

**AT THE BRIDGE: JAMES TEIT AND AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF BELONGING,
WENDY WICKWIRE (VANCOUVER: UBC PRESS, 2019)**

– A COLLECTIVE REVIEW –

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When one of our co-authors, Rebecca, first encountered Wendy Wickwire's *At the Bridge: James Teit and an Anthropology of Belonging*,¹ she was immediately struck by the significance of the book's opening passage. She recounts her experience as follows:

It is rare, in my first read of a book, that I spend much time with a preface. More frequently, my eyes move quickly over the text, sometimes with a jump, as I feel like a horse at the gate, chomping to run. But there was something in the preface to this book that caught me up short, that left me feeling breathless. It opened with the words of James Teit from a statement he made on behalf of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia to the Senate Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce (Ottawa, 16 June 1920). Here are Teit's words:

I am here before you to-day not only as *Special Agent for the Allied Tribes* but also as special representative of the leading chief of the Interior Tribes. This chief for the purpose of proving that I represent him gave me one of his own names at a public meeting and gave me his medals to wear.²

A year or so before reading this book, I received an invitation to attend a feast where a name was to be given.³ Over the year since that time, I began to learn more about what I had witnessed that day and the amount of ceremony and protocol associated with naming, the significance of carrying a name (or being held by a name), and all the related responsibilities. As I sat with Teit's words, I found myself thinking about the magnitude of what I was reading; I considered what it meant that James Teit, a Shetlander immigrant to Canada, was entrusted with this responsibility to represent the Chief and given one of the Chief's names in a public meeting, a medal to wear, and words to speak. I stopped. I went down the hall to share this passage with colleagues, seeking to affirm my reaction. These words felt seismic. James Teit, spoken of as an untutored anthropological informant, was given a chief's name to carry?! I wondered:

* We, the four co-authors, are all affiliated with the University of Victoria (UVic) Faculty of Law. Both Wendy Wickwire and her partner, Michael M'Gonigle, are valued UVic colleagues; Wickwire is a retired professor of History and Environmental Studies (ES) and M'Gonigle is a retired professor of Law and ES.

¹ Wendy Wickwire, *At the Bridge: James Teit and an Anthropology of Belonging* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019) [*At the Bridge*].

² *Ibid* at xiii [emphasis added].

³ This occasion was a ceremony at which Dara Kelly was to receive a name. While reading this book — a book in which her ancestor, Peter Kelly, plays a part — I came to appreciate more deeply the continuity of this story in the present. A print that I received from the ceremony is on the wall in my office, leading me to think (on a daily basis) about the names all of us carry, and the ways in which names can lead us to different questions about authority, responsibility, and voice.

what was to be made of this man, speaking in English, to a Senate Committee on Banking and Commerce, representing Allied Tribes in a conversation about peace, war, violence, partnership, and oppression? The Preface was a signal of things to come.

Wickwire's book tells the story of James Teit (1864–1922), a lost historical figure who affected countless lives, helped transform the discipline of anthropology, and became a “long-standing friend”⁴ of Indigenous peoples. Over the course of the book, Wickwire shows how Teit's life story not only branches off in various directions, but also becomes entangled with other stories along the way. Our story — the tale of how we came together to discuss this book and write this collective review — goes back to a special meeting of the *Lost Causa* reading group.⁵ One afternoon, we all gathered in a large conference room with community members and scholars from law, history, anthropology, and other disciplines. During this session, we shared our reactions to reading *At the Bridge*, recalled the moments we found inspiring, and (perhaps most significantly) responded to the passages we found troubling because of the violent role of Canadian officials and laws. As legal scholars, we suggest that those who are interested in studying, theorizing, and teaching law would benefit from engaging with *At the Bridge* and reflecting on its social, legal, and political implications.⁶ Whether intentionally or not, the law constructs and reproduces narratives, and, as Donna Haraway notes, “[i]t matters ... what stories tell stories.”⁷ In the process of creating legal narratives, selective stories are told, certain perspectives are included, and particular voices are audible — whereas others are not.⁸

Our review of *At the Bridge* will unfold as follows. First, we will provide a brief summary of each chapter and raise questions to consider. Second, we will discuss Wickwire's methodological approach, including the braided narrative structure that she weaves throughout her text, as well as the richness of “slow” scholarship. Third, we will draw connections between this text and wider theoretical, historical, and political conversations, which we hope will be helpful to those engaged in various forms of socio-legal scholarship. To conclude, we will return to the beginning, reflecting on the title of the book and what it will mean to carry this work forward collectively.

⁴ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at xiv.

⁵ *Lost Causa* is a transdisciplinary reading group at UVic founded by Mark Zion, a PhD candidate in the Law and Society Program. Members engage with classic and newer “theoretical” texts, often with posthuman, ecological, and Indigenous themes. Over the years, the group has fostered a space within the university for engaged study without ‘knowledge production,’ and for mutual support.

⁶ *At the Bridge* is relevant to legal scholars who are interested in: constitutional law, Indigenous law, law and anthropology, law and culture, law and history, law and humanities, law and politics, law and society, legal theory, and more.

⁷ Donna Haraway, “It Matters What Stories Tell Stories; It Matters Whose Stories Tell Stories” (2019) 34:3 a|b: Auto/Biography Studies 565 at 570 [Haraway, “Stories”].

⁸ For a discussion of how certain narratives expressed by homeless individuals and groups are often inaudible in ‘right to shelter’ legal cases and corresponding scholarship, see Mark Zion, *What is a Right to Shelter in the Desert of Post-Democracy?: Tracking Homeless Narratives from the Courtroom to Dissensus* (LLM Thesis, University of Victoria, 2015) [unpublished].

I. BOOK OVERVIEW

To begin, in “Missing in History” (Chapter 1), readers meet Teit similarly to how Wickwire encountered him decades ago: as a secondary character in a research project focused on Indigenous songs. Like Wickwire, readers learn about a man who is remembered and loved in “Indian”⁹ country and in the Shetlands, but largely overlooked elsewhere. This opening chapter offers readers a *path of discovering the path*, which is distinct from simply “discovering” a forgotten individual. This chapter raises key questions, such as whose narratives are audible and to whom? or what is an ‘ethics of remembering?’

In “Boats, Trains, Horses” (Chapter 2), Wickwire describes the initial encounter between anthropologist Franz Boas and Teit (in 1894), one that would shape both men’s future work. To give context to this encounter, Wickwire takes a step back to trace British Columbian history, giving readers a chance to consider the province amid the gold rush,¹⁰ the massive smallpox epidemic, and the increasing ‘development’ across frontier towns. Wickwire creates a snapshot of the impending violence and dispossession,¹¹ and she places Teit at the scene, raising questions about his identity and his growing relationships with the local peoples of Spences Bridge. One relationship in particular changed Teit’s life: he met — and went on to marry — Lucy Antko, a Nlaka’pamux woman, and together they established a ranch in the Twaal Valley beside her reserve community.¹²

Meanwhile, “Dear Auld Rock” (Chapter 3) reveals important connections between Shetland and British Columbia’s colonial histories. This chapter opens space for reflecting on common tactics that colonial forces deploy not only to dispossess groups of their shared lands and language, but also to disable various forms of local solidarity and resistance. Importantly, Wickwire makes visible the geopolitical similarities between British Columbia and Shetland, creating an opportunity for readers to explore both a “politics of difference” and a “politics of connections.”

⁹ Wickwire uses the term “Indian” throughout her text, and she explains this language choice in the Preface to the book. First, referencing the work of historian Catherine Hall, Wickwire states that “it is important, when drawing from nineteenth-century settler-colonial discourse, to consider all racialized labels as social constructs with ‘historically located and discursively specific meanings’” (*supra* note 1 at xv). Wickwire goes on to add that “[i]n the North American context, the term ‘Indian’ has a long settler-colonial lineage that covers a wide geographical expanse” (*ibid*). Second, she notes how “[i]n reserve communities today, ‘Indian’ lives on as a common *self*-designation, especially among the older generations” (*ibid* at xvi [emphasis in original]). Although Wickwire describes how she initially “looked for ways to avoid the term ‘Indian,’” she was “encouraged by friends in reserve communities who regularly refer to themselves as ‘Indians’ and make no apologies for it” (*ibid* at xvii). Indeed, Ruby Dunstan, former chief of the Lytton First Nation, suggested that Wickwire use the term and not worry about it, putting it directly: “I see no problem with you using the term ‘Indians’ in your book” (*ibid*).

¹⁰ Wickwire notes that the gold rush was accompanied by a “flood of human greed and desire” (*ibid* at 38).

¹¹ Wickwire recounts how legal decisions facilitated patterns of “deterritorialization and reterritorialization” (*ibid* at 52).

¹² *Ibid* at 51, 54. As Wickwire goes on to explain at 54:

Through her marriage to Teit, Antko entered into a new relationship with her home community. According to the terms of the Indian Act, the marriage stripped her of both her Indian status and her right to live on her home reserve. The couple’s calculated purchase of land in the Twaal Valley compensated partly for this by allowing Antko to live adjacent to her reserve community. The location of the ranch — a stunning plateau in the Twaal Valley set amongst the forests and high hills above the Thompson River Valley — suited both.

In “Encounter” (Chapter 4), readers learn more about Boas and the shared interests that brought him and Teit together.¹³ Wickwire describes the different worldviews that each man held; whereas Boas understood anthropology as “the struggle of an educated elite against the forces of racism, fascism, and international conflict, Teit [(a self-educated man)] pursued it as the collective struggle of disenfranchised local peoples against imperial elites.”¹⁴ Before meeting Boas, Teit had already been conducting his own fieldwork in an effort to understand the population loss in the Nlaka’pamux community, which he concluded was caused by colonization.¹⁵ Ultimately, Boas’ academic career took off, partly thanks to Teit’s extensive fieldwork with Indigenous communities, for which he was given far too little acknowledgement.¹⁶

“Paper Mountain” (Chapter 5) addresses Boas’ increasing demands and Teit’s impressive research output. This chapter offers not only a sense of Teit’s frenetic work schedule, but also the gap between the two men’s expectations regarding the type of work needed and the rate of production. Wickwire documents the ways in which Boas edited, erased, or removed the rich context provided by Teit’s work and described Teit himself as an “informant” or “assistant” rather than an integral researcher. This chapter also engages with Teit’s work for anthropologist Edward Sapir and the wage reduction he suffered, likely a punishment for his criticism of the Canadian government’s policies regarding Indigenous peoples.

In “Dwelling” (Chapter 6), Wickwire engages with a politics of life embedded in place and describes how Teit became actively involved in fighting against colonialism and racism (even if often unsuccessfully). This chapter describes Teit’s role as a translator, tasked with the challenge of articulating land accounts and representing Indigenous peoples’ interests while the Canadian government continued to whittle away land claims.¹⁷ Moreover, in order to assert its sovereignty, the Canadian state needed to “mis-recognize the fluid cultural understandings of home and household shared by human and non-human alike.”¹⁸ Teit’s political work involved explaining what he saw and learned from dwelling with the land and the local peoples, as well as conveying the interconnections between land, water, animals, governance, arts, culture, politics, and more.

“Capital of Resistance” (Chapter 7) invites readers to think critically about the historical struggles and conflicts of the time period (including union disputes, smallpox, wealth consolidation, resource extraction, land theft, the Canadian Pacific Railway, protests, challenges of translation, and tensions between Indigenous communities and the colonial government).¹⁹ Throughout this turmoil, Teit’s political activism is evident from petitions,

¹³ *Ibid* at 90.

¹⁴ *Ibid* at 97.

¹⁵ *Ibid* at 99.

¹⁶ Moreover, prior to meeting Boas, Teit had also started his own oral history project, one which understood his narrators “as bearers of both myth *and* history” (*ibid* at 102 [emphasis in original]). Whereas Boas’s approach was to read stories to find common elements, Teit was attentive to the storytellers themselves, the storytelling time and location, and the ways in which each story was told. Teit was attempting to convey, in English, the form and structure of the storytelling process—not just state the main plot points (*ibid* at 102–103).

¹⁷ As Wickwire puts it, dispossession was seen as “a prerequisite to establishing a capitalist economy and a modern state” (*ibid* at 182).

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ In less than 30 years, the Indigenous population in British Columbia plummeted from 50 percent to 6 percent (*ibid* at 191).

memorial statements, speeches, and letters.²⁰ When he was acting in an “advisory” role, Teit’s philosophy was to refrain from intervening in Indigenous peoples’ affairs “except when asked for advice,” stating that he preferred to “give them the information and explain everything ... and then leave them to make their own decisions.”²¹ This chapter makes visible the key differences between “working for” and “working with,” while exposing the British Columbia government’s “dirty politics” and contemptuous responses to conflicts with Indigenous people.

The theme of “dirty politics” continues in “The Indians’ Agent” (Chapter 8), which introduces readers to Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who labelled Teit an “agitator.”²² The chapter also documents the government’s efforts to divide and separate Indigenous populations to diminish their political power and influence,²³ including an attempt to force conscription upon them.²⁴ In their exchanges, Teit won a few battles over Scott, but not the larger war.²⁵ When Teit succumbed to ongoing health problems and passed away amid the conflict, the loss was significant for the allied Indigenous peoples: the government promptly passed legislation making it illegal to hire (or raise money for) a lawyer, and Scott dismissed the conflict with Indigenous peoples by characterizing it as “mischievous agitation by ‘designing white men.’”²⁶

The penultimate chapter, “Nottawa” (Chapter 9), returns to the Indigenous song research introduced at the outset of the book and reiterates the question of what it means to be ‘missing in history.’ While visiting Ottawa on political business, Teit and several Indian Chiefs sought out the Victoria Memorial Museum as refuge in a discriminatory environment (local hotels would not admit the Indian Chiefs). During their stay, the group recorded 41 wax cylinders filled with songs and speeches, as well as a dozen notebooks featuring Teit’s English translations of the discussions. Although Teit’s important role in this project had previously been under appreciated, Wickwire is able to situate these sessions in relation to Teit’s lifelong project of learning how to belong, live, and work together in meaningful relationships.

Finally, in “Farewell Coyote, Hello Jack” (Chapter 10), Wickwire highlights a fundamental difference between Teit and Boas by (re)turning to their respective orientations to Indigenous stories. Whereas Boas was concerned with “old ‘myths’ and ‘legends’ ... from the precontact era” (stories from the past), Teit was interested in “first-hand narratives of personal experience” (stories from living peoples).²⁷ In particular, Wickwire considers stories featuring a “trickster/transformer” character with various names (including Coyote, Jack, and so on), who often acted as “a cultural disruptor in the postcontact world.”²⁸ For Boas, this

²⁰ Wickwire uncovers the political roles that Teit played, not only as a translator, but also as a direct participant (*ibid* at 185).

²¹ *Ibid* at 203.

²² *Ibid* at 218.

²³ *Ibid* at 226.

²⁴ Readers can see that Scott identifies Indians as “Canadians” for the purposes of conscription, but not for the purposes of voting, land ownership, or legal protection (*ibid* at 230).

²⁵ Government surveillance was deployed to spy on Teit, who was using his own funds to support the Indian political campaign (*ibid* at 243).

²⁶ *Ibid* at 247.

²⁷ *Ibid* at 278.

²⁸ *Ibid* at 280.

distinctly modern trickster figure could have no part in his “salvage project,”²⁹ but Teit recognized the importance of these stories for understanding the *living world of the Nlaka’pamux*.³⁰ Ultimately, Wickwire engaged with the lives of these men — including their challenges — and presented readers with the possibilities that could emerge from exploring “an anthropology of belonging” and reflecting on how to live together in the present.

This book raises pertinent questions about history, politics, theory, law, and more. Some of these questions include: who is (or is not) celebrated throughout history, and by whom? How do we learn to be literate in place-based histories, including the places where we live? How do we address challenges of language and translation? How might “an anthropology of belonging” offer resources to think critically about lands and peoples, as well as suggest ways to begin living differently? How can scholars research cultural questions in ethical ways? How can people from different backgrounds — but with overlapping experiences (for example, social marginalization) — join forces in political solidarity? In political and legal conflicts, whose voices, and which narratives, are audible and inaudible? How are the state and its laws implicated in historical and ongoing violence? How can being more attentive to social, political, and legal history and theory create greater understanding of conflicts, thus helping to prevent recurring, detrimental patterns of behaviour? Throughout the remainder of the review, we will touch on these questions, both directly and indirectly, and share our critical reflections on this important book.

II. REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

A. BRAIDED NARRATIVES

The preceding chapter overview reveals a carefully sign-posted structure that allows readers to navigate the book with ease. Crucial to the character of the work, however, is the interweaving of multiple timeframes, voices, and perspectives within and across these chapters. Throughout *At the Bridge*, three narrative threads appear and reappear — sometimes in tandem or braided together, sometimes as the exclusive focus — binding the book’s focal and temporal shifts together. Braided narratives “help train readers to hold multiple, often incommensurate, subjectivities in our minds simultaneously, pushing us to embrace new channels of responsibility that recognize many distinct subjects.”³¹ The braided narratives in *At the Bridge* add both immediacy and complexity to the historical investigation of Teit’s life and work. We find ourselves deeply immersed in each narrator’s experience and perspective, and thus we are able to hold within the same horizon of understanding very different lifeworlds and historical realities.

The first of these narrative threads is the central story of the book, namely Teit’s lifetime journey and accomplishments: his path from Shetland to Spences Bridge; his evolution as

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Despite these impasses, Wickwire also makes visible the ways in which Boas both enabled and limited Teit; Boas would not have been able to complete his research and advance his career without Teit, and Teit would probably not have undertaken his work with communities in the same way without Boas.

³¹ Corinne Bancroft, “The Braided Narrative” (2018) 26:3 Narrative 262 at 263. Bancroft is writing about braided narrativity in relation to the contemporary novel. At one point, she asserts that “[b]raided narratives are necessarily novels” (*ibid* at 270). Some of her observations are nonetheless helpful in the context of academic writing and historical biography.

hunting guide, ethnographer, political activist, and family man; and his personal, professional, and political relationships. Strikingly, this thread is rarely in Teit's own voice because he wrote few letters (other than for professional purposes) and did not have any personal journals or memoirs. The journals that he did keep were either travel logs or notebooks filled with sketches and details pertaining to his ethnographic endeavours. Consequently, Wickwire was often required to reconstruct Teit's story from third-person accounts or make inferences based on his actions and decisions.

The second thread traces the story of Boas's journey from his roots in a middle class Jewish family in Prussia, to his academic studies in Germany, to his struggle as an immigrant in the United States seeking employment and recognition as an anthropologist. This story is typically told in Boas's own voice, mostly through his letters. Although his efforts to establish a name for himself were often difficult and challenging, they eventually yielded enormous academic success and stature (and plenty of material for future historians and biographers). The story of Boas's relationship with Teit during the early years of struggle is much more elusive. It is at the core of Wickwire's book and her argument that Boas minimized and obscured how important Teit's work was to his own success and reputation.³²

Finally, the third thread — one that connects the past to the present and, in doing so, binds the story of Boas and Teit's relationship to the larger currents of colonialism and Indigenous sovereignty struggles — consists of Wickwire's own scholarly journey. This thread resides modestly in the background of the main drama, yet it does much more than simply satisfy the need for researcher reflexivity and transparency. It is a key element in providing temporal complexity to the book, enabling us to shift more easily from past to present and make connections across historical divides. The autobiographical thread also allows Wickwire to bring the places of Teit's life into vivid focus through her own acquaintance with them across years of study. As we join her in traversing the topographies and landscapes that framed Teit's life, we begin to grasp the depth of Teit's passion for and commitment to the places, people, and communities in which he immersed himself. Thus, although the autobiographical thread only surfaces occasionally, it is often what makes the book so compelling and readable; it helps us to see how "history still bleeds into the present"³³ and how the spaces of political struggle, especially anti-colonial struggle, often speak louder than words.

Chapter 2, "Boats, Trains, Horses," allows readers to see how braided narrativity works as a technique for holding in place multiple — and sometimes conflicting — understandings, as well as for illuminating a story's temporal and spatial complexity. Wickwire begins the chapter with Boas's journey into the Okanagan interior in 1894. She traces Boas's wearying and frustrating encounters with local Indigenous and settler communities as he tried, unsuccessfully, "to kick-start some fieldwork on local reserves."³⁴ From his professional correspondence, we learn of the unrealistic expectations held by Boas' supervisor, Horatio Hale, as well as the "impossible research objectives" and numerous deadlines Boas was

³² For more details regarding the ways in which Boas minimized Teit's research contributions, see Chapter 5, "Encounter."

³³ Bancroft, *supra* note 31 at 265.

³⁴ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 29.

supposed to fulfill.³⁵ By the time Boas reached Spences Bridge, he was discouraged and ready to give up. We can imagine his despair when he was advised to trudge up yet another tortuous mountain trail in order to consult with Teit.

At this juncture, a different narrative thread is taken up as Wickwire relates her own experience hiking up the same trail with her partner, Michael, “on a warm October afternoon in 2011.”³⁶ Together, they retraced Boas’s footsteps up the steep mountain path to the Twaal Valley³⁷ where, at the time of Boas’s trip, Teit had settled with Antko to begin his life as a hunting guide. Wickwire’s trek is a 21st century hike, a pleasurable jaunt rather than the exhausted climb Boas endured at the end of a long and fruitless journey. Wickwire describes how the scene might have looked when Boas passed through, how Nlaka’pamux farmers, families, and dwellings would have been scattered across the range.³⁸ In this manner, we arrive with Boas and Wickwire — the one weary and despondent, the other elated at the beauty of the land — at the far end of the open range where Teit and Antko’s “sparsely furnished one-room cabin” is found.³⁹ When Boas is brought inside to await Teit’s return, we switch narrative perspective again, seeing the cabin through Boas’s eyes, the details concerning furnishings and books provided by Boas’s letters to his children a few years later.⁴⁰

A third journey to Spences Bridge is then woven into this account: namely, that of nineteen-year-old Teit on his voyage from Shetland to begin his life working for his uncle in 1884, roughly 10 years before Boas’s arduous trek. Here, the authorial voice becomes impersonal and expository, outlining Teit’s route and various stops, including Victoria, Granville (current day Vancouver), the Fraser Valley, and Cisco (just below Lytton). The final leg of the journey was by zip line across the river and then by buggy on “the heavily cribbed, potholed Cariboo wagon road” along cliffs and ledges that followed the river to Spences Bridge.⁴¹ The hair-raising nature of this trip, as well as the surrounding sights and sounds, are gleaned from two sets of letters, one by Teit’s Scottish travelling companion (a young woman on her way with her husband to start their life in Spences Bridge) and the other by an adventurous hiker (who had travelled the last section of the route in 1860 when it was still a path).⁴²

The braid of narratives has become rather thick by this time. Wickwire has gathered together multiple travelogues to give us a lively sense of the landscapes, weather, sights, and smells, not only of Teit’s trip, but also of various newcomers arriving from Britain and Europe to start a new life. At this point, we are also able to layer in Wickwire’s account (from the preceding chapter) of her own decision to settle with her family in Lytton, where she found herself again following in Teit’s footsteps. She and Michael arrived to assist in building resistance against a plan to log the nearby Stein Valley, a place of considerable and

³⁵ *Ibid* at 31.

³⁶ *Ibid* at 30.

³⁷ *Ibid*.

³⁸ Here, Wickwire is drawing on accounts from others who had travelled the same road at close to the same time as Boas (*ibid* at 30, n 9).

³⁹ *Ibid* at 32.

⁴⁰ *Ibid* at 32, n 23.

⁴¹ *Ibid* at 41.

⁴² *Ibid* at 36, 41.

longstanding cultural importance for the Nlaka'pamux people. As she writes, "Teit's monographs and notes became indispensable as we interviewed elders who had spent their lives in and around the river."⁴³ In this way, Wickwire and Teit's lives grew further entangled as she and her partner inhabited a place from Teit's travels, many years before, and drew on his notes to foster relationships that would help save the Stein Valley.

These entwined tales and first-hand observations allow Wickwire to create important connections between Teit's colonial experiences in Shetland and British Columbia, as well as readers' understandings of past and present Indigenous-settler relations. Teit, we come to see, was always far ahead of his fellow non-Indigenous settlers in his understanding of the workings of colonialism, whiteness, and racism — not only for his time, but for ours too. Later passages in the book describing Teit's skill and pleasure in guiding hunters into the back country, or in travelling to remote communities to engage in ethnographic work, are woven into the story to depict the landscapes that became not only the center of his political and professional work, but also his home. We begin to understand Teit's love and respect for the land and the Indigenous communities' relationship to land. The latter resonated with his Shetland roots and experience of Shetland's colonial history, and how it gave him an ease, a sense of being home and fully "in place." Meanwhile, Wickwire's authorial voice easily shifts between first-person narrator and scholar-historian, drawing us into a larger conversation about our colonial past and present. In Chapter 2, for example, we move from her hike up the mountain in the Twaal Valley to a subsequent discussion about the legal fictions (for example, the doctrine of discovery) and philosophical conceits (for example, the state of nature) that justified the often violent dispossession of Indigenous peoples and underpinned British colonial rule.⁴⁴ Here, again, we experience the historical past "bleed[ing] into the present";⁴⁵ we need only look out our windows at Indigenous protests over the Coastal Gas Link pipeline project to realize how the same fictions and conceits still operate largely unimpeded.⁴⁶

Wickwire's careful braiding of narrative threads allows her to shift focus from the present to the past, from broad overviews (historical, geographical, cultural) to a deep immersion in details — of places, households, daily life, familial and social relations, academic pressures, and political wrangling and intrigue. The effect is kaleidoscopic; as we move through the book, we find patterns that mesh and merge into new and revealing juxtapositions. By placing herself in the shoes of Teit, walking some of the paths and trails he traversed, living in the landscapes that animated his passion for place, coming to know his children, talking to and befriending the descendants of his close friends, and listening to tapes of Teit's conversations and story-telling, Wickwire brings into focus a portrait of Teit that is full of life and detail. By the end of the book, we see him as a grounded anthropologist of

⁴³ *Ibid* at 13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid* at 42.

⁴⁵ Bancroft, *supra* note 31 at 265.

⁴⁶ On Coastal Gas Link, see Shiri Pasternak & Irina Ceric, "Injunctions Have Only Served To Prove the Point: Canada is a Smash-and-Grab Country for Industry," *The Globe and Mail* (28 February 2020), online: <www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-injunctions-have-only-served-to-prove-the-point-canada-is-a-smash-and/>. On the various legal fictions and philosophical conceits that continue to uphold a constitutional and legal framework founded on Indigenous dispossession, see Michael Asch, "Canadian Sovereignty and Universal History" in Hester Lessard, Rebecca Johnson & Jeremy Webber, eds, *Storied Communities: Narratives of Contact and Arrival in Constituting Political Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) 29.

remarkable sophistication and ability who “thrived on all dimensions of the local”⁴⁷ and who belonged to the communities he studied. He treated Indigenous peoples as members of living, evolving, cultural communities engaged in an urgent, anticolonial political struggle rather than as relics of a mysterious, exotic past destined to quietly fade away.⁴⁸

B. ACADEMIC TIME SPANS

We are writing this review during the COVID-19 pandemic’s regime of social isolation when many of us are experiencing the paradoxical texture of time — simultaneously too speedy and too slow, too frantic and too still, too astonishingly rich with surprise and too bleakly repetitive. It seems apt, then, to focus on yet another, more material aspect of the temporal complexity of Wickwire’s text: namely, the time span of its generative process. Wickwire’s book is the product of decades of traditional academic work (reading, studying, teaching, thinking, listening, researching), as well as immersion in physical and social worlds (hiking Teit’s paths, living in his landscapes, nurturing relationships with his communities and family). The yield from these two modes of academic practice have been marinated together and “slow-cooked” and, as in the culinary arts, this time span is key to the depth and intensity of the final result.

A number of scholars have asserted the value of slowness in academic work to challenge the rise of neo-liberalism and its signature technologies in university environments.⁴⁹ Many of those technologies involve temporality (for example, space-time compression, monetization of time, impossible time demands, and so on) and metrics of growth and efficiency that are at odds with the actuality of lived, embodied time.⁵⁰ Resistance, it is argued, requires more than quantitative demands, such as “making more time” for our work; it must involve a qualitative shift in the time culture of universities.⁵¹ In discussing the proposed transformation, some use the term “timelessness,”⁵² others “kairological” or “eventful” time,⁵³ and still others, drawing on feminist work on the ethic of care, propose a notion of time that is fundamentally relational, attentive to our bodies, that advances “collective liveliness and flourishing.”⁵⁴ Most agree that there are, indeed, multiple temporalities, and any changes should create more possibilities in the way time is experienced rather than replace one, homogenous conception with another.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 274.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ In her acknowledgements, Wickwire recounts slow periods in her writing process, during which friends and colleagues supported and encouraged her by referencing the slow scholarship movement (*ibid* at 288).

⁵⁰ “Slow Scholarship,” online (blog): <web.uvic.ca/~hist66/slowScholarship/>; Maggie Berg & Barbara K Seeber, *The Slow Professor: Challenging the Culture of Speed in the Academy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016) at xvii–xviii; Alison Mountz et al, “For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University” (2015) 14:4 ACME: An Intl J for Critical Geographies 1235; Bronwyn Davies & Peter Bansel, “The Time of Their Lives? Academic Workers in Neoliberal Time(s)” (2005) 14:1 Health Sociological Rev 47.

⁵¹ Eli Meyerhoff, Elizabeth Johnson & Bruce Braun, “Time and the University” (2011) 10:3 ACME: An Intl J for Critical Geographies 483 at 484.

⁵² Berg & Seeber, *supra* note 50 at 25.

⁵³ Meyerhoff, Johnson & Braun, *supra* note 51 at 485–87.

⁵⁴ Mountz et al, *supra* note 50 at 1246.

⁵⁵ Meyerhoff, Johnson & Braun, *supra* note 51 at 486; Berg & Seeber, *supra* note 50 at 24–25.

In that spirit of resistance and possibility, we draw attention to two aspects of *At the Bridge* that are linked to the time span of its creation. The first inheres in the notion that understanding rather than knowledge is — and should be — the core focus of much academic work.⁵⁶ Understanding requires reflection, evaluation, reading beyond your immediate subject or expertise, and doubling back for a second look; these are all practices that require a long horizon of time and that, in the current neoliberal climate, can look and feel “quixotic, and at times down right suicidal.”⁵⁷ We offer one small example from *At the Bridge* that conveys how critical an elongated temporal frame can be. In Chapter 3, Wickwire recounts how, in the early years of her project, Teit’s son Sigurd arrived on her doorstep with a box of books and miscellany from his father’s bookshelves. Initially, she treats the mix of Shetland folk tales and photo albums as reflective of the memorabilia and interests typical of Canadian settlers of the period.⁵⁸ Later in the project, she returns to the box and finds connections between some of the books and a late 19th century movement in Shetland aiming to enhance and protect the island’s unique culture and language, as well as build a more democratic and less class-based political order. After chasing more clues, Wickwire discovers that Teit was very much a part of this movement and carried this interest and commitment with him to Canada. He studied Shetland’s Scandinavian dialect, avidly followed the movement’s publications, and changed the spelling of his family name (from Tait to Teit) to reflect the local Shetland dialect.⁵⁹ Discovering these connections transforms Wickwire’s previous assumption that Teit’s “one ‘true’ home” was British Columbia.⁶⁰ A research trip to Shetland towards the end of her project confirms that Teit’s Shetland birthplace and formation were key to the development of his later preoccupations with Indigenous sovereignty struggles and the precarious status of many Indigenous cultural practices and languages.⁶¹

The second aspect of *At the Bridge* that is shaped by the project’s time span is more speculative. It has to do with the “long view” that is one of the privileges of aging or living and working through a long life, namely that one becomes singularly able look back over decades of historical and political change in a way that sharpens patterns and reveals connections. The time span it took to create *At the Bridge* stretches from Wickwire’s early endeavours as a graduate student, through a full academic career, and into retirement. This time span also coincides with a period in Canadian history when the character of the colonial relation between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples underwent a seemingly significant shift. Initially a relation that relied primarily on “genocidal practices of forced *exclusion* and *assimilation*,” this relation appeared to change in the postwar era when the liberal language of recognition, accommodation, and reconciliation gained political purchase.⁶² However, as Indigenous people took up approaches based on these new concepts, it became clear that these liberal frameworks often worked to further entrench, rather than dismantle, colonialism’s core feature: namely, the “*dispossession* of Indigenous peoples

⁵⁶ Berg & Seeber, *ibid* at 55–56, citing Stefan Collini, *What Are Universities For?* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2012) at 77.

⁵⁷ Berg & Seeber, *ibid* at 56, citing Stefan Collini, *English Past: Essays in History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) at 239.

⁵⁸ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 59.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* at 62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid* at 60.

⁶¹ *Ibid* at 60–63.

⁶² Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014) at 4 [emphasis in original].

of their lands and self-determining authority.”⁶³ It takes time — that is, chronological time — to expose the contradictions, such as those between recognition and erasure, embedded in these “promising” frameworks, to see them taken up in academic and social discourses, and to have them begin at least to enter the periphery of political and legal consciousness.

While it is impossible to draw a direct line between this “long view” of our recent history and aspects of the book (hence the “speculative” qualifier), as a reader one feels that the story of Teit’s life does not merely correct a past oversight with respect to the history of settler-Indigenous relations. It has an urgent contemporary relevance. It links our “now” to his “then.” It creates a space for the reader to connect Teit’s confrontation with the violent impacts of genocidal policies at the beginning of the last century to the persistence of those policies and their effects despite the legal and constitutional “advances” of our time. In sum, it throws into sharp relief the continuity of dispossession, its brutal consequences, and the paradox of the colonial recognition-erasure paradigm as only a “long view” can.

And so, we return to the structural question about the linkage between shifts in the time culture within the university and neo-liberalism at large. Neo-liberal temporalities exert pressure on academics to “cash out” their time into measurable results in order to meet research productivity requirements built around the priorities of an increasingly corporatized university. A “slow-cooked” process is profoundly at odds with the ends driven pace and linearity of such practices. More crucially, as neo-liberal time culture becomes an internalized norm, critical possibilities are lost, leaving us to ask: “[a]re academics caught in a conception of time that freezes them inside knowledges that are regular, predictable and knowable”?⁶⁴ *At the Bridge* provides a substantive reminder of why we need to have a pluralistic approach to the time spans of academic work and to protect space for lifelong projects that may meander, stop and restart, and double back for a second look.

III. BRIDGING DISCIPLINARY DIVIDES & “SEEING ANEW”

A. THE QUESTION OF THEORY

Having carefully considered Wickwire’s methodological approach to *At the Bridge*, particularly the book’s braided narrative structure and the project’s relatively extended time span, we will now situate this work within broader academic discussions involving theory, history, and politics — all of which have legal implications. We suggest that this text makes significant contributions to conversations about what it means to engage with theory, the ways in which historical archives are constructed and interpreted, and the continued importance of political solidarity, especially with the rise of neoliberal and authoritarian regimes that coopt or suppress political resistance. It is our hope that socio-legal scholars will be incited to take up this book in their own research.

In our original reading group discussion, the question of this book’s relation to “theory” arose. Aiming to engage an audience beyond the academy, including her longstanding Indigenous collaborators, Wickwire is careful to minimize any specialist’s language that

⁶³ *Ibid* at 7 [emphasis in original].

⁶⁴ Davies & Bansel, *supra* note 50 at 48.

might detract from readability. At the same time, her endnotes acknowledge her debt to thinkers such as Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben, and in the main text, Martin Heidegger enriches her discussion of “dwelling” in that titular chapter. The result is an engrossing narrative that incorporates influences ranging from “High Theory” to archival study with no fear of “genre contamination.”

Initially, participants praised Wickwire for “doing theory well by avoiding theory” or “doing theory in a practiced, embodied way.” Eventually, we stepped back to pose the question of what “theory” might mean. Far from wanting to police the boundary of a set category, many of us agree that ‘theory’ cannot be corralled or delimited in advance: “[t]he intervention of theory assumes that somewhere there is no theory, just as the backlash against theory assumes that somewhere there can be no theory.”⁶⁵ All events in everyday life are accompanied by a thick network of unstated common “background” assumptions, and all that distinguishes “theory” is the attempt to foreground these assumptions — to bring them into a space of active consideration.

The etymological root of “theory” is the Greek *theoria*, which has to do both with “looking at” and with “contemplation.” It entails “seeing anew,” but in a way that goes beyond the visual sense to encompass all forms of experience. What is important in “theory” is not so much the satisfaction of a prior criteriology, but whether a text helps us to see anew. Does the text help us “stay with the trouble”⁶⁶ or invite bouts of “vertiginous knowledge”?⁶⁷ Rather than suppressing our anxieties or perplexities about certain questions, we voice them, remembering that not all moments of uncertainty need to be “remastered.” There are many texts laced with specialized “jargon” that do not engage theory in our sense. At the same time, there are texts that conform to no academic protocols but deeply engage theory (examples might be found in the writings of Franz Kafka or Audre Lorde). Whereas scientific theories analytically parse the world (which is necessary for certain purposes), our sense of theory instead aims to allow phenomena to persist in the irreducible fullness of their being, and to “make it impossible for the bottom line to be one single statement.”⁶⁸ To capture Teit in all his complexity, Wickwire approaches him again and again from different angles, changing her lenses and focal points as the narrative develops. By deeply inhabiting Teit’s life and work for decades, in the field, in the archives, and in the classroom, she regenerates a transformative story heretofore “lost in history,” offering us an inspiring performance of theory.

B. THE POLITICS OF HISTORY

Above, we noted how Teit’s work has urgent contemporary relevance, linking his “then” to our “now.” For Walter Benjamin, “a historian ... grasps the constellation which his own

⁶⁵ Christopher Bracken, “In this Separation: The Noncorrespondence of Joseph Johnson” in Audra Simpson & Andrea Smith, eds, *Theorizing Native Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) 122 at 123.

⁶⁶ Donna J Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

⁶⁷ Wendy Brown & Janet Halley, “Introduction” in Wendy Brown & Janet Halley, eds, *Left Legalism/Left Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002) 1 at 28.

⁶⁸ Donna J Haraway, *How Like a Leaf: An Interview with Thyrza Nichols Goodeve* (New York: Routledge, 2000) at 105.

era has formed with a definite earlier one.”⁶⁹ One of the difficulties in such a project involves confronting an archive that already has gaps that owe to the priorities of those constructing them. *At the Bridge* reminds us that “[w]hat Teit really knew about the Indians, their inner life and aspirations and how their politics connected to their tribal past, will never be published.... It was never written down. It was not asked for.”⁷⁰ This tragic gap in the historical record reflects the reigning anthropology of the day, as well as what it preferred not to see. Boas requested quotidian detail on basketry but was less interested in Indigenous perspectives on their own political struggles. Likewise, he sanitized stories that detailed mischievous characters like Coyote Jack, who used comedy to resist obliquely the oppressive impositions of both church and state that could not be challenged directly. If one of the gaps relates to what Teit was asked to prioritize given his limited time and funding, another gap relates to what he did capture, but which we will never see. Boas discarded a significant amount of Teit’s extensive field notes, something he never did with his own rough notes: “[t]hese were undoubtedly full of information of little interest to Boas, the grand unifier, but that is today the stuff of critical, other-oriented, nuanced understanding.”⁷¹ Part of Wickwire’s task, and ours, is to acknowledge and mourn these gaps, rather than rush to fill them.

No archive is self-interpreting, and despite some especially significant partialities and absences with respect to Teit, it is nonetheless necessary to gather the fragments that remain in order to keep faith today with Teit’s politics, which were and remain principled and visionary. For Benjamin, “only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins,” and, he adds, “this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.”⁷² Indeed, the triumphal march of colonial capitalism has intensified since Teit’s time, and his struggles remain ever more relevant at our neo-liberal moment.⁷³ *At the Bridge* details how Teit had been deeply formed by a Shetland experience that offered clear parallels with what he found in Canada; he noted how although capitalism introduced some new opportunities, it came “at the expense of age-old attachments to the land and to the mutuality of self-sustaining communities.”⁷⁴ Having been a product of Scottish colonization in Shetland, living through the aftermath of land enclosures and clearances, he was now himself a colonizer in Canada, and he knew he would have to tread carefully to avoid being complicit with the worst injustices.

Wickwire details the difficult terrain Teit had to navigate in his dealings with various state officials as an Indigenous representative and ally. These negotiations often had significant

⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History” in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans by Harry Zohn, ed by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968) 253 at 263.

⁷⁰ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 185, quoting Ralph Maud, *A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend: A Short History of Myth-Collecting and a Survey of Published Texts* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1982) at 77.

⁷¹ Wickwire, *ibid* at 268.

⁷² Benjamin, *supra* note 69 at 255 [emphasis in original].

⁷³ Historically existing capitalism is unthinkable without colonialism. One way in which crises of capital are resolved is through a “‘spatial fix’ — geographical expansion and uneven geographical development” (David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (London, UK: Verso, 2018) at xxxiii). Colonial violence has been part of the process of appropriating ‘extra-human nature’ to increase labour productivity within the commodity system, treating the physical world as “Cheap Nature” (Jason W Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London, UK: Verso, 2015)).

⁷⁴ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 79.

consequences for Indigenous people in their daily lives, and questions of strategy and tactics had to be carefully considered. We are told how the death or electoral defeat of one or another official represented a crucial lost historical opportunity. Eventually, reaching the end of a long list of disappointments, we are left to wonder what it even means for Indigenous survival to be contingent on state forbearance — and on such caprice. Regardless of what state officials did, whether they acted better than expected or delivered yet another disappointment, the limits of contestation are set by the ongoing structure of Canadian colonial capitalism, one feature of which is itself to keep the focus on the decisions of the powerful, rather than on broader patterns of constraint and possibility. It is the fully realized account of Teit offered in the book as a whole that allows us to move beyond structurally naturalizing versions of history — centred on individual decision-makers — in order to critique broad historical patterns of inaudibility, racism, and dispossession that persist into the present.

Teit's roots in Shetland influenced his lifelong commitment to socialism, and helped him to remain “untimely” (in Friedrich Nietzsche's sense), fighting the overt racism of his day, as well as the reigning church and state priorities. He lamented: “I do not have much faith in governments for I know exactly what they are,” elaborating that “[t]hey are not for the people ... [t]hey are more executives of the capitalist class of their respective countries and represent capitalist interests entirely.”⁷⁵ Writing a century later, Glen Coulthard maps how “the *means* by which the colonial state has sought to eliminate Indigenous peoples in order to gain access to our lands and resources have modified over the last two centuries.”⁷⁶ Indeed, *At The Bridge* chronicles how in the early 20th century, Teit had to confront overt patterns of sexism, racism, and duplicity, as well as legalized violent dispossession (such manifest violence might seem archaic, but it is bound up with the realities of the present). Although it is important to be responsive and indeed anticipatory with respect to the changing face of Empire, “invasion is a structure not an event.”⁷⁷ Despite the state's changing means, “the *ends* have always remained the same: to shore up continued access to Indigenous peoples' territories for the purposes of state formation, settlement, and capitalist development.”⁷⁸ Wickwire's practice, explored above, of thinking in dilated time, allows us to see fundamental patterns of historical continuity. This extended horizon helps to orient us within a digitalized present in which the techniques of government and market intensification shift rapidly.

Today, there is ubiquitous talk of “reconciliation,” and although it is often sincere and invites all Canadians to work to redress past and present injustices, such as everyday racism, the fact remains that this project is accompanied at every turn by continued extractivism and dispossession. Coulthard characterizes the situation as “the ‘negotiation’ of what are still essentially land surrenders under the present comprehensive land claims policy.”⁷⁹ Teit might as well be writing today: “[t]he Gov. as a whole and the capitalist class which they represent

⁷⁵ *Ibid* at 227, quoting a letter from James Teit to John Davidson (15 February 1916).

⁷⁶ Coulthard, *supra* note 62 at 125 [emphasis in original].

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, citing Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, UK: Cassell, 1999) at 163.

⁷⁸ Coulthard, *ibid* at 125 [emphasis in original].

⁷⁹ *Ibid*. See also Johnny Camille Mack, *Thickening Totems and Thinning Imperialism* (LLM Thesis, University of Victoria, 2009) [unpublished].

have no appreciation for anything except dollars [that] are in immediate sight.”⁸⁰ Discourses of “consensus,” “stakeholder partnerships,” and “economic growth” serve to paper over the reality of political conflict over land and/as life,⁸¹ and Teit’s straightforward denunciation is reinvigorating to read at a time when neoliberalism’s governing rationality attempts to remove opposition and refusal as available options at every turn, no matter how justified they may be.

IV. PASSING ALONG THE “CAT’S CRADLE”

At the outset of her text, Wickwire explains that this book is “a conclusion”⁸² to her own lengthy, personal journey. Meanwhile, in closing, she tells her readers that *At the Bridge* is “but a beginning” to (re)discovering “[t]he legacy of James Teit and ‘all his relations.’”⁸³ In a similar fashion, we wanted to end with a new beginning, first by returning to the significance of the book’s title, and finally by offering an incitement to carry the conversation forward.

Every word in the title of this beautifully written book was chosen with care, and it is worthwhile to reflect on the title here. “At the Bridge” refers most literally to Spences Bridge, British Columbia, which was the centre of Teit’s work life and served as an important meeting point for Indigenous political solidarity amidst the crushing advance of colonialism. At the same time, Teit can himself be read *as* the bridge across multiple gulfs: between his Indigenous friends and the colonial state; between Indigenous people, such as his first wife, and non-Indigenous people generally; between the academic discipline of anthropology and the lived field of Indigenous experience; between anticolonial and anticapitalist struggles in his native Shetland and those in British Columbia; between the everyday work of anthropology and the wider political landscape; between the time of his ancestors and his time; and, prefiguring contemporary anthropology practice and what would now be called “allyship,” between his time and ours. Beloved by his Indigenous friends, who came to see him as a brother, and fluent in multiple Indigenous languages, he translated — across barriers of language and legal technicality — state discourses for Indigenous people, always providing them with all of the information he could. Ever meticulous about the limits of his own role, he followed their lead in decisions about how to proceed. Likewise, reasoning that he could help Indigenous people more by acting the role of friend to treacherous state officials like Scott, he would try to aid them as a non-Indigenous person not subject to the same sorts of racism, and therefore better able to gain the ear of officials. Nonetheless, in this more overtly racist era, anyone who spent time with Indigenous people was branded impure, contaminated, a “[s]quaw man”⁸⁴ who could no longer maintain uncomplicated (superior) white status. When he died, important Indian political coalitions would fall apart.

⁸⁰ Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 235, quoting a letter from James Teit to Edward Sapir (25 July 1919).

⁸¹ See e.g. Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism’s Stealth Revolution* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2015) at 122–31.

⁸² Wickwire, *supra* note 1 at 7.

⁸³ *Ibid* at 285.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* at 56.

The subtitle, “James Teit and an Anthropology of Belonging,” also warrants a brief comment. First, using the indefinite article “an,” as opposed to the definite article, “the,” Wickwire signals to the reader that she is constructing a particular path within Anthropology, rather than prescribing a single approach or shoring up a pre-existing knowledge edifice that can be taken for granted. Wickwire says of Teit that “[i]nstead of the single, foundational story, he recounted a multiplicity of stories,”⁸⁵ and this is just as true of her own work. At the same time, far from serving as a relativistic gesture, Wickwire’s way of storying and of doing anthropology is politically charged, eliciting strong sympathy for Teit from the reader and appropriate antipathy toward colonialism and its embodiment in several Canadian state officials. We learn how Teit and Edward Sapir were developing an “anthropology of belonging” totally counter to the sterility of the large-group survey, emphasizing instead the “‘primacy’ of ‘actual individuals’ ... ‘[y]ou must have the ability to put yourself in another man’s place ... knowing nevertheless that you are not the other man — and try to feel like him.’”⁸⁶ Never one to attempt to stand outside the contexts that he studied in the quest for “scientific neutrality,” Teit was an active participant, not merely acknowledging the inevitable implication of researcher and subjects, but joining his “subjects” in political struggle.⁸⁷

In the spirit of a phrase we introduced at the outset, “it matters what stories tell stories,”⁸⁸ Wickwire draws her audience into a style of anthropology that is situated, participatory, and strives to be contextually self-aware at every turn. Haraway’s phrase conveys not only the idea that narratives materialize, but also that certain ‘meta-stories’ or inherited legacies configure the way we hear and tell new stories. Wickwire initially intersperses her own narrative with that of Teit, recounting her early work transcribing Indigenous songs, as well as how she and Michael retraced Teit’s footsteps in the British Columbia backcountry roughly a century afterwards; by the later chapters, her own autobiography fades into the background. But at this point, she has not so much merged with Teit as entered into a diffraction pattern with him. In the terms of Haraway’s feminist understanding, she has carried forward an intergenerational game of “cat’s cradle” with Teit. As Haraway puts it, cat’s cradle figures are “passed back and forth on the hands of several players,”⁸⁹ which “invites a sense of collective work, of one person not being able to make all the patterns alone.”⁹⁰ It is our hope, having received the gift of this beautiful weaving, that we have been able to take it up and do it justice, and now we pass it on to as wide an audience as possible, within and beyond the legal academy.

⁸⁵ *Ibid* at 276–77.

⁸⁶ *Ibid* at 265, citing Richard Preston, “Reflection on Sapir’s Anthropology in Canada” (1980) 17:4 *Can Rev Sociology & Anthropology* 367 at 369.

⁸⁷ As Wickwire describes, “[w]hereas Boas deferred to, indeed ignored, the colonial encounter, Teit kept it front and centre” (*ibid* at 277).

⁸⁸ Haraway, “Stories,” *supra* note 7.

⁸⁹ Donna J Haraway, “A Game of Cat’s Cradle: Science Studies, Feminist Theory, Cultural Studies” (1994) 2:1 *Configurations* 59 at 69.

⁹⁰ *Ibid* at 70.

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