

Chapter Four, Cultural History: How Trees Develop Character, was also excellent. Again, the information on the Louisiana live oaks (*Quercus virginiana* P. Mill.) was more detailed. The ceiba received approximately 16 pages of text and the live oaks about 26. Nevertheless, the discussion on the cultural associations of the live oaks was wonderful in terms of detail, breadth, and writing. And it was in this chapter and especially in the chapter's closing section where the two trees' similar "role" in the cultural context was highlighted: "Within the cultural landscape, live oaks and ceibas occupy some remarkably similar niches." That in itself may not be very remarkable, but the degree and extent to which this is true is quite extraordinary. The discussion on the control that land tenure, town structure, and architectural style exerts on the life histories of these trees is very engaging. But the final chapter, Coda: Charismatic Megafloora and the Making of Landscapes, would be the one that would decide whether or not the text would come to any striking or at least significant conclusions.

On page 154 of the final chapter the author admits, "Sweeping generalizations concerning cultural attitudes toward these big trees are pointless, I found." Nevertheless, by her examination of these fantastic trees, Anderson uncovers some interesting, generalizing points: trees are not passive but active participants in the creation of landscapes; trees acquire symbolic meaning over time; individual humans, through tree planting and care, can play an enormous role in the transformation of landscapes; and, certain trees achieve favored status in particular ways. These insights are valuable. They also help answer some of my concerns relating to the book's purpose. Simply stated, the two trees share many of these characteristics listed above in common—they play a similar "role" in relation to humans. But these characteristics were discovered *post facto* and do not clarify why such comparative investigations were initiated. Also, the chapter's penultimate section, "Nature and Culture," does not treat this widely discussed dichotomy with enough detail. The wealth of information on historical ecology, which could shed significant light on the question, generally speaking and where these two trees are concerned, is not addressed.

Anyone who loves trees and loves to think about the meaning of trees should absolutely consult Anderson's text. The book is informative, very well written, replete with many superb photos, and reaches some interesting conclusions. As for my first question: even though I still do not fully understand the author's decision to write about ceiba and live oak, and the book left me wanting more detail and analysis, its many charms compensate for these criticisms.

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What Place for Hunter-Gatherers in Millennium Three? Thomas N. Headland and Doris E. Blood (eds.) 2002. SIL International and International Museum of Cultures Publications in Ethnography 39. Dallas, Texas. Pp. 129. \$19.00 (paper) ISBN 1-55671-132-8.

This edited volume considers the plight and survival prospects of the Agta hunter-gatherers of the Philippines. It also asks whether any hunter-gatherers will remain intact as autonomous ethnic groups through the twenty-first century. The volume contains seven contributed chapters, photographic documentation of the Agta during the past thirty years, and a complete bibliography of all publicly available published works on the Agta. The contributed chapters discuss the current situation of the San groups of Southern Africa, the forager-farmer symbiotic groups of the Congo Basin, the Negritos of Southeast Asia, and a detailed examination of deforestation in the Philippines. In general what we learn is that all these groups are facing bleak prospects for continued survival as independent ethnic entities, and that environmental destruction is a major factor in their demise.

The first chapter by Hitchcock describes the battle of San peoples for land against a tidal wave of ranching expansion, the struggle for resource use rights in the face of restrictive park regulations and tourism priorities, and a battle for dignity and self-determination in the face of bald racism by both Blacks and Whites who consider the San to be a "natural" servant class. The second chapter by Bailey provides demographic documentation of a threatened population of Efe foragers in the Central African rainforests. The Efe show extremely low fertility due to seasonal food shortages and sexually transmitted diseases. They are also culturally oppressed by more politically and economically powerful neighbors and, because of high rates of hypergyny (Efe women marrying outside men), the group is in danger of both genetic and cultural extinction. High rates of deforestation and land invasion are the greatest and most immediate threats to the Efe people.

The remainder of the volume examines the case of the Agta people in the Philippines. The Agta have lost most of their land—and access to natural resources necessary for their survival—and have become victims of economic exploitation, modern infectious diseases, and a loss of hope and self-esteem. Such problems lead to alcoholism, depression, and hypergynous mating between Agta women and higher status outsiders, destroying the will to live and the drive to succeed for many Agta men. The situation of the foraging societies described in this volume mirrors the threats faced by many small-scale tribal societies and minority ethnic groups around the world.

The detailed examination of the Agta case is illustrative of a larger historic process of conquest and assimilation or elimination of the "Negrito" peoples in Southeast Asia over the past few millennia including alarming yearly reports about the near extermination of the natives of the Andaman Islands. This sad portrayal of the plight of the Philippine Negritos has been foreshadowed by books such as Eder's *On the Road to Tribal Extinction* (1992) and Early and Headland's *Population Dynamics of a Philippine Rainforest People* (1998).

Racism and ruthless silent conquest are the two processes underlying this historic displacement, and all indications suggest that both African groups discussed in the text are experiencing many of the same problems as the Agta. Indeed, I have seen the same processes among tribal societies in the Amazon forests where I have worked for nearly thirty years. Darcy Ribeiro documented forty years ago that nearly half of all native tribes in Brazil that were known at the beginning of the twentieth century were extinct by 1950. In some cases such as the Agta, Amazonian tribes, the Penan of Borneo, and the Central African forest

peoples, timber and mining interests along with rampant deforestation and rapid colonization have been to blame. But a larger worldview suggests that deforestation alone is not the cause of tribal extermination. Indeed there is no valuable timber to be had in the Kalahari desert, or in the Paraguayan Chaco (where hunter-gatherer groups have experienced the same ethnic destruction as reported for the Agta), nor in Tierra del Fuego, where the Ona were exterminated within fifty years of their first peaceful contact with Europeans. Instead, pure unadulterated conquest of territory has led to the recent demise of hunter-gatherer populations just as it led to the near extermination of California natives in the nineteenth century.

The battle for tribal survival is a human rights battle. Groups that should be allies must be persuaded that natives share with them mutual interests. Because habitat destruction is often a root cause of tribal destruction, conservation organizations sometimes lend valuable support to native peoples. But almost as often conservationists have been behind the movement to forcibly remove native peoples from their traditional territories in order to set up "people-free" parks and reserves that support a cadre of outside biologists and tourism enterprises but leave native peoples on the fringes of their ancestral lands, as beggars and cheap labor for the "foreign" enterprises. The U.S. led the way in this process eliminating all native resource use rights in National Parks and public lands as they were created over the past two centuries. A similar disenfranchisement of native peoples has been standard fare in Africa, Asia, and South America. Arrangements that allow native peoples resource use rights, such as in the Okopi Wildlife Refuge described in Bailey's chapter, must emerge as the standard arrangement between natives and conservationists. Conservationists would do well to read this book, which highlights some the difficult decisions to be faced when considering whether to prioritize "nature" conservation over "culture" conservation.

There is no empty natural habitat in the world (unless the native group that once lived there has been recently exterminated) and there hasn't been for many thousands of years. Because most native groups cannot and do not desire to rapidly make the transition to a "developed" economy, they are excellent guardians of natural habitat. They need natural resources to survive, and thus have a stake in the preservation of natural habitat. If international conservation organizations would recognize this fact and fully incorporate it into their long-term agenda, both hunter-gatherers and the wild resources that sustain them would face a much-improved prospect for survival in the third millennium.

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