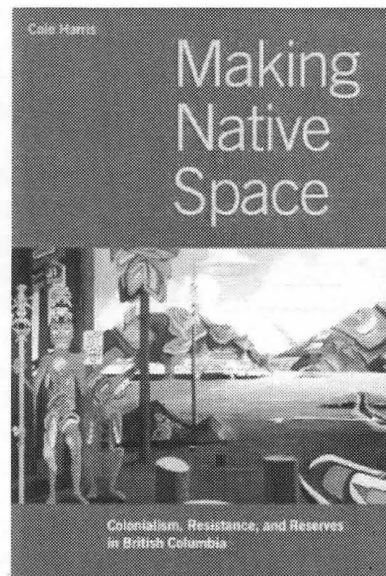
**by Cole Harris**

UBC Press, Vancouver, 2002.

415 + xxxi pp., [16 pp.] plates, illus., maps, refs, index

The history, geography, and legacy of British Columbia's Indian Reserves are unique in North America. They are the product of 'late' colonialism, having been outlined in the late 19th and early 20th centuries through a series of encounters between Aboriginal peoples and the settler movement. Harris' *Making Native Space* argues that these encounters represented a collision of human geographies, where Aboriginal patterns of land use and habitation were challenged and ultimately overrun by settler ideologies about land, labour, and race.

Harris argues that these ideologies, backed by significant imbalances in military and discursive power, imprinted on the terrain of the province. The spatial consequences remain evident today in the small, resource-poor reserves that dot the provincial landscape. More than this, Harris argues that "the line separating the Indian Reserve from the rest [of the province] became ... the primal line on the land of British Columbia, the one that facilitated and constrained all others." Thus the legacy of BC's reserve policies is much more than spatial, but strikes to the heart of the economic and political status



of First Nations in the province today.

*Making Native Space* presents a thorough but engaging analysis of the politics, processes, and personalities that shaped the designation of reserves in British Columbia from 1850 to 1938. It begins with a well-known story involving Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, future Indian Reserve Commissioner, but in 1860 a young colonial entrepreneur. Sproat, having purchased land at the head of Alberni Canal on Vancouver Island, arrived to find a Nuu-chah-nulth settlement. Sproat re-purchased the land from the band on condition that they abandon the village, but eventually resorted to threatening the settlement with cannons. Sproat's diary records the local chief's protest: "[we] hear things that make our hearts grow faint. They say that more King-George-men will soon be here, and will take our land, our firewood, our fishing grounds; that we shall be placed on a little spot, and shall have to do everything according to the fancies of the King-George-men."

In a sense, *Making Native Space* recounts exactly this process. With a sensitive eye for complexity, Harris deftly considers the manner in which Aboriginal people came to be anchored to designated spaces that were legally and politically distinct from spaces "opened" for settlement. From the beginning, reserve policy was negotiated through the complex relationship between pro-settler colonial/provincial governments and the distant influences of the London-based Colonial Office and (after 1871) of the Dominion

government. From the foundation of the colony in 1849, the Colonial Office took a passive approach to Aboriginal affairs and relied on Hudson's Bay Company officials to establish reserves and extinguish title, a strategy that bore the famous but contested (James) Douglas Treaties on Vancouver Island. After 1871, the province, which had essentially controlled Aboriginal policy to this time, came into direct conflict with the Dominion government. Conflicts were in part jurisdictional, as provincial authority over land clashed with Dominion 'custody' of First Nation people. Harris methodically details how provincial priorities of "opening the land" for settlement over time overwhelmed Dominion concerns (weakly adhered to) with pursuing treaties to extinguish legal title.

Harris finds that reserve policy in British Columbia was ultimately constructed around particular ideologies of land, labour, and race that were widely held in settler society and relentlessly advocated by successive provincial governments. This view perceived the land paradoxically as empty and in urgent need of "opening." It saw land claimed by First Nations as lying in "waste," and the issue of legal title as unfounded because of a lack of Lockean productive labour among First Nations. Where expedient, authorities sought to encourage agriculture as a civilizing activity. However, given the rapidity of settlement and scarcity of arable land in many regions, it was often considered preferable to force Aboriginal people into wage labour in the province's nascent resource industries. Importantly, Harris concludes that "the spatial corollary of this civilizing strategy was the tiny reserve" – the "little spots" feared by the Nuuchahnulth chief. Settler ideology assumed that "small reserves would force Native people into the workplace, there to learn the habits of industry, thrift, and materialism."

In the midst of this discussion, Harris returns to the figure of Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, the former colonial entrepreneur appointed to the Joint Indian Reserve Commission in the late 1870s. More than his contemporaries, Sproat wrestled with the ethical, legal, and long-term ramifications of the provincial preference for small reserves. His efforts to allocate reserves based on the concerns and

preferences of local First Nations were actively opposed or ignored by the provincial government. While the reserves allocated by Sproat and the Joint Commission were often subsequently reduced or cancelled, Harris nevertheless reminds us that colonialism itself has been a plural and contradictory movement.

The land allocated for reserves in British Columbia, while never generous, was in fact continually reduced up until the late 1930s, at which time reserve land constituted less than a third of one percent of the province. Meanwhile, the political status of First Nation people became specifically tied to reserve lands. For instance, Harris points out that "many of the reserve allocations ... made sense only in relation to a vigorous native fishery." However, Aboriginal fisheries soon became entangled in a morass of jurisdictions and regulations from multiple governments and

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departments. Thus the "lines on the land" separating Aboriginal from "other" space came to increasingly define complex "clusters of permissions and inhibitions that affect most Native opportunities and movements," including access to resources, political status, and property rights.

Harris is a geographer, and *Making Native Space* goes well beyond the historical account. The narrative is interwoven with extensive discussions of the nature of space as both a project and a product of power. For Harris, the spatial uniqueness of the reserve system in British Columbia stems from the strength of the settler movement and its ideologies, backed by military force, but also by powerful legal and discursive tools. For instance, First Nations had little recourse to the spatial

techniques and technologies employed by settler governments. The few men charged with allocating or adjusting reserves were often preceded or accompanied by teams of surveyors, cartographers, and census-takers. While much of the earlier work of the Joint Indian Reserve Commission (1876-1880) made use of local histories and knowledge in the designation of reserve land, most of these were reduced in later years with reference to 'scientific' data from census and survey.

Despite their sophistication, Harris' arguments regarding space are ultimately limited by his omission of some key geographic literature. He is sensitive to the claims of postcolonial theory, and draws directly on Fanon, Said, and Foucault in his discussions of techniques and instruments of power. However, well-known geographic thinking regarding space and material power is absent. For instance, Lefebvre's (1991) work on how the forces of production shape space has direct relevance to Harris' discussions of the spatially-based civilizing strategies of agriculture and wage labour. Furthermore, Massey's (1994) conception of space as a "configuration of social relations ... imbued with power and meaning" relates directly to Harris' argument that the reserve system resulted from the patterning of one human geography over another. These notions would lend considerable insight (and support) to Harris' main conclusions. Small complaints against a monumental and nuanced work.

Nathan Young

## References

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Nathan Young is a Doctoral Candidate and Killam Predoctoral Fellow in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of British Columbia.

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