

It was in this latter setting in early March that the author began his official study. Structured interviews were held in the local school and the students were offered a small fee for their participation. Interviews then expanded to take in older students who no longer attended school. Parents and young adults were also interviewed, along with non-Inuit teachers of the community.

The first and most important theme addressed was the effect of the rapid rate of social change on the young. As one might expect, the sudden appearance of television from the South and the personal contact and influences of Euro-Canadians brought a form of cultural shock to this small hamlet. From a world of hunting, shamans and arranged marriages, they are now faced with computers, satellites and potato chips.

Traditionally, the need for survival kept the family unit intact, with an extended family network. Children were brought up with a maximum amount of freedom and independence, with no apparent chastisement or rebuke. The child's learning process was developed by imitating parents, siblings and relatives in all their activities. Parents very seldom verbalized right or wrong, but used symbolic cues to teach the child through word, gesture or pose. Perhaps the author could have stressed the importance of non-verbal or symbolic cues as a very important part of the learning process. Family ties were close and necessary for the survival of the family and group. Present-day family ties are just as strong, although the parental and family influences appear to have weakened.

The relationships with parents, siblings, adopted siblings (no distinction is made) and relatives are a blanket of security to the adolescents in their rapidly changing world. Adoption is a common practice and of a practical nature.

The given Inuit name of a child influences the interaction between the child and the immediate family. Since today's adolescents are from a generation of parents still influenced by this phenomenon, the author could have made mention of the significance of this very interesting and important point. Life stages are categorized in definite Euro-Canadian terms — baby, little kid, big kid, teenager and adult. Because Holman is such a small community, friends and peers are usually connected with the family in some way. Friendships are not broken; the teenagers move from one to another without hard feelings. As adolescents, they tend to socialize with their own sex, with whom they feel freer to talk and laugh. In the past, marriages were arranged from the time of birth, although it was not considered a binding contract. Now, modern influences have allowed the youth to select their own partners. The author uses draw-a-persons theme to assess the informant's gender preference. He concludes they are comfortable with their own sexuality as a male or female and points out that sexual activity in the adolescent is not frowned upon, provided they are not promiscuous.

In general the Inuit are known for their engaging sense of humour, their sharing and attitudes to avoid conflicts except in serious situations. They put a high value on the independence and autonomy of the individual. They do not speak for others or coerce them in any way. The parents have given their children a freedom and independence to think and do their own thing.

Communication between the generations has become increasingly difficult; the older people speak Inuktitut and the young speak English. Sharing of life's essentials, for the most part, is no longer a necessity for survival. Condon also explores the differences between today's laws and traditional Inuit methods of determining right and wrong.

Leisure activities have always been of paramount importance to the Inuit, who are very social in nature. In competitive games, however, the rules are changing. Traditional times had the men and boys (when they were in camp between hunting and fishing expeditions) playing games together. There was no structured team plan or team captain. Everyone was considered capable of playing, with no one player better than the other. The women and girls were spectators. With the introduction of hockey, baseball and football to the fields of Holman (via the electronic medium) teams are now composed of the best players headed by a team captain — and the girls watch, cheering for their favorites.

The inevitable rhythm of the seasons brings two of the most powerful

influences on the people of the North: winter days lived entirely in darkness, and in summer complete days and nights bathed in sunshine. Condon describes for us the effect of 24 hours of sunshine. Ball games at four in the morning; socializing and hunting occur any time. Little wonder time has no hold on the Inuit.

Many other topics are explored. Some have a familiar ring, such as the use and abuse of alcohol, which has caused great anxiety in the community. In contrast, Condon also touches upon the "parka syndrome" of the teenage girls and explains Pamela Stern's assistance interviewing the girls.

This volume presents us with an excellent example of applied anthropology. Condon avoids the pitfalls of technical jargon, making it into an enjoyable reading experience for all. The charts and comparisons are there for professional educators and students to consult, if required. It is carefully researched and notes show that many sources were consulted, with a good bibliography supplied to encourage the reader to delve further into this fascinating subject. The book itself has easy-to-read typography, charts and graphs. There are no photographs.

We are left to speculate on the future for the young people of Holman. Surrounded by a sea of ice, tundra, snow and water, they have shown that they are survivors. Their population is increasing. Comparisons with other cultures (Bausoaran, Mangrove, American adolescents and Inuit) accent the Inuit autonomy, individuality and lack of parental pressure to perform or conform.

A study such as this allows us to stop the clock momentarily, and in the years to come we can look back to see how it was.

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THE SUBARCTIC INDIANS AND THE FUR TRADE, 1680-1860.

By J. COLIN YERBURY. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986. x + 189 p., maps, tables, refs., index. Hardbound. Cdn\$22.95; US\$18.50.

In this book, Colin Yerbury seeks to understand the impact of the fur trade on northern Athapaskans in the western Canadian Subarctic during a 200-year period. The goal is laudable, but Yerbury has overreached. The documents on which his assessment is based, mainly Hudson's Bay Company archival records, are vast and complex and defy all but the most indefatigable researchers. They must be interpreted with the judicious skills of a historian and the insights of an anthropologist familiar with the native people of the Subarctic. If any documents could cry out for intelligent synthesis and analysis, these would. They still do.

Errors, some minor but others fundamental, permeate *The Subarctic Indians and the Fur Trade*. In the bibliography, for instance — where the least harm might be done — we find (ominously) an extreme sloppiness in citation; a great mix of styles and many incomplete entries; an uncertainty over whether or not the publisher should be listed, place of publication noted, volume or issue number of a journal included, page numbers of a chapter in a book recognized, the author of an essay cited or merely the editor of the collection in which it appeared.

Any archivist or historiographer who turns to the text will be disturbed further by the mistakes that appear in quotations from the archival record. Admittedly, some of the journals, correspondence, account books, and other records that Yerbury uses are extremely difficult to read, several copies of a particular document may exist, and the traders were notoriously idiosyncratic in punctuation, spelling, capitalization, and grammar. Nevertheless, it is dismaying to discover in documents with which I am familiar (mainly in chapters 4 and 5) numerous mistakes, of which the following list is representative (the corrected word or phrase appears in brackets): Superstitious

[superstitious], they they [they], stoped [dropped], fo. 106 [fos. 106-7], behavior [behaviour], gaining [Jarring], the Bark [the Boute]; barbarism [a barbarous], destroying [distraying], female [feameal], do [due], food [goods], as he [here], advise [advise], Chipewyans [Chepeywans], hurase [harase], one much conversant [one conversant], with Indians [with the Indians], where [when] (p. 88-118 *passim*).

Many of these errors are minor ones of punctuation and spelling that anyone might make. Others — the incorrect rendering of Indian names, for example — may be understandable if one is in a rush. In several cases, errors change meaning (p. 102-103): the “Jarring of opposite interests” (correct) becomes “the gaining of opposite interests” (incorrect); “the rate at which goods is sold” (correct) becomes “the rate at which food is sold” (not simply incorrect but misleading given the importance attached to whether or not much food was traded in this region). Phrases are occasionally left incomplete: on female infanticide at Fort Liard, Yerbury cites from a document (again with bracketed corrections): “no argument [Argument] has been able intirely to make them do [due] away unnatural customs [—altho the representation of the Traders has lessened it in many families.]” As in the preceding example, the effect is more than mischievous, here because the extent of infanticide and its impact on population size and demographic structure are points of argument among subarctic specialists. There is another glaring omission (p. 155), significant because of the debates over the impacts of epidemics in this region, in the following passage: “A Kind of Epidemick disease ([] or Influenza []) got among the Indians towards the [latter] end of summer [and still continues but so far as I have yet learned it is fortunately attended with no mortality.]”

These errors do not instill confidence. They are compounded by another sort of sloppiness that makes one wonder just how thorough and judicious Yerbury has been: he defies accepted canons of scholarship (and perhaps understandings of copyright) in failing either to reference his own work heretofore published or to adequately acknowledge the work of others. Two examples here suffice. First, Yerbury details, in a long quote from an archival source, the death of a trader either at the hands of Mackenzie Eskimos or (as the source would have it) Slaveys. There is no mention, either where the passage is discussed (p. 59-60) or in the bibliography, that he has already published this material (*Arctic* 30:187-188). Second, in a long section on disease (p. 147-156), Yerbury covers, with barely an acknowledgement, the same ground I have in several analyses (e.g., *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39:123-146).

These lapses can be interpreted in several possible ways. One is that Yerbury did not adequately digest what he read and that he was somehow unable to sort out his earlier assessments from his current ones, the thoughts of others from his own, or even the words of 18th- and 19th-century traders from what might reasonably be his. Many of his phrases, replete with archaisms and anachronisms (as well as colloquialisms), lend credence to this speculation: Yerbury annoys when he states “bring the Indians down to trade,” “gooded,” “fetch down,” “kiss his ass,” “withhold their peltries,” or “husband their resources” (p. 18, 43, 66, 76, 81, 111).

Errors like these make his thesis suspect, which to my mind is a great pity because there is much to be said for trying to sort through the implications of various historical impulses for Northern Athapaskan adaptations. Yerbury argues that the “simplicity and fluidity” of Mackenzie Drainage Athapaskan social organization result from “adjustments to new circumstances stemming from European contact and the fur trade” (p. ix), something I also have argued and that has been the subject of sharp debate. But skeptics will be more so when they see the precontact territory of the Hare placed just west of Great Slave Lake (p. 2), a discussion of family hunting territories that does not consider the work of many (e.g., Tanner, Feit, Knight) who have contributed to a complex debate since the mid-1950s (p. 5), no citation of Janes’s ethnoarchaeological work (p. 8), a bizarre interpretation of what constitutes an ethnohistorical document (p. 9), the use of terms such as “rapidly” — as in “became dependent” — without adequate definition or empirical support (p. 11), and the uncertain feel for what

anthropology embraces and what culture, in the minds of many, does not (p. 16).

Following the Introduction, Yerbury’s thesis unfolds in five chapters and a conclusion. The first four of the five chapters have as their titles the names of various spans of time during the post-European-contact historical period: to use Yerbury’s terminology (and there are both debates and precedence — again not wholly acknowledged — here), the protohistoric era; and, within the subsequent historic era, the early fur trade, competitive trade, and trading post dependency periods. For the protohistoric (chapter two), the focus is largely on the Chipewyan trade at Churchill in the 17-18th centuries, for which there is evidence of trade-related bloodshed and discombobulations, of desires for goods in what seems to have been a significant 18th-century trade, of starvation and sickness. But all this needs detailed analysis — in fact, some scholar could make an immense contribution with an ethnohistory of Chipewyans. There are many unsupported statements — on the identity of Northern Indians or the origin of groups coming to trade, for example — and too great a use of laden adjectives — as in a “considerable” trade. Left unanalyzed is what the trade in goods might have meant for per capita consumption, economic distribution, or mode of production.

In the third and fourth chapters, there is a shift westward to the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions and forward in time to the early fur trade (1770-1800) and well-known competitive trade (1800-21) periods. In the latter, the focus is far more on traders than on native people or even the relations between them, and when Yerbury asserts at the close of chapter four that it is “evident” that competition produced trading bands smaller than aboriginal hunting bands, the evidence produced does not, unfortunately, bear the weight of the assertion.

Chapter five, on the trading post dependency period (1821-60), is concerned almost exclusively with the Mackenzie River region. “Dependency,” according to Yerbury, is “intensifying” during this period, but nowhere are these terms defined or conceptualized. There are some curious lapses: the debt system did not always place Indians in debt to the Hudson’s Bay Company — rather the reverse occurred on a few occasions; Sekani traded at Fort Liard, not Simpson; Fort Good Hope was moved downstream, not upstream, in 1823; warfare between the Dogrib and Yellowknife was over long-standing animosities, not access to caribou grazing grounds; the half-breed Beaulieu, who was not easily “kept in line,” was far more than a leader of the Lac La Martre Dogrib (and he was not simply a Dogrib).

With the stress on dependency, it becomes startling to suddenly read of the “mutual interdependence [sic] of trader and Indian” (p. 121), which I have argued for Peel River Post in the mid-19th century and may well have been more widespread. But Yerbury seems not to be able to make up his mind and not able to amass sufficient evidence to back his uncertain and contradictory hypotheses: did interdependence persist throughout the century, as one brief quotation from 1907 suggests, or did natives pass a “critical point leading to complete dependency” on the post, as is suggested elsewhere? Where is the evidence that trapping had become a “basic subsistence activity” by the 1840s and that goods obtained for furs were “necessary . . . [for] survival” (p. 124-126)? I doubt it is there. However, there were clearly instances when Indians were starving, when they remained near posts hoping for food, and when some might well have perished if it were not for the Hudson’s Bay Company; these need analysis.

The fifth chapter and the overly brief three-page conclusion address some of the ecological and epidemiological events to which northern Athapaskans had to adjust during the historic period. Prominent among these were various changes and declines in the population size of animals (Yerbury tends to underestimate the importance of fish — and misidentifies the inconnu as a lake trout) and the impact of epidemic diseases. No additional evidence is presented in support of the hypothesis that social organization in this region changed as a result of historical factors.

Many readers of this review will know that I sympathize with what Yerbury has attempted. It dismays me to say what I have here — as it does, in a sense, in any negative critique — because I had hoped to be able to write that after a faltering start in the interpretation of historical

materials on this region, Yerbury had redeemed himself. But my commitment to seeing that intelligent historical studies of native Canadians in this region get written leaves me little choice: this book fails. Some may go further, to argue, not without justification, that it does a disservice to the role that careful historical work must play in the construction of an ethnohistory from documents (certainly not the only form of ethnohistory) of native people in the western Canadian Subarctic.

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THE ARCTIC & ITS WILDLIFE. By BRYAN SAGE. London: Croom Helm, 1986. 190 p., 125 plates, 30 tables, 38 figs., index, refs. Hardbound. Cdn\$34.95.

If you "require, in one volume, a reasonably detailed account of the arctic environment and its fauna and flora with plenty of 'meat' in the form of facts, figures and illustrations," this book, says its author, is for you. Acknowledging at the outset that the meat is somewhat unevenly distributed on the carcass, author Bryan Sage makes no apologies: he had to be "selective"; it was "not possible to include the fish"; "for reasons of space, there is no separate discussion [*sic*] of the native people, economics, or development"; and "neither has it been possible to deal with the all-important question of conservation."

Acknowledged deficiencies aside, Bryan Sage, who lives in England, and his four collaborators, Hugh V. Danks and Erich Haber, of the Canadian National Museum of Natural Sciences, Ottawa, Peter G. Kevan, of the University of Guelph, and Thomas G. Smith, of the Arctic Biological Station, Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue, provide a wide-ranging survey of arctic natural history. Most of the book is authored by Sage, who, according to the jacket, "worked for 21 years as an oil industry ecologist" (referring, presumably, to the business of his patrons rather than to a disciplinary specialty), with Haber contributing sections on the circumpolar arctic flora and adaptations of arctic plants, Kevan and Danks on arctic insects and their adaptations, and Smith on arctic marine mammals and their management.

Inside an elegant dust jacket graced by a Dalton Muir photograph of a gyrfalcon and family, the reader will find a diverse mixture of photographs, tables, illustrations and text, encyclopedia style. There are 125 photos (72 in colour), of which 59 were taken by Sage. Almost half illustrate the chapter on birds. Parts of the text are of a descriptive nature, and others favour the manner of the review article, with specific scientific observations incorporated and referenced. Some 436 references are listed.

The references are generally technical, recent and focussed on wildlife. A quarter were published between 1980 and 1985, and half since 1976. Only 16 percent saw the light before 1961. Two-thirds are rather evenly divided between birds and mammals. Fewer than 10 percent are on either plants or invertebrates, and only a few concern climate, terrain, limnology and the sea. The focus of the book is very clearly on arctic birds and mammals.

The chapter headed "Breeding Birds" is nearly 40 pages long and is supplemented by a 7-page appendix showing which species breed in arctic Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Svalbard and the Soviet Union. It covers, in order, faunal elements, migration, breeding biology, tundra bird community structure, nesting densities in arctic habitats, marine birds and "selected species accounts," the latter very briefly treated under family (e.g., Gaviiformes) subtitles. Read alone or in conjunction with other, original material, Sage's survey of recent observations will be useful, but nonetheless it conveys a limited perspective.

In the treatment of zoogeography, there is no mention of variation below the species level. It is explained that bird migration out of the Arctic is due to lethal winter conditions ("there are just two basic alternatives . . . they can move out of the area, or die"), but no

explanation is offered for spring migration north. In spite of considerable description of amazing migratory cycles, there is no analysis of how they might have come to be. Species are treated as static entities, rather than forms whose distribution, appearance and behaviour change over time: in fact, the interesting species whose distributions appear to be wavering at the margins are deliberately omitted from any discussion of faunal elements. Similarly, other kinds of behaviour are treated as static rather than adaptive. It is apparent, for example, to Canadian arctic urban people, that the raven has learned to share their settlements. From its wilderness state as a congener of the wolf, it has found and entered a new niche. Other species have also taken advantage of new circumstances. Black guillemots have adopted abandoned buildings as nest sites on western Canadian arctic coasts, where fissured rocks are scarce. Various tree-nesting songbirds make similar use of structures such as cabins and caches beyond the tree line. The mutability of life in the arctic zone should surely be a major theme: the penetrating insights of Rausch, Manning, Salomonsen and Kurten, among others, seem somehow to have passed unnoticed.

The chapter headed "Terrestrial Mammals" is, at 36 pages with a 2-page appendix on the same theme as that for the birds, of comparable length. Its introduction touches on distribution, faunal elements, population cycles and effects of grazing. It then treats the various species by order (e.g., Insectivora). This section provides quite detailed species accounts, again with some emphasis on the Alaskan North Slope, and a corresponding neglect of other areas, particularly arctic Quebec, which rates not a mention in the section on caribou. In fact, Sage's map, "Ranges of Caribou Herds in the North American Arctic," includes a Quebec devoid of the species and a Greenland lacking both *groenlandicus* and *pearyi*. Other subjects I have some knowledge of, such as the history of caribou in the Arctic Archipelago and on Southampton Island, of the muskox on Banks Island and of the red fox on Baffin Island, are superficially and inadequately addressed. The relevant appendix leaves out the Svalbard column present in the one for birds.

Sage's collaborators have contributed strong review articles on their specialties. Kevan and Danks in a six-page chapter for the most part ignore geographic specifics in favour of broader perspectives (" . . . sex is almost, or completely, unknown in a number of Arctic insects"). However, one can hardly quarrel with that when they tell us, "very few species in the High Arctic are not circumpolar"!

Haber's eleven-page chapter on the "Flora of the Circumpolar Arctic" provides the most thorough treatment of biogeography and diversity gradients. Other sections of his chapter are on habitats and plant cover, distributional patterns, plant dispersal and reproduction and genetic specialization. Haber's first sentence runs, "North beyond the fringe of the nearly continuous expanse of predominantly coniferous forest that encircles the Northern hemisphere lies a treeless barren. . . ." That will surely puzzle many northerners, from Norway, southern Greenland, Yukon and Alaska particularly. Even on the Canadian barrens, tree-scale willows occupy sheltered havens far to the north of where demoted spruces expose their all to the driving snow and understandably fail to rear their kind. Sage's own treatment of vegetation and zonation, in a chapter on defining the Arctic, gives a more balanced perspective. Haber chooses not to mention fire as an ecological factor: over time, fire surely mediated northward borders of Boreal and Little Sticks zones.

"Marine Mammals," Smith's contribution, runs for ten pages. It starts with an impression of the arctic marine mammal scene, then provides separate and expert species accounts, ending with a statement on management. It frankly emphasizes marine mammals of Canadian waters.

A minor and perhaps entirely personal dislike of mine lies in the use of the negative superscript to denote rates and ratios, in expressions such as "90,000 m³ s⁻¹" and "10,000 organisms m⁻²", instead of the word "per" or the sign "/", as in "10,000 organisms per m²."

Bryan Sage has gone to a lot of trouble to provide those who require this "reasonably detailed account" with the information reviewed above, but to what end? He explains, "The Arctic is threatened, and