

analogously in other Inuktitut settings, though more recent ethnological work has emphasized the non-kin alliance factors, which he documented and which others saw as unique to the Belchers, though, in fact, not many are.

Perhaps the best contemporary analysis undertaken in the circumpolar context in recent years has been done by the young British social anthropologist, Nuttall, whose recent *Arctic Homeland* is the most insightful writing on the Inuktitut in decades. His essay on the naming system and the Greenlandic notion of the person maintains, in this collection, his remarkable standard of perceptive accuracy. The data and analysis are unpretentiously and trenchantly presented.

There is good work on the contemporary Dene (by Jean-Guy Goulet), the Northwest Coast (by Michael Harkin), the Kwakiutl (by Marie Mauzé), the Tlingit (by Ian Stevenson, a psychiatrist), the Gitsan (by Mills), the Inupiat of northern Alaska (by Edith Turner) and, of course, Slobodin writes intimately about Kutchin concepts of reincarnation, observing well a people among whom he has worked over a stretch of 30 years. The concluding essay, also by Slobodin, is both a valuable historical summation and a contemporary perspective on secularized society. It, furthermore, appropriately rounds off the volume by raising critical questions concerning perception evidence as part of identity.

The book is ethnographically rich, though not comprehensive. Some might regret various omissions, while realizing unavoidable editorial limitations, and call for further research and analyses. But the collection yields genuine advances in substantive knowledge and theoretical provender. This useful book does two things that one would expect of such an intellectually fruitful collaboration. It develops fresh areas of knowledge and paves the way for ongoing inquiry by raising searching new questions.

Herds of the Tundra: A Portrait of Saami Reindeer Pastoralism

Robert Paine

Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. xiv + 242 pp. \$59.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Hugh Beach
Uppsala University

Do not be deceived! This large-formatted, lean-looking volume with striking black-and-white photographs of reindeer and Saami herdsmen on the cover is no coffee-table picture book of Lapland. It is a multidimensional, analytical tour de force by the leading anthropological scholar on Saami reindeer pastoralism. Each year, thousands of reindeer, managed by hundreds of Saami families, move from the interior winter grazing lands of Finnmark to the islands and peninsulas along the Norwegian North Sea coast for the summer—and then move back again. All the while, the pastoralists actively mediate between the reindeer and the land. It is not simply a matter of following the deer on their natural migrations. Herders must, among other things, possess intimate knowledge of reindeer habits (which vary with such things as reindeer age and sex, herd composition and the season); seasonal availability of grazing throughout a wide and shifting range; and the movements and impacts of other herds. They must be able to chart a spatio-temporal course—with alternatives at every fork—satisfying both to their reindeer and to the needs of their households. That this large-scale annual move can be accomplished in a manner that preserves each herder's individual man-

agement autonomy, within a necessarily shifting pattern of partnerships, is nothing less than miraculous. The reader is soon convinced that there could hardly be a more ingenious pastoral management system than that devised over the centuries by the Saami, if the long migrations are to be orchestrated throughout Finnmark, recurrently and without degeneration of herder knowledge, herder recruitment or the natural habitat.

Paine does not pretend to have distilled all of the herders' detailed knowledge into book form (although we are here served the largest portion ever made available to the English-speaking public). Yet, by letting the reader learn with him through his field experience, and by presenting the contrasting strategies of different key herders to whom he was apprenticed in the field, Paine succeeds in the far more important task of making the reader appreciate the Kautokeino Saami pastoral model and its major variations. Paine became competent in the Saami language, and he uses a good deal of Saami terminology to instruct us in Saami pastoralism. Without this Saami vocabulary to express Saami concepts and categories, Paine's task would be incredibly cumbersome. Readers had best learn a core of Saami herding terms and, to help them recall terms introduced in the text, a Saami glossary is provided.

Paine entered the Saami field as a young man, approximately 40 years ago. Since then he has established himself as an authority on Saami matters. However, this book, and the one he has now in preparation, *Saami Camps*, comprise his first, much-anticipated, full and integrated treatment of his fieldwork among the Kautokeino pastoralists. *Herd of the Tundra* recapitulates seminal points about Saami herd management made by Paine in previously published articles, but these points are now embedded in a broader context, and are usually fleshed out with concrete cases, if not presented in a narrative form describing the circumstances by which Paine himself came to be aware of them.

This book goes far beyond being a compendium of vintage Paine or of being merely a delayed publication of important field material. In it he also confronts issues of change and brings us into the present, by discussing various processes of modernization and state-imposed rationalization. A major strength of this work is that it is ever attuned to the political interface between the Saami way of doing things and the policies of the Norwegian nation-state. The book's store of accumulated knowledge and insights about Saami pastoralism is released full force in the current debate that is raging over the Finnmark (and other parts of Lapland) concerning supposed reindeer overpopulation, grazing depletion and the call to increase the efficiency of "the herding industry," through the application of what Paine dubs "desktop pastoralism." Having undertaken, beginning in the early 1970s, work with Saami herders in northern Sweden that dealt with many of the same issues, I am as discouraged as I am fascinated by Paine's account. Sweden has been far more advanced than Norway in the destruction of its Saami pastoral system, and it is a shame to see Norwegian policy makers tread the same path, with many of the same misdirected and insensitive regulations.

Of course, Saami pastoralism has changed much since the 1960s, as presented by Paine's model of "commensurate proportions," which relates proportions of the three basic factors of pastoral production (partners, herd and pasture). These changes are not caused only by externally imposed policies of rationalization. Large-scale herd increases within stressed ecological constraints, radical oscillations in the reindeer-meat market or the advent of a new technological innovation might all alter the balance of the old model, just as will state-induced subsidies and taxation policies. However, state policies might be necessary—in a modern, increasingly market-oriented reindeer economy—to restore some of the old flexibility to the system. This would require state

programs that are conscious of Saami values and open to Saami internal self-determination, rather than policies that are blindly based on profit maximization and programs that are antithetical to the interests expressed by the Saami but promoted "for their own good." Paine's book unavoidably, and to its credit, is also a piece of anthropological advocacy. Would that herding policy makers, as well as anthropologists, read *Herd of the Tundra*. It is nothing short of a masterpiece.

Labrador Winter: The Ethnographic Journals of William Duncan Strong, 1927-1928

Eleanor B. Leacock and Nan A. Rothschild, eds.

Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. xxiv + 235 pp. U.S.\$45.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Barnett Richling

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The past 30 years have not been kind to the Mushuau Innu (Montagnais-Naskapis) of Davis Inlet, Labrador. Most recently, their struggles with suicide and substance abuse and against government indifference have captured headlines at home and abroad. Regrettably, this has made them seem a defeated people, helpless and pitiable, not a community actively seeking, like many aboriginal communities, to hold on to its identity and culture against great odds. Worse still, the enormity and rapidity of the changes they have faced somehow overwhelm history, leaving us only to imagine the quite different life they led just a generation ago. Given all of that, the appearance of *Labrador Winter* is very timely, its first-hand account of Innu society drawn before the deluge began.

Early in the century, the Innu enjoyed a certain notoriety in anthropological circles; the remoteness of the subarctic Québec-Labrador peninsula was thought to have preserved among them an archaic, static form of Algonkian culture. At the time William Duncan Strong went north to study them, accompanying the Field Museum's second Rawson-MacMillan Expedition of 1927-28, a 1928 anonymous report in the *American Anthropologist* described these Indians as among "the most primitive of extant peoples" (30[1]:173). Hyperbole aside, Strong did find the Davis Inlet band living as nomadic hunters, their egalitarian social organization still largely intact, their interactions with coast-dwelling Inuit and Settlers and with outsiders—mainly merchants and missionaries—limited and highly selective. But there were also clouds on the horizon, signs that the sheltering isolation of Innu existence in Labrador's vast northern interior was coming undone.

Strong visited the Davis Inlet band once, the first—and until Georg Henriksen's field work 40 years later—and the only anthropologist to live and travel with the band during the harsh winter months. He planned to publish on the experience, but his monograph went unfinished, set aside in favour of Andean and Plains archaeology, the work for which Strong is best known in the profession. The late Eleanor Leacock, Strong's student, eventually agreed to complete the manuscript. Working with 120 drafted pages, the original field journal and the author's notes, she and colleague Nan Rothschild succeeded in cobbling together a text that, in their estimation, is "as faithful to Strong's own record as possible" (p. x).