the use of apposite examples). All the members of our reading group, for example, agreed that we could not figure out the difference between what the authors meant by the term "place" versus what they meant by the term "dwelling"—despite the substantial amounts of space each concept took up in the book. In addition, anthropologists all, we were equally disenchanted with the authors' rather shallow usage of the concept of culture.

However, I found so many useful and interesting ideas and case material in the book that I "forgave" these weaknesses (though some of my fellow literary travellers did not). To use one illustration, I was fascinated by discussions about how individual trees took on public identities and became "personalities" in their own right, the way many people in Britain categorize "alien" trees versus "native" trees (partially related to racism and other forms of human stereotyping—e.g., "conifers as communists"), and how the authors differentiated between "working trees" and "wild trees." In the latter case, Jones and Cloke inform us that "working trees," such as fruit-bearing orchard trees or trees planted for industrial or other human purposes, face much greater dangers and have substantially shorter life spans than "wild" trees. There are also great differences between urban and rural trees and they cite studies (p. 202) that tell us, for example, that urban trees live an average of only 32 years compared to 150 years for rural trees, and that 50% of newly planted trees in urban areas die within their first year because of traffic pollution, road-clearing salt, soil compaction from roadways, and other causes. Clearly, human beings are not the only living entities that are subjected to extreme inequities among their own kind due to forces entirely beyond individualized control.

The thinking of Jones and Cloke is very much informed by the historical geography of David Harvey, cyborg theory of Donna Haraway, network theory of Bruno Latour and ecological anthropology of Tim Ingold. These influences are key for understanding the authors' viewpoints about relational agency. "In these approaches, the view of the individual as separate and autonomous is unsustainable, and therefore the notion of separate autonomous creativity is equally so. Creative agency is to be found collectively and relationally embedded" (p. 56). This idea is important for Jones and Cloke because of their desire to destabilize not only liberal humanistic notions of individual human agency, but also assumptions about the superiority of human versus non-human agency. In this sense, trees are merely their excuse for taking on numerous scientific and philosophical sacred cows in regard to human/non-human relationships, culminating in a whole chapter that is devoted to the topic of a "new deal" for the ethical treatment of non-human agents such as trees.

Despite its imperfections, in my opinion this book is a very useful "introduction" to a large number of issues important for understanding the political ecology of human/non-human relationships and should be read by researchers interested in such topics as rural vs. urban control over natural resources, issues of production and consumption related to nature tourism, and the creation of "natural" areas in both urban and rural spaces.

Ellen Bielawski, *Rogue Diamonds: The Search for Northern Riches on Dene Land*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003, 256 pages.

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Ellen Bielawski builds on early classic experiments in reflexive anthropological writing on the Canadian north in *Rogue Diamonds*, a critical and personal account of her years working as anthropologist, researcher and treaty negotiator with the Akaitcho Treaty 8 Dene of Lutsëlk'e. Following on Hugh Brody's one-man tradition of writing the political landscape of the Canadian north in *The People's Land* (1975) and *Maps and Dreams* (1981), on Jean Briggs' writing of the emotional landscapes of northern family and community life in *Never in Anger* (1970) and Frederica de Laguna's personal response to the northern land itself in *Voyage to Greenland* (1977), Bielawski crafts a reflexive ethnography around the meeting of miners, bureaucrats, Dene, and non-Native consultants during the events surrounding the development of Canada's first diamond mine. She compresses a narrative of greed and spirituality, of bad faith and good faith—the Janus face of the human condition—into the time line of the sixty-day "countdown" from August 6, 1996, when Indian Affairs Minister Ron Irwin gave conditional approval to the Ekati diamond mine. The approval was subject to "significant progress" in reaching agreements between Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. of Australia (BHP, the mining company), the First Nations, the Inuit and the Northwest Territories government—in 60 days. In the book, chapters that closely follow the events of those 60 days alternate with essays on Dene history and culture.

The Dene of Lutsëlk'e are no strangers to development. The 300 speakers of Dëne Súlin yati (called Chipewyan in English) who live on a granite point on the east arm of Great Slave Lake 180 kilometres east of Yellowknife worked in the fur trade as "the migrant workers of their hunting grounds" (p. 37) from the early 1700s until the most recent collapse of the fur market in the 1990s. For more than a century, Dene have worked as stakers for prospectors "large and small [who] have long relied on local labour to carry out the unskilled parts of the mineral exploration business" (p. 27). Dene witnessed the gold rush in the 1930s which led to the founding of the city of Yellowknife itself on Dene land. Oil extraction began shortly after 1930 at Norman Wells on the Mackenzie River as did uranium mining at points all along the Mackenzie River drainage in which "Dene went to work

moving burlap bags of radioactive ore on and off barges up and down the Mackenzie River, along what became known as the uranium road" (p. 38). By the 1990s, Lutsëlk'e's cancer rate was three times what might be expected for a community of its size. Lead zinc mining followed uranium in the 1950s, tungsten in the 1970s. In 1991 diamonds were discovered 300 kilometres northeast of Yellowknife under a small lake near Lac de Gras in the Coppermine River drainage system. The announcement triggered the biggest staking rush the world has ever seen—bigger than California and the Klondike gold rushes, bigger than the rush to South Africa for diamonds. Lac de Gras lies on the migration route of the Bathurst caribou herd, the winter food of the Akaitcho Dene. Dene knowledge connects Lac de Gras to the watershed of Desnéthché, the sacred river of the Dene and the site of an annual pilgrimage, the Spiritual Gathering of the Lutsëlk'e Dene at Old Woman Falls.

Rogue Diamonds explores the various ways that Dene have responded "to all this searching for and selling stuff that didn't move or grow" (p. 39). They seek to negotiate relationships with each new intrusion while daily fighting with legacies of poverty and disease. They face new challenges of conflicts between youth and elders and between "the money faction" and those who want more information about long-term impacts before agreeing to proposed developments. Age-old rivalries between Treaty 8 Dene and Treaty 11 Dogrib are fed and new divisions among Treaty 8 Dene are created by the division-of-spoils approach taken by developers who give out royalties and jobs to those who pose the least resistance. Throughout a history of change and "the search for northern riches" there have been only two constants: the people and the land. And this is the heart of Bielawski's story. It's not about the diamonds. Diamonds are just the latest "bit player" in a story of a land and its people. And here lies the rub and the heart of the book in which "the land is the protagonist."

It's a macabre dance. The Dene keep alive their relationship to their land and to one another through communal rituals of renewal: the annual Spiritual Gathering at Old Woman Falls; community "sweats" on the beach in Lutsëlk'e; communal work groups whether berry-picking or caribou hunting, or working under government-imposed deadlines and piles of paper in the First Nations office. The Canadian government continues a strategy of avoidance. It delays appointing a negotiator to establish community rights to land and to gain a livelihood from the land as promised in Treaty 8 in 1899. Meanwhile, it continues effectively to extinguish Aboriginal title by granting licenses for developments that build roads and air strips, pollute rivers and air and desecrate the land. And, it establishes impossibly short, urgent deadlines to which the Dene must respond or they are deemed to have shown "no interest."

This dance is presented through rich prose in a book that effectively combines the scientific rigour of ethnographic field observation and recording with a moving narrative of daily life in a 21st-century Dene community. Some of the most innovative ethnography is found in Bielawski's descriptions of the workings of bureaucracy. Her account, for example, of the Dene meeting with the Northwest Territories Water Board which sought to grant a Class A water license to BHP, the diamond company (before an environmental assessment hearing, before negotiating impact and benefits agreements with the Dogrib and Dene, and before the Canadian government's official approval of the mine development) takes us into the Explorer Hotel in Yellowknife. Here, through interpreters, Dene chiefs and elders communicate their relationship to, and concerns about, water—the river—and water experts communicate to Dene their concerns to maintain pH levels and their plans to "dewater" lakes. In a deadpan voice that belies her acute observation skills, Bielawski reproduces the dialogue in all its tragi-comical meanderings, contradictions and inevitability. "The public hearing" she writes, "is akin to trucking heavy equipment over the ice road: slow and deceptively smooth. Concentrating on the presentations is essential, otherwise interminable boredom might blind you to sudden hazard" (p. 68). Subsequent chapters record similar dynamics of Dene meetings with mining company executives, Department of Fisheries biologists and Department of Indian and Northern Affairs officials. The plot line is oppressively familiar. Chief Darrell Beaulieu summarizes: "the government [gets] the royalties, the shareholders [get] their cash and the First Nations [get] the shaft" (p. 158). The resilience of the Dene is awesome.

Rogue Diamonds is highly readable and recommended for undergraduate teaching in courses in introductory anthropology, First Nations studies, ethnographic writing, and applied anthropology.