

This is a book with great potential, but like most memoirs it would benefit greatly from some editing. If that were done, I see no reason for it not to appeal to a wide readership.

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VOICES FROM THE BAY: TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF INUIT AND CREE IN THE HUDSON BAY BIOREGION. Compiled by MIRIAM McDONALD, LUCASSIE ARRAGUTAINAQ, and ZACK NOVALINGA. Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and Environmental Committee of the Municipality of Sanikiluaq, 1997. xiii + 98 p., maps, b&w illus. Softbound. Cdn\$41.14 (includes postage from the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee).

Placing traditional ecological knowledge on paper often seems an attempt to make a silhouette: the outlines can be traced, perhaps from several angles, but even the compilers acknowledge that the essence is missing. *Voices from the Bay* is an elegant proof that this need not always be so. Miriam McDonald, Lucassie Arragutainaq, and Zack Novalinga have produced a beautiful, eloquent, evocative summation of why Hudson Bay matters to those who live there, and why the rest of us should listen to them.

Despite the subtitle, this book is not about traditional ecological knowledge as it is often narrowly defined. It does indeed include a detailed description of the Bay and its environment, as well as appendices with information about certain animals. But it is far more than a compendium of observations and explanations. Copious quotations from Cree and Inuit residents of the villages around the Bay describe how they feel about the changes that are occurring and what they consider to be the most pressing needs in their struggle to pass on to their children the clean and productive environment in which they were raised. These “voices from the Bay” enlighten us not with information but with insight.

The book has four main sections, plus appendices on methods, environmental indicators, and other details from earlier Hudson Bay Programme reports, also available from the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee. The main sections of *Voices from the Bay* are Traditional Knowledge of Ecosystem Components, Environmental Change and its Significance to Inuit and Cree, Indigenous Perspectives on Development, and Future Needs. These are illustrated with maps, diagrams, and photographs. The diagrams, unfortunately, are often complex and confusing, failing to distinguish between causes and effects, as in Figure 4: Effects of Currents, Spring Tides, and Wind on Sea Ice. The maps, on the other hand, are well done, and the well-chosen combination of old and new photographs vividly shows the continuity and change that are characteristic of Arctic communities.

Two significant aspects of the research that led to *Voices from the Bay* are that it was carried out by Cree and Inuit, and that its funding came from a wide variety of sources, including government agencies, private foundations, utilities, and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and its members. Few community-based projects are able to garner such support, and the results should encourage those who wish to see a greater role for indigenous peoples in research about them and their knowledge.

The great strength of *Voices from the Bay* is that it conveys a tremendous volume of information without dense text and without losing the connection with the people of the region. Descriptions of traditional knowledge run several risks: abstracting data so that its context is lost, cramming in too many tangential threads so that narrative continuity is lost, or, conversely, reducing a rich and interrelated body of knowledge to a simple sketch. The compilers have applied a light hand to the text that explains and joins the quotations, and the result is a finely balanced presentation that places the “voices” in context without overshadowing their message.

But the book has interest far beyond the manner of its presentation. The Hudson Bay bioregion is not the pristine and untouched wilderness of southern imagination. Enormous development projects, such as hydroelectric development in Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba, have altered patterns of wildlife and humans. Contamination from long-range transport of pollutants as well as from local military sites has entered the food chain. Social change, too, has altered patterns of land use and other cultural practices in Cree and Inuit communities of the area. The combination of such factors makes the challenges facing today’s youth vastly different from those that faced their parents and grandparents.

Despite these changes, *Voices from the Bay* gives a strong answer to the question, how can the knowledge accumulated through generations of living along Hudson Bay and depending on its resources help solve problems today? Traditional knowledge can be used with scientific knowledge to better understand the environment and potential impacts of development, both locally and globally, as indicated in Figure 12. Cultural patterns reinforce survival skills needed in the North. Respect for the environment supports sound management of resources. Above all, for the people of the region, their knowledge and their culture provide the basis for thriving communities. Without that knowledge and the culture built upon it, the communities of Hudson Bay are in peril.

This peril is perhaps one of the most troublesome issues raised. How can Cree and Inuit cultures be sustained in the face of exposure to southern influences ranging from TV to food to industry? Will the wisdom shown in the statements of the elders be lost when they are lost? Or can the younger generations maintain the connection with their ancestors and with their land and sea? This sense of loss permeates many of the quotations, and the “voices from the Bay” should be heard not just by outsiders, but by the people of the Bay.

Voices from the Bay conveys a sense of meaning, a sense of belonging, and a sense of sadness. We learn what matters and why, but we also learn to fear for the future. We are given

more than just an outline of what the Bay's inhabitants know about it. Indeed, the title in French, *La Baie: cœur et âme*, is equally fitting: McDonald, Arragutainaq, and Novalinga have indeed shown us not just the shadow, but the heart and soul of Hudson Bay. We can only hope that others will listen to the voices with which they speak.

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PEOPLE OF SUNLIGHT, PEOPLE OF STARLIGHT: BARRENLAND ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES OF CANADA. By BRYAN C. GORDON. Hull, Quebec: Archaeological Survey of Canada, 1996. Mercury Series Paper 154. 332 p., 101 maps, 57 illus., 5 line drawings, glossary, bib., index, appendix. Softbound. Price not indicated.

This volume in the Mercury Series of the Archaeological Survey of Canada reflects an advanced stage in Bryan Gordon's research into Barrenlands precontact history—research which stretches back to 1970. This very substantial volume synthesizes a massive amount of data relating to that area, which is the range of the Beverly herd of barren-ground caribou. It is also an attractive publication, with excellent artifact images as well as some judiciously chosen historical photographs. On the whole, this volume is well edited, with few typos and other errors (although "Hudson's Bay Company" is repeatedly rendered as "Hudson Bay Company"): the Mercury Series has come a long way from the "quick and dirty" monographs of two decades ago. An introductory chapter provides an environmental overview as well as Gordon's reasons for undertaking this work. Chapter 2 outlines the history of European exploration of the Beverly herd region and archaeological activities in this vast area. Each of the following eight chapters focuses on interpretations relating to the various archaeological cultures that have been recognized on the Barrenlands. A concluding (eleventh) chapter completes this work.

Gordon's purpose is essentially to compare variations in the technology of particular cultural groups as they moved seasonally between the tundra and the forest over the past 8000 years. He notes (p. 2) that his recognition of such seasonal differences is fairly recent. However, basic to this theory of seasonal movement is Gordon's concept of "herd following" (p. 11–15). This concept involves a model, based largely on historical and ethnographic evidence, which proposes that the peoples of this region followed the barren-ground caribou as these herd animals moved in an annual migratory cycle between the tundra in the summer and the forest in the winter. Some evidence supports the application of this model to precontact times. For instance, Gordon observes that the "distinctive Eyeberry Lake quartzite from

the heart of the range [was] being carried several hundred km south to Lake Athabasca" (p. 11). Indeed, the fact that the diagnostic artifacts of each of the cultures are distributed from the tundra south into the forest seems to be the strongest evidence that herd-following was practised by all of the precontact occupants of this part of North America. On the other hand, the faunal remains from many of the sites are so scanty that in general it has not been possible to demonstrate at what seasons certain cultural groups (e.g., Middle Taltheilei) were present on the tundra or (in particular) in the forest.

With herd-following accepted as a basic premise, Gordon examines differences in material culture between sites on the tundra and in the forest, for each of the cultural periods. He looks at variations in the lithic materials used, in the shapes of tools such as endscrapers, and in breakage patterns. While materials from some 1002 sites are considered, very important to Gordon's analysis is the ability to identify the archaeological culture of tools such as endscrapers, knives, chithos, and adze blades, when found in unstratified contexts or on the surface. In some cases, Gordon quite wisely does not attempt such identification; however, in other cases he seems to over-identify. For instance, the characteristics of two endscrapers from the historic levels at two sites in the tundra zone are employed to identify, as historic, scrapers from several surface occurrences throughout the range of the Beverly herd (p. 34–35). One wonders whether a sample of two is sufficient to provide a clear idea of the normal characteristics of historic period endscrapers. As well, some of Gordon's seasonal interpretations seem a little strained, such as the proposal that the production of "4-sided" scrapers in the forest during several cultural periods occurred because this shape was more easily handled by mittened hands (e.g., p. 64, 225). This is a plausible hypothesis, but just how it could be tested is not apparent.

Each of the cultural phases in this region is fascinating, whether Palaeo-Indian, Shield Archaic, Pre-Dorset, Taltheilei, or historic Dene (Chipewyan); however, I find myself quibbling not so much with Gordon's interpretation of ancient lifeways within the range of the Beverly herd, as with his ideas about the relationship of these various cultural groups to their neighbours to the south. For instance, with reference to Northern Plano, Gordon states (p. 219) that a "thin distribution of bison hunting camps extends northeast from Wyoming to northern Saskatchewan." This seems to be hyperbole, since Northern Plano points are in the Agate Basin style and, in Saskatchewan, I know of no Agate Basin finds situated north of the southern fringe of the forest. There are a few late plano points (Angostura or Lusk) on the upper Churchill River system, but these differ stylistically from Agate Basin points. In short, in Saskatchewan there is a huge gap of at least 550 km between the northernmost known occurrences of plains Agate Basin points and the Northern Plano points of Lake Athabasca (Meyer, 1983:147–148). Also, Gordon might have made reference to findings in Alaska which indicate that Agate Basin may have been present there as much as 12 000 years ago (Kunz and Reanier, 1995; Reanier, 1995). In short, peoples carrying that culture may have expanded east and