were needed overseas as well as at home. The 1918 influenza epidemic created still greater demands.

In 1919, when Miss Ethel Johns became Director of Nursing, she introduced a new concept to the school of nursing — affiliation with the University of British Columbia. Though there was little interest among the student nurses of the Vancouver General Hospital to enter the program in the new school under Miss Johns' direction, three "combined course" nurses received their degrees in 1923. Patterns of instruction in the university course have altered over the years but the program progressed satisfactorily.

Each of the last four directors of nursing had a great, though different, impact on development in the school. Of these, only Grace M. Fairley has passed away. Thus, hundreds of the more than 6,000 nurses who have graduated from Vancouver General Hospital will feel very much at home as they read this interesting history.

One regret of this reviewer was that the author, who undertook extensive research, decided "to keep footnotes within reasonable bounds." Many of the 105 numbered footnotes do not prove very enlightening to an interested reader. Who has the time or opportunity to look up annual reports, minutes and so forth? A very brief sentence or two immediately below the references would have been more useful.

Vancouver MARGARET E. KERR

The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians, by Kalervo Oberg. Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1973. $9.50.

Oberg's study of the dynamics of Tlingit economy is one of those Rip van Winkles that repose unnoticed for decades and then are awakened in print to engage the next generation of scholars. Forty years intervened between the filing of this University of Chicago dissertation and its "rediscovery" and publication. During that period numerous other contributions to Tlingit ethnography have appeared (notably those of de Laguna, Drucker, Garfield, McClellan and Gunther's translation of Krause), all of which understandably overlooked this entry buried away in the bibliographic bone-fields. It has finally been unearthed and I commend it to both scholars and laymen as a significant ethnographic statement.

Kalervo Oberg, originally a student of economics, was chosen by anthropologist Edward Sapir to gather data concerning economic behaviour in primitive societies — data which might be used in clarifying

the differences in a long-standing feud between F. H. Knight and Sapir as to the basis for exchange values in economies without markets or money. Sent forth into the ethnographic wilderness of the Alaskan panhandle, Oberg arrived in Tlingit country in June 1931, and undertook a year of fieldwork, primarily among the relatively conservative and uninfluenced Klukwan. A preface describes this period in the field and explains that the published text represents his dissertation based on this research "except for a few minor corrections."

The book presents a thoroughly satisfying analysis of the interplay of social and economic forces within aboriginal Tlingit culture as it was observed, recalled and reconstructed by Oberg and his informants. It is readable although somewhat technically phrased with surprisingly little of the biceps-flexing jargon common to dissertations in the social sciences. The work proceeds as follows: (Chapters) I, general cultural overview of Tlingit; II, social organization; III, property and ownership, the concept of wealth; IV, annual production cycle; V, division of labour; VI, distribution of wealth, the potlatch; VII, trade; VIII, utilization of goods, the potlatch revisited, concluding remarks. A few charts and appendices provide data on economic patterns and resources and an inventory of Tlingit clans.

The heart of Oberg's discussion, and necessarily of any insightful treatment of the economic structure of the upper Northwest Coast, is an analysis of the practice and implications of the potlatch. Admitting tribal differences, we have been told in the past that the potlatch was essentially a number of different things, among them: a means of distributing wealth (Boas and others), a validation of rank (Sapir and others), a distributing of people in terms of wealth (John Adams), and a lot of ostentatious, heathenish nonsense resulting from divine misplacement of plentitude (six generations of missionaries, officials and casual observers). Oberg treats the potlatch as the central socio-economic issue, indeed, the keystone of culture holding the system together and keeping the constituent members separate. A translation of human effort into human satisfaction, the potlatch is

> the important enterprise of Tlingit life. Through it a man becomes famous; through it he smashes his rivals; through it he makes his best friends and worst enemies. Through the potlach a man consolidates his clan or helps break it down. And all this is done with wealth. Therefore, how can one speak of wealth as serving purely economic ends? Among the Tlingit wealth is a means used in attaining all the conflicting ends set up by their society. (pp. 132-3)

According to the author, the Tlingits distinguish two types of potlatch: those connected with the important events of life *(xu'ix)*, and those purely for the display of wealth and enhancement of prestige *(tutuxu'ix)*. Oberg penetratingly and convincingly describes these in terms of their motives, formalities and results.

A somewhat disquieting matter is Oberg's treatment of Tlingit art, a subject of considerable economic consequence. Such statements as "the art of the Tlingit is exemplified by all the material objects of his culture" (p. 13), suggest that the author has not distinguished art from craft; however, he is in company with many museologists and art historians who confuse art with artifacts. Such a confusion has obscured Oberg's picture of the role of the artist and the evaluation of workmanship in Tlingit society. The use of a number of other terms proves disturbing, as well. For instance, we are told that Tlingit "warfare" consisted only of clan feuds, while later (p. 108) we discover that the Tlingits made constant slave-raids, possibly as far south as Puget Sound. Apparently slave-raiding (*modus operandi*: enslave females and young of both sexes, kill the rest) was not warfare.

Sapir's influence is noted in such notions as, "Linguistically, the Tlingit are closely related to the Haida, both, in turn, being members of the great Athabaskan language family" (p. 12). In fact, Tlingit is, with Eyak, now placed with the Athabaskan languages in the Na-Dene phylum, but no systematic correspondences showing relatedness to Haida have yet been presented.

If a general criticism can be leveled against Oberg's presentation, it is that it draws us into the ethnographic quest so that we crave additional facts and details which simply are not provided. Indeed, the remarkably observant geographer, Aurel Krause, provided much more detail on such pertinent socio-economic matters as Tlingit material culture, hunting and fishing techniques, ceremony and individual life cycle. The reader may find that he finishes *Social Economy* with the appetite whetted for more and as many questions as answers. Possibly that is the reason that one of the prepublication changes Oberg made in the manuscript was to expand the bibliography of further readings on the Tlingit. *Social Economy* was Oberg's *Jugendwerk* and suffers from some of the stylistic problems inherent in dissertation writing, but it neither clouds his insights nor the picture of Tlingit life he provides.

Oberg's contribution is carefully and enjoyably introduced by Wilson Duff, who remarks Oberg's "deep peneration into Tlingit thought." Professor Duff toasts the volume as a fitting marker to the end of the period

of university-initiated anthropological field research on the Northwest Coast and the beginning of an era of re-evaluation of previous descriptive ethnography by Indians themselves. Indeed, each passing year leaves fewer and fewer Indians who recall the ethnographic period or speak Indian languages, and it seems logical that the future will increasingly find researchers concentrating on the rich collections of Northwest Coast lore reposing in museums and archives. For many bands it is already too late to find Indian consultants who can provide ethnographic material. As a case in point, almost 20 years ago, Ram Singh prepared a study of aboriginal economic systems of the Olympic Peninsula similar to Oberg's work on the Tlingit, and found that much of the detail was already eroded from memory. Despite this attrition of Indian informants, more anthropologists than ever seem to be engaged in fieldwork and I see no impending change in the pattern (although there is evidence of a wholesome trend toward programs in which bands retain anthropologists and linguists to prepare culture programs). Neither do I see a movement toward consistent re-evaluation of previous work by Indians themselves, as desirable as this would be. Isolated examples of such critiques can be cited — Professor Duff notes an instance involving a review of Oberg's work by an informed Tlingit elder. Hopefully, such new departures as the University of Victoria's program to train Indian teachers certified to prepare and conduct culture classes will promote a trend toward reviewing the ethnographic literature on the part of Indians.

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Fire In The Raven's Nest, the Haida of British Columbia, by Norman Newton. Toronto: New Press, 1973. 173 pp., illus., $9.50.

In his Preface, Newton begs the reader's pardon for the generality and

> ... necessary superficiality of this brief book, which makes no pretense either to deep sociological analysis (Indians have had enough of that, Heaven knows) or to a profound exploration of the Haida soul. (p.1)

After a prolonged struggle to finish reading *Fire In the Raven's Nest*, one is inclined to agree with the author that the book is, indeed, superficial, sociologically irrelevant, and lacking insight into any aspect of Haida soul or culture.

Newton claims that the book is basically a documentary