

The compensation monies that accompany the retention of land in the land claims process in the North have to provide the basis for sustained well-being for indigenous peoples. At first glance these monies are substantial — compensation for Alaska natives was \$962.5 million, for the Cree \$225 million and for the Inuvialuit \$152 million — but their ability to contribute to the long-term well-being of indigenous populations depends on the manner in which they are spent, invested and managed.

Financial management is in the hands of settlement corporations, organizations constituted through land claims settlement legislation to administer a claim on behalf of beneficiaries. Financial performance of existing settlements is mixed; native corporations own airlines, mining companies and various business ventures. In many instances, however, business performance has been weak, although the provisions of Canadian settlement legislation has meant that Inuvialuit and James Bay settlement corporations have fared far better than their Alaskan counterparts. The study pulls no punches in discussing problems and failures but takes pains to argue that they largely result from pent-up expectations on behalf of beneficiaries regarding the benefits to be brought by settlement of land claims, by the wide range of interests and mandates to be accommodated by settlement corporations and by the North's economic geography, which renders many business ventures marginal at the best of times.

A central problem lies with the mandate of settlement corporations, which is often divided between perpetuating revenues and promoting community well-being. Ideally corporations should generate long-term stable revenues, but after waiting so long for the settlement of claims it is perhaps too much to ask that beneficiaries forgo immediate rewards in order to build large cash funds for the future. Some Alaskan corporations resolved this problem by paying out a fixed dividend each year; some corporations have been paying out dividends on negative income and have yet to generate positive revenue flow.

The complexity of decisions facing native groups is a reoccurring if not overt theme. They are making decisions that affect their destinies — should they satisfy immediate needs or future needs? Should they invest visibly and locally within the North, where risks are high and opportunities few, or in the urban South, where long-term returns on investment would be maximized? Should they centralize control of funds (this smacks of paternalism) or free them up for individual investment (this maximizes risk)? Should they spend monies on community works or invest monies for future gains?

The study makes the point that ironically (yet perhaps not surprisingly) the big financial gainers from land claims may well be the corporations who move into the North as impediments to development are removed through land claims settlements and who, unlike the native groups, have relatively simple economic objectives and long experience in market economies. Native peoples would gain from such development only if they obtained direct economic spinoffs and their land claims compensation had not to be spent ameliorating the impacts of adverse externalities. For those who view land claims capital as a major source of development capital in the North, the report makes disappointing reading, arguing convincingly that the South is a stronger and safer investment, especially if the interest from compensation monies are to make a long-term contribution to community well-being in the North.

The study correctly makes the point that the greatest asset that native groups will have pursuant to the claim Final Agreement is residual land. But here yet another decision-making dilemma emerges (and is discussed), that of selecting a balance of lands between lands for traditional purposes and lands for commercial purposes.

The work would have benefitted from more careful consideration of community-level needs and aspirations, and failure to more adequately deal with this is perhaps a reflection of its macro-cosmic sweep. Most natives live in small, scattered communities, retain strong ties to the land and live in an economic milieu characterized by part-time market economy employment. Transfer payments and

hunting and trapping and settlement impacts will (or should be) felt at the community level. Although some of these things are treated on aggregate (e.g., hunter/trapper support), no real consideration is given to the complex structure of community economy or the relationship between economy and culture, and Brody's analysis of community economic structure and possible futures gets short shrift, while there is no mention whatsoever of Michael Asch's musings on the question of appropriate community-level activity. Detailed analysis in this area is of some importance given the fact that the report is produced by the Sustainable Development Group at the Arctic Institute and that a major recommendation of the report is that monies be invested in stable dividend earners outside the N.W.T. and that the interest be used to promote native aspirations.

As with all works, there are quibbles. The title may give unease — the implication perhaps being that native people have difficulty coping with cash. On the other hand, small populations and lack of training means that native groups do not have the human resources available in other societies, especially at the community level, and are faced with major investment and expenditure decisions affecting their long-term well-being that would make even the most seasoned executive wince. Although the work is concise and generally tightly written, some improvements could have been made to the presentation. The practice of using block capitals to emphasize what the authors consider to be major points is particularly infuriating, detracting from the flow of the text, and nowhere does the text format match that of the lucid and informative graphics.

To those with involvement or interest in the land claims process there is much that is familiar in this work; there is also much that is new. The detailed financial analysis is new, and comparative performance of implemented claims in one volume is very useful. The sound recommendations that a generous and accommodating implementation process is required, that native people can only make the transition to a post-settlement world with appropriate training opportunities and strong government support are not new, but there is no harm in reinforcing an important message, especially if it is accompanied by detailed supporting data, as it is in *Coping with the Cash*. Beyond this the synthesis is an invaluable and practical contribution to the very important question of land claims implementation that should be compulsory reading for both government bureaucrats and native leaders.

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- MIN TID I GRØNLAND, GRØNLAND I MIN TID. By ERIK L. BALSLEV SMIDT. Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1989. In Danish. 214 p.

The subtitle of this book is *Fishery, Biology, Community*. It is a "professional autobiography," an account of a life's work, an up-to-date account of developments in climate and fishery in Greenland in the present century seen from the sea, which is the proper viewpoint. Erik Smidt shows clearly that in the North, and in the history of the Greenlanders in particular, the sea is the chief resource and that the Greenlanders are an eminently maritime people.

Dr. Smidt is a Dane, which means that he belongs to one of those Scandinavian countries to which many of us look for good sense,

continued good sense, and great pertinacity in the pursuit of their objectives. This book illustrates these qualities very well. At the turn of the century the Danes were looking for means to raise the economic standards of the Greenlanders. In this they turned instinctively to the sea. In 1906 Napoleon Andreassen, a fisherman from the Faeroe Islands, was sent to southwest Greenland to try some experimental fishing. He found very few cod, but there were Atlantic halibut available on the banks and Greenland halibut in Disko Bay. Professor Adolf Jensen, who was in charge of the Greenland fishery research, continued in 1908 with the former Greenland trading vessel *Tjalfe*, and the process went on year by year. In 1908 no cod were found on the banks, but there were cod inshore in the Fiskenaasset area, which disappeared the following year. These efforts were rewarded in 1917, when the cod, which belonged to an Icelandic stock, appeared in some numbers in the southwest. From then on the cod increased in numbers each year and crept farther north, reaching finally as far as Umanak and Upernavik.

An increase in the Atlantic water present in the West Greenland Current was responsible for the appearance of the cod. The temperature increased rapidly year by year. Smidt charts the progress of the temperature change and shows also the close association between the cod numbers and the temperature. There was a cooling period after 1936, a second warming up to 1960, followed by the collapse of the warm period and of the cod fishery — a truly remarkable upswing and downswing within a period of 75 years, and apparently without benefit of carbon dioxide and the greenhouse effect.

Erik Smidt's account of this history is for the most part first-hand. Adolf Jensen was succeeded by Paul Marinus Hansen as director of the Greenland marine research, and Hansen was in turn succeeded by Svend-Aage Horsted, the present director. Erik Smidt joined the laboratory shortly after the Second World War. During that war, when none of the laboratory personnel were in Greenland, the interests of the research were nevertheless kept up as far as possible, mainly in the hands of the wartime governor of Greenland, Eske Brun, whose contribution to Greenland's welfare was probably unrivalled in the history of the island. Smidt writes: "If I were asked who, in my opinion, had the most positive significance for the Greenland community's development in the former (19th) century, I would without doubt answer H.J. Rink and Samuel Kleinschmidt . . . and to the same question for the 20th century, I believe I would answer Adolf Jensen and Eske Brun."

The history of the Atlantic salmon fishery in west Greenland waters and the growth of the shrimp fishery, now an extremely important resource, are also dealt with, along with that of other species. It is to be hoped that this book will be translated, for it is an excellent account of a most interesting ecological, economic and sociological development in the North. If it is translated, I would recommend to its author that he expand it somewhat in the historical parts. For instance, the Godthaab expedition of 1928, which along with the United States Coast Guard expedition of the same year founded our oceanographic knowledge of Baffin Bay, Davis Strait and the Labrador Sea, deserves much more space.

There is a good account of the daily economy of Greenland and of the spectacular growth of the Greenland settlements in the years since 1946 and the arrival of self-government ten years ago. East coast developments are also well covered, including the matter of the United States base at Cape Dan, not altogether a happy incident. The chapter on "People I Met" is particularly intriguing. Besides being an established marine biologist, Erik Smidt is a very human soul and (if I may say so) a philosophic type, both of which qualities come through in this book.

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RUPERT'S LAND: A CULTURAL TAPESTRY. Edited by RICHARD C. DAVIS. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988. xii + 314 p., 14 maps, 16 photos, 14 figs., index. Hardbound. Cdn\$34.00.

I teach the earliest English-Canadian literature, and each year I ask my students to erase from their minds the railroad, the highway, and the air routes that — between the births of my grandfather in 1860 and my daughter in 1961 — stitched together the disparate regions of an east-west country. "Think water," I tell them, "think of a land mass you can traverse only in the direction the rivers will take you." And we are in Rupert's Land with Henry Kelsey, carrying the governor's pipe to the "Naywattame poets." The terms of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter of 1670, awarding the right to trade in all the area draining into Hudson's Bay, tell us two things: that its founders knew that water was the key to probing the otherwise unfathomable land mass of North America, and that no one had much idea how far a North American waterway might extend. Rupert's Land stretches from the Arctic, where (roughly calculated) it touches latitude 72°N, south to the source of the Red River (approximately 47°N), and from somewhere around 65°W in Quebec west to about 116°W in the Rockies. Its boundaries remain hazy even to modern historians, though Richard Ruggles has provided a map to guide the readers of this new volume (much more clearly reproduced on the book jacket than in the text).

Rupert's Land, then, is a concept as much as a place. It began as an English mercantile objective and ended as an institutional entity, one long dead now except in the usage of the Anglican Church of Canada and the legislature of Manitoba. It persists however as a state of mind. For English Canadians it is the first great unimagined space in our national consciousness, predating the settlement history of the West itself, predating the eighteenth-century movement into southern Ontario, in its earliest phase predating the English garrisons in the Maritimes. Within its vague, immense boundaries, as Richard Davis rightly points out in his introduction, the problems that as Canadians we still attempt to solve today were first posed: the relation between Eurocentric traders and the aboriginal "other," between the English clinging to their Bayside posts and the French at their backs in the interior, between the desire to exploit the land and the fact of its quick exhaustion, between the settler's dream of peaceful plenty and the farmer's nightmare of drought and betrayal. Unlike other parts of Canada, Rupert's Land thus provides a set of metaphors for the *whole* of Canadian life, for its history since the beginning, for its abiding relationship with the land in both its "pastoral" (David Thompson's word) and its agricultural phases, for its intransigent social complexity, so at odds with the exclusionary norms by which societies of whatever sort announce their distinction from other societies. Not even the master narrative that Americans have devised to solve the problem of their own social complexity has been possible in Canada, and as this book illustrates all too well, in this respect also Rupert's Land provides a metaphor for Canadian discourse.

In this new volume Richard C. Davis, of the University of Calgary, has woven a dozen papers from the Rupert's Land conference of 1986 into a "cultural tapestry" illustrating the life and history of this great territory. And in the first essay on early mapping, Richard Ruggles identifies in the terms of his own discipline the problem that besets all the others: the ways in which a European culture on the move projected its own vision on a land mass it considered uninhabited, even to the point of mapping what *must* be there rather than what *was* there. Most of the essayists are deeply troubled by this history of Eurocentrism and attempt either to explore or escape from it in various ways: Olive Dickason looks at the 800-year history of "first encounters" and concludes that Amerindians, Inuit, and Euro-Canadians still inhabit their respective solitudes; John Allen observes unexpected interactions between British exploration data and "theoretical geography" in Jeffersonian America; Clive Holland casts new light on why the first Franklin expedition *really* went wrong (British ignorance of local realities); and Sylvia Van Kirk shows