

than substantive. Perhaps these are the trade-offs one has to accept in such a comprehensive work. Textual repetitions and overlaps, for example on tourism and its effects on the landscape, agriculture, and the society, abound. Even a map showing the mountain regions according to the federal law appears three times, but one showing the places mentioned in the selections is not included. Much of the material is difficult to read due to the use of convoluted sentence structure and peculiar words and phrases resulting from improper translation. There are also some peculiar errors, such as giving some bibliographic references in English when all are in German. These items, as well as providing an English translation for common German abbreviations, could have been eliminated by careful editing.

Substantively, the use of altitude as an explanatory variable can be questioned when more specific ones such as slope angle, climatic elements, and the like are more incisive. Also, the lengthy treatment given several rudimentary concepts results in too much teaching, although this might be useful for intelligent laymen or politicians instead of professionals. The selections consisting only of abstracts are virtually useless — if they were to be included, more information should have been given. Identifying the affiliation of contributors would also have been valuable. In addition to the theoretical and planning conclusions, a summary of the substantive material would have been helpful.

In a collection such as this, one would anticipate diverse viewpoints and conclusions, with the contributors riding their favorite horses, but this is not the case. There is striking unanimity regarding the gains and losses resulting from the transformation: economic gains, measured against environmental and aesthetic losses; increased dependence upon the heartland (centers of economic and political power) and loss of autonomy and self-reliance; that change as such is continual and needs to be accepted; and that a change in basic values is required to bring about a better balance. Although some worthwhile suggestions are made, there is also much silence as to how to bring about these changes.

How is this book relevant for those interested in arctic lands? Although specifics regarding Swiss legislation, settlement history, relationships between the cantons and the federal government, societal objectives, and the like obviously do not apply, there is great similarity between arctic lands and alpine regions — less in their physical characteristics, despite certain similarities, than in their human and cultural ones. Both are peripheral to the political, economic, and population centers of the heartland. The problems of development vs. non-development, economic vs. environmental values, and political and economic independence vs. external control and domination are as real in arctic lands as in mountainous ones.

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**THE SUBARCTIC FUR TRADE: NATIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATIONS.** Edited by SHEPARD KRECH III. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984. 194 p., 30 maps and tables, author and subject indices. Hardbound. Cdn\$28.95.

This book is the first major work to focus on the fur trade and native economic history in the subarctic region of Canada. Each article is a rewritten version of a paper originally presented at the American Society for Ethnohistory conference in 1981. The six papers in the volume offer an innovative approach toward better understanding the fur trade in the subarctic by combining the interdisciplinary perspectives of anthropologists, historians and geographers; all authors have a common interest in native economic and social adaptations due to fur trade influences. All focus on themes current in fur-trade historiography, including the identification of native motivations, the extent to which natives were involved as discriminating consumers and creative

participants, and the extent of their dependency upon the trade. Besides furthering our understanding of native adaptations to trade, the ultimate objective of the volume is to "spawn meaningful questions and spur others, through the use of more sophisticated techniques or more refined textual interpretations, to greater advances in fur-trade scholarship" (p. xvii). As such, this volume invites the attention of fur-trade historians and northern specialists and students. This is a "state of the art" book.

Literature about the impact of the fur trade on subarctic native cultures is controversial and sometimes acrimonious. Perhaps the most significant and worthwhile outcome of this volume is a consensus on the inadequacies of a chronological framework used by many subarctic specialists to analyse the historical period: it is a framework suggesting that significant changes in subarctic native cultures did not take place until recently (Helm and Leacock, 1971; Helm *et al.*, 1975; Helm *et al.*, 1981). While the complex supporting arguments differ, there is an essential agreement that significant changes in productive activities and structural changes in subarctic native economy and society are deeply embedded in the fur trade. Serious subarctic scholars and others interested in analyzing cultural persistence and change in the Canadian subarctic should read this book with care before unwittingly accepting the logical and factual fallacy of the chronological framework used by others cited above.

This is an attractively presented and well-produced book; its Introduction by Krech gives an excellent synthesis of the articles. The first contribution, "Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare and the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1930," by Arthur Ray, a geographer-historian, clearly, as Krech says, sets the tone for the volume. Ray questions the hypothesis that modern native welfare societies are of recent origin and traces the causes to the early fur trade. Ranging across two and one-half centuries of historical data, Ray suggests the faunal depletions, scarce resources, the establishment of posts in marginal areas, the existence of low-paying seasonal employment, and the extension of trade goods on credit combined to produce dependent welfare societies by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ray's themes are focused on again by Charles Bishop, Toby Morantz, and Carol Judd in papers on the Northern Algonquians in the eastern subarctic and on the earlier centuries of the trade.

Bishop's essay, "The First Century: Adaptive Changes among the Western James Bay Cree between the Early Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," proposes that changes in Cree adaptations were produced by man-caused depletions of game, by a new technology, and by specialized economic or subsistence activities. Rejecting the simplistic idea that contact with European fur traders either created social structural breakdown or resulted in persistence of native culture and society, he suggests that, although shifts in adaptive emphases in native societies occurred throughout contact, radical departure from old ways in response to these shifts are not immediate. It is only when the changes become cumulative, which result in part from decisions made by natives themselves, that there are fundamental discontinuities with the past. For example, the Cree living west of James Bay are described as being dependent by 1725 upon guns and ammunition and during some seasons on store food. Persistence in other aspects of their culture is acknowledged.

While Bishop argues for socioeconomic changes by 1725, Morantz's paper, "Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade," indicates that it is difficult to determine if the upland or inland Indians east of Fort Albany, across James Bay, were involved enough in direct trade during the mid-eighteenth through the first half of the nineteenth century to have produced changes in social and economic organization. Although Bishop and Morantz differ regarding the impact of the trade on natives in two almost contiguous areas, the difference may be due to historical and ecological factors; these differences are not accounted for in the book. Nevertheless, the authors should not be faulted for this. We do, however, need to know what the authors think the aboriginal mode of production for subarctic Indians was and we need to know more about what they perceive to be changing or persisting in post-contract native

culture and society. It is to be remembered, however, that the ultimate objective of the book is to raise meaningful questions; both authors succeed.

Judd's paper, "Sakie, Esquawenoe, and the Foundation of a Dual-Native Tradition at Moose Factory," reflecting the interests of a historian, reconstructs a biography of Sakie, a homeguard Cree "Captain" and Esquawenoe, a leader of upland or inland Cree. Focusing on natives in the same region and time period of Bishop and Morantz, we are given an image of natives as being creative, active participants in the fur trade. Too often, we lose sight of native participants and native personalities who contributed so much to our fur trade economy. More work like this needs to be done.

The final two papers by Krech and by Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach shift the focus of the book from the trade of Northern Algonquians in the eastern subarctic to Northern Athapaskans in the western subarctic. Krech's paper describes and interprets the trade at Fort Simpson, the major post on the Mackenzie River. He assesses the impact of Fort Simpson on the Dogrib and Slavey Indians by analyzing over 1600 transactions with roughly 200 post trappers. After presenting his data, Krech concludes that while Indian dependence on the post was not great in the 1820s, it is not possible to understand native adaptations without fully considering the context of the exchange itself. The diseases brought by traders and the interethnic tensions created by the desire for middleman profits or for furs are important factors.

The final essay of Jarvenpa and Brumbach demonstrates the changes in the adaptations of Upper Churchill Chipewyan in the final decade of the nineteenth century compared to the first two-thirds of the century. The authors show that during the 1890s native gatherings at the post became more frequent, winter hunting occurred closer to the post, and operating expenses (goods) rose while fur reforms declined. An analysis of account books revealed that the Chipewyans were in debt and spent about 39 percent of their credit on food. Their findings relate directly to Ray's search for the origins of welfare dependence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The authors and particularly the editor, Shepard Krech III, and UBC Press are to be congratulated for producing such a well-integrated and edited volume on the subarctic fur trade. As the research evolves and as we develop more sophisticated techniques for analyzing historical documents, it is hoped that similar volumes are prepared to report that progress. The objectives of this book have been met; it is an advancement in fur-trade scholarship.

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