

REVIEW

SEAWOMEN OF ICELAND: LIFE ON THE EDGE

Margaret Willson, 2016. University of Washington Press, Seattle; 312 pages, 20 figures, 2 tables, 2 maps, index, 3 appendices; ISBN 978-0295995502 (hardcover) \$34.95.

Reviewed by Katherine Reedy

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Seawomen of Iceland: Survival on the Edge is a refreshing read about generations of strong arctic seawomen as told by a strong seawoman herself. Unlike the women in this story, including the author, I am an anthropologist working in a similar climate in the Aleutian Islands who is a poor swimmer, who is terrified in any amount of rough seas, and who gets seasick even standing on docks (although I may have to try to cure this with Icelandic “horse medicine” by getting my head dunked into the cold sea). My fieldwork requires overcoming massive fears every time I go to work. I love reading about women I so want to emulate.

Willson is a historical detective investigating a large case of missing persons. Icelanders are sure there are no seawomen at first. The sea is men’s space; their trials and heroic tales do not include women. If they are at sea, they must be support staff for the men, stereotyped as whores or lesbians, and subject to rude labeling by the communities. The author instead finds an eclipsing of women’s work at sea, their stories forgotten over time, their roles undervalued, and their lives not memorialized in any significant way. She gradually dusts these rich tales off, awakens memories, and gives the women new life across many centuries. The process of discovery of these women exposes a collective forgetting, and I find myself wondering if I am also complicit in erasing the role of women in my own fieldwork in Alaska fisheries. Icelandic seawomen are probably not the global exception in an otherwise male-dominated occupation, but they are the ones who are getting the proper attention by Willson.

The women of Willson’s story are tough. They wore leather coats rubbed with fish and liver oil and layered, heavy, wet wool skirts that would pull them down to their deaths if they went overboard. As farmhand crew, they were expendable, enslaved on farms as “foster” children, receiving less clothing and food than men, and sent to sea to fish no matter the weather. Willson characterizes many faces of seawomen over time as farmers, rowers, advocates for women, women who are *fiskin* (they attract fish), weather readers, seal hunters, mothers, wives, crew, and helmswomen.

Male privilege runs through the stories and women’s exasperation (and resignation) that, even with a precedent of the 1720 law of equal pay, as soon as a job is well paying and desirable, the men snatch it up and deliberately exclude women. Following the plague, women worked on boats because the labor was needed, but then were overshadowed again by men on the rebound. Following the financial crisis in 2008, men in other trades lost their jobs and now compete over the fewer jobs at sea, pushing women completely out of the labor pool.

The book mirrors the Icelandic ability to comfortably move between centuries and “time slippages,” and does so with ease. The volume tracks many changing tides of the nation: tides of superstition—seawomen are *fiskin* and good luck in one era and fish repellent and bad luck on the boats in another; the tides of identity—seawomen are unfeminine, unattractive “trolls” in one era, and hardworking family women in another; the tides of work—women are fishing farmers, necessary labor in hard times, but

had to become housewives and more “womanly” under Danish rule; the tides of vessel changes—seawomen needed smaller boats to fish after the plague and mass death but were generally not allowed to work on the large boats post-Industrialization; and the tides of place—people are scattered to villages and outposts in one era, and consolidated in larger communities in another. Throughout these shifts, dark times followed by prosperity came with the same cost: women moved to shore, their work at sea met with disapproval and viewed as temporary until the men recovered their roles. The stories show that was not the view of the women themselves.

The privatization of fisheries in the 1980s appears at the end of the book yet is clearly a watershed moment in Iceland that likely came up in many interviews around the island. A quota system accelerated many changes, such as the abandonment of villages and outstations. Willson shows the move from scattered villages to harbors to accommodate larger boats. Families left the small outer islands for larger communities. Women worked in processing but not at sea. The policy also shifted the sense of home to shore, away from the sea, not a part of it. Still

women have always done small inshore fishing while the men were out on the big boats, but many coastal communities have been gutted.

The economy relies heavily on tourism now. I have had the pleasure of traveling to Iceland twice for conferences and touristy things and have read enough of Halldór Laxness to be thoroughly depressed. I was on the lookout for all things fishing-related and wish I had this book in hand then. It should be required reading for the tourist as it helps to interpret the landscape.

Overall, this is a delightful collection of women’s work through hardship. It is completely accessible to a general audience, an important contribution to maritime and gender studies, and perhaps of interest to psychologists working on social amnesia. Seawomen are erased from history or get no credit for their work in a slow, insidious, and complete process because they do not fit in the society. Willson has a unique voice and style that is warm and inviting, one that she skillfully uses to illuminate the voices of these seawomen and inspires the need for investigation of women’s lives in other so-called male professions.

REVIEW

EXPLORING AND MAPPING ALASKA: THE RUSSIAN AMERICA ERA, 1741–1869

Alexey Postnikov and Marvin Falk. Translated by Lydia Black, 2015. Historical Translation Series, no. 17, University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks; x + 525 pages, 76 figures, 8 color plates, bibliography, index; 7 x 10 in. ISBN 978-1-60223-2518 (hardcover) \$75.00; ISBN 978-1-60223-2525 (ebook) \$75.00.

Reviewed by John Cloud

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This augmented English translation of a history of Russian exploration and cartography, and through those processes the very invention of the Great Land, or Alaska, will likely be the definitive account on this subject, and not just because there are so few other contenders to the honor. It is also a convergence of Alaskan masters. Alexey Postnikov is a senior academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a principal of the History of Cartography Project, whose scholarship is uniquely informed by his decades spent as a field cartographer in Siberia. His manuscript was translated into English by the late and very great scholar Lydia T. Black (1925–2007) and was among the last projects in her extraordinarily productive career. Marvin Falk, who augmented and clarified the English text, is the Curator Emeritus of Rare Books (and even rarer maps) at the Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), likely the greatest repository of historic Russian maps of greater Alaska in North America. And, as credited in the Acknowledgments (p. ix), the spirit of Elmer Rasmuson hovered over the entire project, through his endowment of the Historical Translation Series itself, and also his creative funding of the purchase of so many of the historic Russian and other maps in the UAF collections.

The book's subtitle specifies the historical scope of the history as 1741 to 1867, hence starting with Vitus Bering's "discovery" of the continent on the far side of the sea now named for him, and ending with the transfer of Russian America to the United States. The scope of the history is in fact much longer on both ends, and it warrants put-

ting the quotation marks around the word "discovery," as fundamental to the story is the fact that everywhere the Russians went they found a peopled landscape, however sparse or ephemeral were the populations at any given moment. Hence, the relative presence or absence of Native place names and Native insights into geographical and ecological processes as encoded in the Russian maps is not peripheral to their histories, but centrally critical.

The book covers over three centuries of Russian and allied exploration and cartography, and it presents authoritative synopses of the life stories and careers of a long string of men (exclusively men) whose names may not be familiar to students of Alaskan history and culture. The roughly chronological parade includes masters such as Vitus Bering, Peter Simon Pallas, Captain James Cook, Captain-Lieutenant Joseph Billings, Captain Gavriil Sarychev, Captain George Vancouver, Alexandr Baranov, Captain Yuri Lisiansky, Captain-Lieutenant Fyodor Litke, Ferdinand von Wrangell, Sub-Lieutenant Alexandr Kashevarov, Lieutenant Lavrenty Zagoskin, and especially Captain Mikhail Tebenkov, along with dozens of other explorers and cartographers, Russian and otherwise.

Lest this history be merely a very long list, the authors, at the beginning of their story, present a major duality brought into existence in the reign of Peter the Great (1672–1725), contrasting European scientifically trained specialists and Russian non-specialists, especially the *promyshlenniki*. As they note: "The *promyshlenniki* hunted furs directly or procured them through barter or the supervision of hunting parties. Some operated independently

but more often worked on a contract basis. This term will be employed throughout since there is no precise English equivalent" (p. 20).

The essential kernel of the history is the shifting saga of the geographies of the *promyshlenniki* and the St. Petersburg-educated cartographers. As they note:

Thus, in this period, two parallel, and in practice, separate directions were developing in the geographic study and cartography of the new eastern lands and waters of the Russian Empire. The first, traditional approach transmitted rather precisely the topology (placement of features in relation to each other) and local place names, but lacked the new astronomical and geodetic data. It was therefore "unscientific" from the point of view of the educated professionals and central authorities. The second approach rested on the scientific expeditions and efforts of the naval officers and geodesists. The overwhelming majority of them were not Siberian old-timers but newcomers. Therefore they "discovered" new lands in the same way as was done by their Western European colleagues, not bothering much about ascertaining from the local "savages" who inhabited these lands the place names that were current among them. The history of the geographic exploration and cartography of the Bering Strait, Aleutian Islands, and coastal America in the eighteenth century is to some extent the history of the rapprochement, and, in the end, merging of these two approaches." (p. 28)

This history extends long beyond the Treaty of Cession in 1867, and in large part it is the story of the unraveling, forgetting, and suppressing of historic Russian cartography soon after it reached its Alaskan apex in the middle of the nineteenth century. In a telling comment concerning William Dall, the great American naturalist and very early Coast Survey scientist in Alaska and the Bering Sea: "Dall was in essence the first and last nineteenth-century schol-

ar for whom the works of his Russian predecessors served as a point of departure and source material. After Dall, the Russian natural science materials, charts, and maps disappear rather rapidly from use by American investigators, with one exception that requires special explanation" (p. 453). The exception was the ambiguous Ivan Petroff, whom I will leave for the curious to pursue.

The Russian disappearances extend to this book itself. The original project was a collaboration between Postnikov and the American scholar Richard A. Pierce, who died in 2004, taking Postnikov's historic map illustrations with him to the grave, as it were. Marvin Falk substituted maps and illustrations from the Rasmuson Library collections as he could. These included rarities such as the very copies of the Sarychev and Tebenkov atlases that George Davidson of the Coast Survey acquired from the Russian American Company before its dissolution. These left Alaska for over a century, until Elmer Rasmuson purchased them and brought them to Fairbanks, with Davidson's copious annotations intact.

The best way to honor the considerable labor and achievements of this history would be a campaign to make readily and freely accessible high-resolution digital imagery of as many of the referenced maps as possible. Falk notes that "Meeting of Frontiers," hosted by the Library of Congress and the most comprehensive site for Russian-American materials at present (<http://frontiers.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mfhome.html>) uses search and display technologies that are "out of date and somewhat difficult to use" (p. viii), an assessment that applies, to this reviewer, to the entire Alaska Digital Archives (vilda.alaska.edu) as well. A major history of Russian Alaska-related cartography now exists. It's time to illustrate and illuminate this history appropriately.

REVIEW

ANGUYIIM NALLIINI/TIME OF WARRING: THE HISTORY OF BOW-AND-ARROW WARFARE IN SOUTHWEST ALASKA

Ann Fienup-Riordan and Alice Rearden, 2016. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks; 320 pages, maps, color plates, notes, index. ISBN 978-1602232914 (paper) \$40.00; ISBN 978-1602232921 (ebook) \$40.00.

Reviewed by Dennis G. Griffin

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The history of warfare in Southwest Alaska has largely been one of denial. Non-Natives denied the existence of early warfare out of ignorance while local Yup'ik peoples often chose to emphasize a version of history that overlooked this important part. Early films of Eskimo people (e.g., *Nanook of the North*, *White Dawn*) did little to clarify this, with violence depicted as occurring only when needed for survival. Contrary to popular belief, warfare was not rare, but has a long and complex history across Alaska. Burch (2005, 2007) has written much of warfare among northern Iñupiaq peoples and now Fienup-Riordan and Rearden do much the same for the Yup'ik of Southwest Alaska. In *Anguyiim Nalliini / Time of Warring*, Fienup-Riordan and Rearden present the history of warfare in this region with many elders' narratives that replace this false image of history with one that is historically more accurate. The book consists of two parts: 1) an introduction to the history of warfare in Southwest Alaska, based largely on Fienup-Riordan's decades of research on the topic with Kuskokwim elders; and 2) a collection of sixty-six narratives (in Yup'ik with English translation) by Yup'ik elders that tell of battles, both victories and defeats, that affected villages throughout the Yukon–Kuskokwim Delta (Y–K Delta) from the seventeenth to early nineteenth century, ending only after the arrival of the Russians to mainland Alaska. The inclusion of stories in both Yup'ik and English provides an excellent opportunity to bridge cultural and linguistic boundaries, transmitting oral narrative to written form. These stories relate tales of well-known warriors, with the authors often trying to include versions of the

same tale from different villages in the delta, since each village had its own perspective, whether they were the aggressor or victim of a raid or their people's involvement was limited to interacting with the warriors as they passed through their territory.

Violence and conflict were a regular part of inter-regional interaction prior to the arrival of the Russians. Yup'ik intergroup relations across Southwest Alaska are largely documented only in oral tradition. Following the Russians' arrival, life in Native villages was extremely disrupted by a series of epidemics that decimated Native populations and resulted in many peoples seeking refuge with kinsmen or partners in other regions. In spite of this devastation to Native culture and ties to their homeland, Yup'ik oral tradition contains a wealth of detail regarding earlier lifeways that endure in the memories of today's people. This book attempts to gather many of these memories together to begin to relate the range and complexity of interregional warfare that took place in Southwest Alaska for several hundred years.

Readers should be aware that while the focus of the narratives in this volume is to relate the victory or defeat of a historic battle, Yup'ik bow-and-arrow war stories relate much more information. As is the nature of oral history, in order to tell a story much peripheral data regarding the event are shared, which makes these narratives a treasure trove of related facts. This information tells us of the training given to young men in the Y–K delta to make them strong warriors and hunters, both mentally tough and physically agile, and of food use, restrictions and taboos

that were thought to aid men in becoming swift and light, able to remain still for long periods of time and maintain clear vision. Together these data provide a rich image of the skills and tools required to be a good hunter, which were the same needed to be a successful warrior.

Fienup-Riordan has integrated the results of years of research with Yup'ik elders, including taking them to overseas museums to view warfare-related artifacts. Such efforts highlight the role of warfare in Yup'ik society, enabling elders to discover more of their own history and expanding upon stories that have survived about the time of warring. The importance of these tales is not just to record stories told long ago in the men's house, but rather to show that these stories are only a small part of the evidence of warfare that remains very visible in the community today. Incidents relating to earlier warfare have influenced designs used in traditional clothing, tools, and utilitarian items; songs and dance moves; place names throughout the region that commemorate historic battles and massacres; and mask-making for the tourist market. These materials and practices provide testimony of the past and insure that such stories are not forgotten. They are there to provide an education for village youth and were retold many times in order to provide examples of how one should behave and how to avoid problems that had occurred in the past. As the authors state "Stories of warfare are part of the story of what it means to be human" (p. 112). They remain relevant to people today and this book raises our awareness of their importance.

While it was great to see the authors tap into the wealth of data available in the BIA ANCSA oral history archives, accounts in this volume largely focus on the Kuskokwim River area and a small section of the Yukon River. The bow-and-arrow wars are said to have involved the entire southwest part of the state. Less well-documented areas in the stories include Nunivak Island (Griffin 2004:73–75), Bristol Bay (Pratt 2013), and the northern mouth of the Yukon River (e.g., Pastuliaq, an area tied in some stories to the reported start and end of the wars [Kurtz 1985]). The publication of stories from these peripheral areas would provide alternative perspectives of villages affected by earlier warfare. Tales from a broader geographic region would usefully highlight story differences due to village of origin, as is suggested in this volume, which presents multiple versions of the same battle.

While much is discussed regarding the wealth of data still available regarding this period of historic warfare, the authors admit to a lack of data regarding the exact locations of past battles and the time frames when they occurred, aside from acknowledging a general twenty-year gap in retaliatory raids that enabled the surviving youth of a village to reach maturity and seek revenge. A subject worthy of future pursuit would be linking such stories of warfare to archaeological sites and features in the region. While it is true that there has been only limited archaeology conducted in the Y–K delta, much information does exist in ANCSA files (e.g., unpublished ANCSA interviews; Pratt 2009). The authors mention the existence of stone piles built to resemble watchmen and stone mounds constructed over mass graves. Many examples of such stone features have been recorded at sites throughout the region. While ANCSA oral interviews have recorded multiple explanations for their creation and use, some are linked to the bow-and-arrow wars and such data could be useful in attempting to ground-truth the use of these features in time and space.

Likewise, the construction of multiple or shared tunnels in houses has been linked by some Native elders to early nineteenth-century warfare, with their appearance marking the ending of the bow-and-arrow wars (p. 184). If true, the presence of such tunnel complexes in villages could highlight the role of such villages during this late period of warfare. However, this definition does not work for places such as Nunivak Island where the authors believe that, due to their isolation, Nunivak Islanders had only limited participation in these wars (p. 70), even though many island sites contain such multiple or shared tunnels (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1995:40–42). On Nunivak Island, elder interviews have linked the use of such tunnels to warfare (Griffin 2004:73–74) in addition to a variety of other uses (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1995:40–50). The archaeological record could perhaps serve to validate the use of these features through time.

The role of archaeology in defining the extent and impact of the bow-and-arrow wars has yet to be addressed. Projects like Knecht's recent work at Agaligmiut (p. 75, figures 14–20) will continue to highlight the link between local oral traditions and information from formal archaeological excavations. Readers should seek to strengthen this connection.

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REVIEW

THE WALES, ALASKA, ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT, 1996–2006

Roger K. Harritt, 2015. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers*, no. 71, Eugene, OR; 316 pages, 53 figures, 4 tables, appendices A–F; (paper) \$28.00.

Reviewed by Lauren Norman

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In *The Wales, Alaska, Archaeology Project, 1996–2006* Roger Harritt describes the fieldwork he and colleagues completed at Wales, on the Seward Peninsula. Although the initial goal of the project was to study the use of whales, the scope quickly widened to investigate prehistoric socio-spatial divisions as well. Harritt brings new data, and material previously excavated by Jenness and Collins, into conversation with ethnohistorical accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and ethnographic work conducted during the course of the project. The book is largely a site report, with descriptions of the excavations, field methods, results, and conclusions. Over half the book is appendices that provide descriptions and photographs of artifacts recovered at the site. Due to the inclusion of detailed notes and photos, this book will be a good reference for archaeologists working at Alaskan sites dating from ca. AD 800 to the historic era.

The first and second chapters describe the goals of the project and the funding process that supported ten years of fieldwork, lab work, and analysis. They also situate the site on the present-day landscape, describe the history of research at the site, and briefly outline the methodology and ancillary analyses. Originally focused on tracing the history of whaling at the site, when the first few years of research provided evidence for whaling in early Punuk–Thule occupations, the goal of the project shifted to investigate socio-spatial divisions and potential interactions in the prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic periods. Ethnohistoric evidence shows distinct districts at Wales; this project set out to identify these archaeologi-

cally. Research from both archaeology and ethnography contribute to the interpretations and conclusions.

The third chapter describes in detail the methods and results from numerous excavations and test pits at three sites in the close vicinity of the modern village of Wales: Hillside (TEL-25), Beach (TEL-26), and Kurigitavik Mound (TEL-79). This chapter also describes the test units opened at Tin City (TEL-156), about 8 km from the Wales sites. Excavations at Tin City examined the link between the main sites at Wales and this satellite site. For all of the excavations, the descriptions are detailed; the maps are less so. Although the maps and photos of excavations sometimes help to understand the excavations, a lack of consistency in quality and notation makes them laborious to interpret and often difficult to connect to the text, which is unfortunate.

The final chapter interprets the archaeological material, supplemented by ethnohistoric analysis and ethnographic interviews. These interpretations build on excavations at the site by Dumond, Collins, and Jenness, and use evidence from this project to look at the historic and prehistoric divisions within the site. The report concludes that there are indications of socio-spatial divisions throughout the proto- and prehistoric periods that are analogous to the historic period. This conclusion relies on the assumption that “behaviors that occur within a culture that give it its unique characteristics are reflected systematically in the artifacts it produces” (p. 80). Based on this assumption, house form, harpoon head types, arrowhead forms, and pottery type provide evidence of distinct divisions within

the site. Archaeological areas were identified based on historic divisions; artifact and architectural forms were compared within and among these divisions to establish cultural centers for forms. A further assumption is then that the original cultural source of a certain form is where there is the majority of that form or type. When the same form is found in other areas, it is assumed that this is evidence of interaction between the two areas. Based on this logic, Harritt (p. 112) argues that inhabitants of Kurigitavik Mound and the Hillside site had more interaction from about 1000 to 500 years ago than the inhabitants of the Hillside site and the Beach site from 500 years ago to the nineteenth century. Finally, based on cultural attributes, Harritt concludes that the Punuk culture influenced the occupants at both Kurigitavik Mound and the Hillside site. Specifically, Kurigitavik may have been a Siberian Punuk occupation, with early connections to Thule (or Punuk–Thule) people at the Hillside site.

Following the text description and interpretations, there are six appendices. The first three (appendices A, B, and C) quantify, describe, and depict the artifacts. Appendix D presents and collates the radiocarbon assays. Appendix E is a faunal analysis by Vivien Singer at OsteoLabs Consultants. Appendix F is an obsidian sourcing report by Jeff Rasic, formerly at University of Alaska Museum of the North. All of these appendices provide detailed data on the recovered archaeological assemblages.

With an initial goal to investigate the history of whaling at the site, and a subsequent goal to determine whether there was prehistoric evidence for ethnographically described divisions, the text offers broad interpretations with minimal evidence. Despite claims that whaling was pervasive and occurred in the deepest levels, ethnohistoric accounts make up most of the evidence used to evaluate this claim, with little archaeological or zooarchaeological evidence described in the text apart from the presence of desiccated baleen. Both zooarchaeological and ethnographic

evidence indicates that whale hunting was not likely the main subsistence focus. The second objective, which studies socio-spatial divisions, relies on house form and artifact assemblages to delineate divisions and highlight interaction. Although it is common practice in archaeology to attribute culture affiliation to form, the lack of fully excavated house features and associated artifact assemblages erodes confidence in these conclusions. Additionally, the current dating of the site is not sufficiently refined to identify contemporaneity of houses or features. Dates are difficult to assess due to the lack of consistency in reporting throughout the text. It is not always apparent whether all the dates are calibrated, or if they are given in years before present or calendrical dates. Appendix D compiles all the dates and provides this information, but it would be much clearer to keep the text consistent. The appendix does not indicate what material was submitted for dating; the text sometimes specifies the material, but not consistently. Some dates have a locally derived marine reservoir correction applied; however, it is not always clear which ones. The material on which dates are assayed is very important, with variable marine reservoir effects, old driftwood, and curated materials all affecting dates in the Arctic. With concerns about dating, contemporaneity, and limited excavations, the interpretations may extend beyond the scope of the evidence collected.

Although most of the book focuses on the archaeology of Wales, the integration of ethnohistoric and ethnographic observations creates a richer interpretation of the site than would be possible otherwise. Despite the limitations, the data generated from the ten years of fieldwork at Wales are an important contribution to Alaskan archaeology. The artifact descriptions, quantity and quality of artifact pictures, and detailed text descriptions make this report a good source on Punuk and Thule cultures for archaeologists working in the region and across the Arctic.

REVIEW

SHARING OUR KNOWLEDGE: THE TLINGIT AND THEIR COASTAL NEIGHBORS

Edited by Sergei Kan with Steve Henrickson, 2015. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln; 544 pages, photos, index. ISBN 978-0-8032-4056-8 (hardcover) \$65.00.

Reviewed by Michael Bach

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Sergei Kan's anthology, *Sharing Our Knowledge: The Tlingit and Their Coastal Neighbors*, offers the reader access to a breadth of Tlingit world-views and life ways, cultural knowledge, traditions, and history. Kan has collected a broad set of contributions central to understanding Tlingit history, cultural protocols and knowledge, and material culture and art. Chapters are authored by Tlingit and Tsimshian speakers and writers, ethnographers and archaeologists, historians, and museum professionals. Woven into the narratives are both implicit and explicit lessons for the reader that had previously been less accessible to those outside the Tlingit nation. Through a beautifully curated collection of professional presentations, conference proceedings, academic papers, illustrations, maps, interviews, shared experiences, observations, and personal encounters the anthology serves as a primer to all things Tlingit.

The greatest strength of the collection represented in *Sharing Our Knowledge* is the accessibility of information and insight to the reader. Regardless of a reader's knowledge of Tlingit culture, traditions, knowledge or arts, the anthology makes new information, literatures, perspectives, and history accessible and easily understood. Accessibility, and breadth of topics makes the anthology an appropriate introductory resource to researchers working in and with Tlingit communities. By detailing major domains of Tlingit culture and people, the reader walks away from the text with a novice understanding of variety cultural domains. The writing styles represented throughout the collection are varied, keeping the reader engaged as they travel through encounters with biographical in-

formation of Tlingit elders and teachers, such as Louis Shotridge, Frederica de Laguna, Mark Jacobs, Tlingit warrior X'eigaa Kaa, and Nora and Richard Dauenhauer. Additional sections are devoted to Native history, subsistence and ethnogeography, material culture and tourism, and repatriation—bringing objects and knowledge back to Native homes and communities.

As a reader eager to learn more about the Tlingit, I gained a deeper understanding of the clan and moiety structure of Tlingit culture, along with a richer appreciation to the value of knowledge embedded in tracing one's lineage. While reading the collection, I was shown the value in tracing lineage at the beginning of many of the chapters, when the author, or their topic of discussion, was socially and geographically situated by recounting clan, moiety, and geographical placement. These initial introductions situated the narrative within a web of clans, moieties, families, and communities within the boundaries of Tlingit territories. By placing each narrative within a broader ecosystem, I was able to begin experiencing through the text the ways in which these relations, and cultural protocols have shaped, and continue to shape, the landscape of the Tlingit world.

The book's accessibility to its readership along with the breadth of knowledge and views it contains makes it a necessary read for anybody living in Tlingit territory. The title, *Sharing Our Knowledge*, embodies the spirit of the text as a whole by sharing an experience of exploration into Tlingit culture, life-ways, and history. I was left with my curiosity stirred, and eager to learn more.

REVIEW

HUNTERS, PREDATORS AND PREY: INUIT PERCEPTIONS OF ANIMALS

Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, 2015. Berghahn Books, New York; x + 408 pages; map, black and white photos and line drawings, appendix listing Inuit elders, glossary, bibliography. ISBN 978-1-78238-405-2 (hardcover; \$120.00); 978-1-78238-406-9 (electronic)

Reviewed by Erica Hill

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The product of fifteen years of intensive research in Eastern Arctic Canada, *Hunters, Predators and Prey* is an encyclopedic work describing the *qaujimajatuqangit* (traditional ecological knowledge) of dozens of Inuit elders about birds, mammals, and “small beings,” or *qupirruit*. Co-authors and long-time collaborators Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten have published prolifically on the history and ethnography of the Inuit of Nunavut, which includes Baffin Island and the Kivalliq region. Inuit perceptions of animals have been a consistent theme in their research, and previous publications have dealt with specific animals, such as bears and dogs. This volume collects and synthesizes that research, thereby becoming the most comprehensive English-language source on Inuit perceptions of animals. The authors draw informant accounts from their own extensive fieldwork and workshops with Inuit elders as well as from narratives collected by major oral tradition projects. Throughout they take an explicitly emic approach, allowing extensive quotes by informants provide both context and interpretation. In addition to the knowledge of elders, Laugrand and Oosten mobilize early twentieth-century ethnographic data recorded by Knud Rasmussen, Franz Boas, and Diamond Jenness, supplemented with references to the work of Saladin d’Anglure and Mary-Rousselière. The authors’ theoretical perspective is informed by the perspectivist approaches of Amazonian ethnographers Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Philippe Descola and Siberianist Rane Willerslev and by the Subarctic ethnographies of Paul Nadasdy, Robert Brightman, and Adrian Tanner.

The first three chapters of the volume deal with ethnographic sources and theory (Chapter 1), Inuit ethnology (Chapter 2), and the material culture, practices, and training of good hunters (Chapter 3). The remaining chapters are devoted to specific animals, including raven, dog, bear, caribou, seal and whale. A concluding chapter summarizes the major themes of the book: the definition of personhood, the Inuit moral system, and the transformational logic that permeates virtually all human-animal relations. The volume is illustrated with several black and white drawings by Inuit informants from the early twentieth century, along with photographs from the authors’ fieldwork.

Hunters, Predators and Prey demonstrates, with a wealth of ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence, that human relations with animals are constitutive of Inuit life. That is, what it means to be Inuit is defined largely by how people perceive and behave toward animals. Gender, shamanism, healing practices, origin stories, skin sewing, and ideas about the nonempirical world all relate to animals in some way. For example, relations between a hunter and his wife, as well as their reputations in the village, implicitly involve prey animals. A man may have a stingy wife who refuses to share the meat he brings home, leading animals to retaliate by avoiding him (pp. 72–73). Lack of hunting success therefore represents troubled social relations among both humans and nonhumans, with one’s behavior in the community reflected in a seal’s decision out on the sea ice.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with *qupirruit*, a category that includes insects, crustaceans, spiders, snakes and other small beings. While bears, caribou, and marine mammals have received considerable anthropological attention in the Arctic, members of other zoological orders have not. Laugrand and Oosten observe that *qupirruit* are strongly associated with transformational processes, including revival after death and shamanic initiation. In the past, *qupirruit* were common components of amulets, capable of conveying traits and abilities to the people (and dogs) who wore them (p. 128). Like dogs, *qupirruit* were ambiguous beings with souls. They served as *tuurngait*, shamanic helping spirits, but they could also kill if they entered a human body (p. 144).

A major strength of this volume is the use of extensive quotes. Nearly half the text of some sections of the book is comprised of verbatim accounts by Inuit elders. Many of these accounts were recorded during workshops and interviews conducted as part of oral traditions projects in the 1980s and '90s. Materials from these sources and others, such as the Interviewing Inuit Elders project, enable Laugrand and Oosten to rely upon their informants' words to make a point. Their purpose here is quite literally to allow Inuit to speak for themselves. This effort is furthered by their use of Inuktitut terms throughout, helpfully compiled in a glossary.

These quotes facilitate better understanding of how Inuit traditional knowledge is acquired, enhanced by personal experience, and transmitted. For example, in their discussion of *isuma*, the capacity to think like a human, Laugrand and Oosten quote Angmalik from Pangnirtuuq (p. 184):

When we were in a [shack in the Qikiqtarjuaq area], we were approached by three bears. Even though there were attempts to chase them away during the night, the next morning while our canoes were pulled up on land, I saw a bear hanging around the end of the canoe where the outboard motor was. The bear went up to the starter that you had to pull. I have heard that bears think like humans. I heard that a long time ago. He bit it and

started pulling at it. My belief that polar bears have the capability to think like humans became stronger after I saw for myself how the bear pulled and released the starter repeatedly.

The book is replete with perceptive, detailed accounts like this, linked by Laugrand and Oosten's straightforward prose, which provides background and context. While *Hunters* will be a key resource for arctic anthropologists across North America, it also has much to offer the student and the casual reader. With the exception of the introductory material, each chapter in the book could be read as a standalone essay. Though deserving of a wide readership, the high price makes the book difficult to use in courses and will limit most purchases to libraries. It would nevertheless make a welcome addition to any collection with a focus on arctic anthropology or the dynamic field of human–animal relations.

I have two complaints about what is an otherwise excellent contribution to the study of the Arctic. There is only one small (less than half a page) and inadequate map of Nunavut. Readers will need an atlas or tablet handy to locate any of the many places mentioned in the text. Second, the index is very poorly constructed. In a book running over 400 pages, a decent index can become a valuable tool. Here, however, the reader will struggle. The index entry for caribou, for example, lists over 60 page numbers without a single subheading. On the other hand, names of key informants are indexed, a practice that should be universal in anthropology publishing.

These issues aside, *Hunters, Predators and Prey* is a landmark contribution to the study of Inuit human–animal relations. Hopefully it will stimulate future research on attitudes toward less charismatic animals, such as fish, ground squirrels, and auks, all of which figure significantly in arctic life. For those anthropologists who still find non-human animals irrelevant or peripheral to the discipline, I leave the last words to Laugrand and Oosten, who end their book this way: "Being an Inuk is not just an identity constructed by people; it is also provided by the animals themselves" (p. 360).

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