

The story Viatoir and Bombiella describe is the story of an informal fishing economy that stands in contrast to a highly capitalised, government-supported industry. The fishing of *anchoveta* was an informal subsistence practice, which may not always have been very legal or terribly profitable. In the Peruvian case, the small-scale fishing industry described in *Coastal Lives* was the most prominent fishing system, even as it operated outside of large corporations and in legal grey zones. In fact, as the fishing industry entered its repeated downturns, an informal sector and culture appeared as fishing became not a highly capitalised industrial export system, but a means to survive and find coastal livelihood despite failing government policies.

Government officials, with their neoliberal policies, saw artisanal fishers as only concerned with the present. For this reason, they attempted to criminalise the activities of the artisanal fishers by making them appear less concerned with the bigger picture and more with environmental issues. As Viatori and Bombiella point out, however, these assumptions were limited to a strictly economic perspective. The situation of the artisanal fishers requires a far more holistic approach that examines the social, economic and ecological aspects of fishing.

This book argues that the artisanal fishers are more concerned with the ecological sustainability of the fish stocks than the larger-scale fishing industry is. While both rely on the fish stocks, small-scale fishers make the majority of their livelihood on the fish stocks, and they do not have the equipment or the economic backing to be able to survive if their main source of economic stability disappears, while, as is pointed out in the book, the large fishing industries have the ability to move to follow the fish. Therefore, it matters less to them if the fish in one section of Peru disappear, as they will just shift their operations to another more abundant location (p. 116).

The ethnography blends the stories of livelihoods, of systems of exchange, of government policy, and of ecological impact in a way that is conceptually clear, thorough, thought provoking and beautiful, showing how the smallest of aspects of fishing can have the greatest impacts.

Wickwire, Wendy, *At the Bridge: James Teit and an Anthropology of Belonging*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2019, 400 pages.

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At the Bridge is a biography of James Teit, the legendary ethnographer of Interior Salish-speaking peoples and an emerging icon of contemporary Canadian political consciousness. Teit was a professional hunting guide who rode horseback across the plateaus of Interior British Columbia, long before the industrial-scale disturbances, the clear-cut logging and the highways that would come later. Teit became intimate with the flora and fauna, the physical geography and the Native peoples of the BC Interior. Judging from the book's many candid photos of Teit hunting, travelling to hunt or posing in hunting gear, he appreciated it all. An example of this is the cover photo of Teit riding horseback with Jamie Wanemkin of the Cooks Ferry

Band on a hunting trip in the Chilcotin–Cariboo in the fall of 1904. *At the Bridge* proposes to give belated recognition for what its author, Wendy Wickwire, sees as Teit's distinctive anthropological approach: a politically progressive "anthropology of belonging." A strong subtext is the book's reflection on the life of Teit. This reflection is a powerful example of what Gillian Poulter terms "visualizing the process of . . . inheriting the role of 'native Canadian'" (1999, 114).

The first portion of the book argues that Teit should not be seen as an uneducated but capable fieldworker of Franz Boas's comparative study of humankind (what Boas hoped), but that we should instead see Teit as a forerunner of an anthropology of "place and belonging" (p. 27). Wickwire describes how Franz Boas, the German anthropologist based in New York City, met Teit, from the Shetland Islands north of Scotland, in Spences Bridge, British Columbia, in September 1894. Teit had been married to Lucy Antko, from the Nlaka'pamux Nation, for two years and was (apparently) already fluent in her Salish language. It was thus that Teit found himself at a crossroads between participating in anthropology's attempt to create a primary record of Native historical presence and challenging directly an imperial project. After all, Teit's family had been victimised by the clearances and colonialism in his native Shetland Islands, and Teit had already developed a strong sense of himself as a Native (of somewhere) resisting de-territorialisation and cultural assimilation, or so Wickwire argues. The book then turns to *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* and other monographs, arguing that Teit advances a "post human" perspective on how the Nlaka'pamux "treated the physical world as alive with subjectivity" (p. 169). In this analysis, Teit's work expressed a commitment to what Martin Heidegger would later call "the art of dwelling" (p. 160) and to Native rights claims.

Chapter 7, "Capital of Resistance," is the strongest chapter of the book, as it shifts attention to Teit's political work on behalf of Indians. The chapter begins by documenting the rise of settler colonialism in British Columbia and focuses primarily on the land issue: first, settlers' acquisition of large tracts of the best land through the confinement of Indians to reserves; second, settler society's efforts to acquire for themselves what been designated as Indian reserve land. Native resistance to this land grab took many forms: trips to London to petition King Edward VII, multi-tribal strategy sessions, prayer protests, and the creation of formal organisations, including the Nisga Land Committee, formed in 1907, and the Indian Rights Association (IRA) and the Interior Tribes of British Columbia (ITBC), both formed in 1909. By this time, Teit was fairly widely known among Indians in British Columbia, due to his travels. Shortly after the Interior Tribes of British Columbia was formed, Teit agreed to serve as its secretary-treasurer. In many situations he served the ITBC and the IRA as a kind of interpreter-secretary and facilitator. He composed written documents on the basis of unfolding discussions among several constituencies. As a trusted interlocutor, he came to play a mediating role in Canadian–Indigenous affairs far beyond his station as a hunting guide without formal educational certification. Teit came to be involved in federal policy, as he repeatedly addressed the actions of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott.

In addition, Teit spent time on behalf of the IRA and the ITBC in Ottawa, during which time he brought delegations

of chiefs to Ottawa's Victoria Memorial Museum. In a remarkable turn of events, staff anthropologist Marius Barbeau was pleased to document songs and what they revealed about spiritual connections to land. Teit translated and guided these ethnographic interviews, and the chiefs were grateful that in the museum they could address the spiritual issues that were perceived as antithetical to their efforts on Parliament Hill.

Citing a feature article written by Snowden Dunn Scott in the weekend section of Vancouver's *Daily Province* on the occasion of Teit's passing in 1922, Wickwire concludes by insisting that Teit is a Canadian hero and that Boas be best remembered as Teit's foreign enemy: a powerful East Coast figure who pumped Teit for ethnographic information and who repaid him by effacing him as an anthropologist. Despite its strengths, it is as a study in the history of anthropology that *At the Bridge* is weakest.

While Franz Boas has rarely been described as a pleasant man in every respect, his work is foundational. He incorporated unwritten languages (beginning with North American Indian languages) within a comparative linguistic framework that led directly to the sweeping acceptance within the academy of the universal equality of human cognitive capacity. He was a sophisticated student of nationalism as a modern political construct. He was an influential public figure in debates on the difference between inclusive and exclusive varieties of nationalism. He showed why bridging objective and subjective aspects of human experience was essential to the establishment of a science of human behaviour. He insisted on the necessity of reforming the human sciences, in the sense of differentiating their scientific mandate from their service to political economy and the nation state.

Despite several weak attempts, in disparate parts of the manuscript, Wickwire nowhere registers an awareness of Boas's contributions, and yet she is quick to render judgment. For example, she uses Boas's complaints – in letters to his wife about the difficulties of fieldwork – and Boas's written demands – that Teit work faster and accomplish more – as evidence of a deep character flaw. To whip up a more general condemnation of a controversial Boas from the outset, she cites not just the work of Snowden Dunn Scott, but also Johannes Fabian, James Clifford, Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman, Michael Verdon, and Audra Simpson. None of these critics are specialists in the Kwakwaka'wakw, and while each criticises Boas on specific grounds, what *At the Bridge* fails to see is that this criticism is indicative of the vitality of Boas's legacy, not its collapse, as Wickwire prematurely suggests.

Eager to differentiate Teit from Boas, Wickwire overinflates Teit's anthropological theory. In part, this is a result of assuming that Teit's anthropology must be of a piece with his political work on behalf of Native organisations. She fails to

realise that a passage that she reads as evidence of a distinctive approach – to subjectivity and belonging – represents a simple use of Edward Tylor's concept of animism. Still, it is undeniable that Teit's ethnography was competent, that he consulted extensively with the people he was studying, and that he learned a great deal from them, more than most would-be ethnographers. Teit was worthy.

In addition, Boas did not provide Teit with his only orientation to ethnography, as Wickwire rightly argues. Teit was clearly involved in the Norse folklore revival in the Shetlands prior to meeting Boas, and there is no doubt Teit came to know about British anthropology. Yet it was Boas who provided the primary orientation for the ethnography he solicited; of this there is no doubt. Indeed, Teit worked differently from Boas's other consultants, including George Hunt and Archie Phinney. Teit provided English translations, and not the Native-language transcriptions that Boas preferred.

At the Bridge is a book with limitations, then, as are all. But it is nonetheless a serious book from which we can learn a great deal about an intriguing historical figure. Wickwire's research extended over decades, and she draws upon an impressive range of sources: Teit family heirlooms, including books, correspondence and photos; Shetland archival materials; and extensive correspondence between Teit, Boas, Edward Sapir, Father Adrian Gabriel Morice and others. Wickwire is a skilled narrative historian, animating past events and opening their relations to the present, and she has diligently researched her man Teit. Readers will appreciate Teit's anthropology, his hunting, and his family life; they will find much to like in the succinct and powerful account of the rise of settler colonialism in British Columbia; and they will be convinced that Teit's paid work on behalf Native political organisations was extensive and effective. *At the Bridge* has assembled by far the fullest account to date of Teit's life, and Wickwire's effort to uncover his family's experience in the Shetlands, but one aspect of the book, opens a new line of inquiry into how to understand the politics of culture in nineteenth-century Canada.

And to return to the subtext of how to visualise the role of "native" Canadian today mentioned in the opening paragraph, many enter into the Indigenous currents of Canadian history in a quest for fresh forms of national identification (to paraphrase John Ralston Saul). To that end, *At the Bridge* book offers up an unparalleled opportunity to reflect on the complex ironies of one Shetland "squaw man's" experience of nativisation.

References

- Poulter, Gillian. 1999. *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal 1840–85*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.