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**NORTHERN NOMADIC HUNTER-GATHERERS: A HUMANISTIC APPROACH.** By DAVID RICHES. London and New York: Academic Press, 1982. 225 p. + bib., index. US\$24.50.

At the outset Riches outlines his theoretical orientation, contrasting what he calls the "humanistic" approach which he proposes to follow, with the "scientific" which is presented as that used by most northern scholars. A disclaimer is made of any attempt at ethnographic completeness, together with a denial of the value of native mythological and cosmological knowledge, and an admission of the extinct nature of most of the societies considered. We are left with an approach that is based on what plausibly must have been native conceptions of environment and their societies together with assumed decision-making processes which shaped their societies. Given the highly subjective and speculative nature of this approach, I cannot see that the terms humanistic and emic (which are used synonymously) are appropriate.

Stripped of these questionable epithets, Riches' method involves examination of statements about northern hunters on the basis of some premises which are built from a preliminary examination of ethnography. In short, he seems to be making a case for the deductive approach as an alternative to the largely inductive stance of most scholars of the North.

The premises which he evolves are overwhelmingly ecological in nature, as the author admits in his final chapter. However, he cautions that he is departing from the "use of the language of scientific ecology" as conventional ecological studies "are plainly of no explanatory relevance in this study, since they are quite outside... Eskimo and Indian perceptions of the arctic and subarctic environment." I do not feel that he can adequately represent Inuit and Indian perceptions without making greater use than he does of the ethnography which attempts to portray such perceptions.

In the last analysis the reader is left to judge whether the interpretations of previous studies of northern hunters, based largely on empirical data but involving as well some speculations, present more cogent arguments than those of Riches, which are more intuitive but whose validity must ultimately rest in the ethnography. I believe that while the informed and objective reader will concede that at times Riches does offer pithy criticisms, for the most part his interpretations will not achieve greater acceptance than those given previously.

I want to devote the remainder of the review to what I consider to be some of the major problems of the volume, realizing that because of the great range of questions considered I can touch on only the most obvious faults.

In the second chapter the author addresses himself to the question of determinants of group size among northern hunters. His awarding primacy to ecological determinants seems to be based on our ability to objectify them more easily than the more elusive social factors, but this quality does not justify assigning ecological factors primacy and disallowing efficacy for social factors.

As an ethnographer of the group in question I was shocked to find Riches using the Iglulik Eskimo as "the exemplar Eskimo society" when I have stressed their aberration. I am also uncomfortable about his using the same group as the type case for Eskimo marriage practices in contrast to the cousin-

marriage systems of the Subarctic. Published accounts of Eskimo exogamic-endogamic ideals and practices are simply too few and too incomplete to allow setting up such a dichotomy as he does. Also in the third chapter, his argument for social-organization differences between Copper and Netsilik being based on different levels of subsistence remains unconvincing to me.

In the fourth chapter Riches presents a new scheme of types of groupings which pose some interesting possibilities. However, when he uses ethnographic examples to illustrate his types he is not always convincing. I am thinking in particular of his identification of the Inuit-*miut* designation with his "locational band". This identification ignores the analyses of Stefansson, Jenness, Birket-Smith and Burch who have pointed out the elusiveness of, and especially the relativity of, the *-miut* postbase as applied to actual groupings of people. In addition to failing to refer to these authors in that context, omission of mention of other authors seems inexcusable. How can one discuss the problems of the band or of motives for aggregations in the Subarctic, as does Riches, without citing the relevant works of Slobodin and of J.G.E. Smith? How can one claim to represent the emic approach to subarctic ethnology when the writings of Hallowell and Preston (to give only two appropriate names) are not mentioned?

In Chapter Five Riches concludes that "hunter-gatherer leadership is in fact exercised rather less often in respect of matters of production" than one might expect, yet his analysis of Inuit leadership rests almost entirely on premises related to production. His out-of-hand rejection of the importance of kinship factors related to leadership prevents him from exploring the subtle interactions that exist between the ideal and the actual, the nominal and the operational apparent in several Inuit societies.

Those ethnologists who specialize in the Subarctic are better qualified than I to comment on Chapter Six, where the question of family hunting territories is examined. In the seventh chapter attempts to analyze problems of contact-caused changes are particularly inchoate in the confusion of time levels and in the attempt to solve too many problems in too short a space. Riches' struggles with the unfortunate concept of materialism are not successful and his speculations regarding the probable changes which occurred in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netsilik institutions fall well outside the realm of historical conjecture that will be acceptable to either social anthropologists or ethnologists.

If his refutation of Sahlins's concept of the original affluent society in the final chapter is addressed to students of northern hunters, he is preaching to the converted, for this notion has met with wide-scale rejection beginning with the 1966 Man The Hunter Conference where Sahlins rather facetiously introduced it.

I find the greatest difficulty of this work to be its expansiveness. Too many problems are tackled, and the burden of both arctic and subarctic hunters is too great a weight to shoulder. The book is in fact an attempt at a *tour de force* of northern hunters as well as of a number of generalized hunter-gatherer problems. Had Riches limited the range of these problems and narrowed the scope of societies considered, and in doing so more adequately represented scholars whose works are relevant to the discussions, and taken into account more fully the nuances of their arguments as they differed or agreed with his own, he might have made a stronger case for the deductive approach and achieved a significant contribution to northern studies.

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**AN EXAMINATION OF PREHISTORIC COPPER TECHNOLOGY AND COPPER SOURCES IN WESTERN ARCTIC AND SUBARCTIC NORTH AMERICA.** By U.M. FRANKLIN, E. BADONE, R. GOTTHARDT and B. YORGA. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper no. 101). 158 p. incl. bib., Mercury Series bib. No price indicated.

This important monograph summarizes the study of the technology, typology and distribution of 342 native copper artifacts from Canadian Eskimo and Athapaskan ethnographic and archaeological collections, with supplementary observations on several Alaskan Athapaskan archaeological collections. A uniform copper technology crosscut ethnic and temporal boundaries and produced finished artifacts which were all quite small. It was based on the folding of small sheets of native copper and the consolidation of these sheets by hammering into larger artifacts in a process clearly involving annealing and/or hot working.