

beliefs, or practices. The long-term effects of missions, she argues, are part of a dialectical process, in this particular case shaped by Yup'ik ideas and opinions as well as by missionary intent and systemic pressures. The Yup'ik role was neither passive nor merely resistive, but actively creative. Their theory of mind, of reincarnation, and, at a practical level, their admiration of hard work, all contributed to the ways in which they responded not only to the message, but the messengers.

Fienup-Riordan is entirely correct that the missionary process in Alaska remains virtually unexamined and that such an examination is critical to any clear understanding of social relations in Alaska today. Her study of a little-documented era in Alaskan history is thorough, and it supports her case convincingly. She knows a great deal about ways Yup'it talk about the world and human relations within it, and so brings a rich interpretation to the events recorded by John and Edith Kilbuck. I am less convinced that anthropologists so obligingly fall into the extreme dichotomies set out in her introduction. Much of the anthropology of the colonial encounter, of syncretism, of post-functionalism in general, is based on a challenge to the view that change can be thought to be imposed from the outside, or that local/global relationships are not dialectical by definition.

The question of how much direct material to use from the journals must have been a difficult one. Fienup-Riordan, after all, is attempting to deconstruct the history of a complex process through her analysis of text. I would like to have seen more of the journal entries themselves, since, as it stands, the reader is pointed quite carefully in the direction of the author's argument — coming once again face to face with one of the central questions about the nature of the ethnographic voice facing anthropologists today.

Some of Fienup-Riordan's most stimulating and controversial arguments are brought forward in the concluding chapter, concerning the relationship between language and culture and the influence of single individuals on the course of historical interactions between systems. In support of her assertions, more comparative material would have been useful, particularly from the North Slope, where the Kilbucks also worked, but where the history of language change as well as of Iñupiaq/Euro-American interactions have taken a different course.

That being said, the work presents historical material of real interest and importance set within an ethnographic context that enriches its presentation significantly. (Barbara Bodenhorn, Pembroke College, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RF.)

SCIENCE AND THE CANADIAN ARCTIC: A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION, 1818–1918. Trevor H. Lever. 1993. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xiv + 438 p, illustrated, hard cover. ISBN 0-521-41933-6. £40.00; US\$64.95.

The domination of science by politics, finance, and committees, which we have had to accept as the norm in recent times, has always existed in polar research. This emerges

clearly in this book, which, apart from its importance for historians of science and polar scientists, contains much that will interest the more general reader and afford him wry amusement in the recognition of the familiar in situations and characters from the last century.

This is a scholarly work — well researched, carefully written, and with the full apparatus of footnotes — but readable and well illustrated. It gives an account of exploration and research in the Canadian Arctic, a maze of islands and ice-bound waterways that, together with a large piece of the continent, comprise an area of land north of the tree-line greater than in any of the seven other Arctic countries. A map of the region is provided, but it is not always easy to locate on it the place mentioned in the text. The period covered began with a scientifically successful expedition by the Royal Navy into virtually unknown regions adjacent to what was then a British colony, and finished with Canada as a sovereign nation with its own scientific resources, faced with applying its knowledge and new technologies to the vast area that had been reconnoitred and claimed as part of its territory. The author, who is Professor in the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, University of Toronto, treats the history of this period chronologically, dealing with different sciences — geology, hydrography, meteorology, botany, zoology, and anthropology — expedition by expedition. This is a sensible way of handling the material, and a reader wishing to trace the development of a particular science should have no difficulty in extracting what he needs. Geography, which was unequivocally regarded as a science in the early nineteenth century, is included in the scope of the book, and, indeed, would be difficult to disentangle from the science *sensu stricto*.

The story of the British navy's involvement in Arctic exploration may be outlined as an indication of the fascinating material that is presented. The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 left the Royal Navy underemployed, and scientific survey was an occupation to which its technically trained officers could readily adapt — geomagnetic studies, for example, might have been tailor-made for them. The long-standing figment of a freely navigable Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Far East was an objective with popular appeal to which could be coupled scientifically more interesting projects and also, perhaps more importantly for the politicians, a search for it would forestall Russian probing into the area. The *Admiralty manual of scientific enquiry*, produced in the mid-nineteenth century, crystallized the methods to be used and the branches of science to be studied. Many able scientists became involved in Arctic research, and ultimately no fewer than 15 of them became Fellows of the Royal Society of London. A cosy relationship grew up between the Royal Navy and the Society. This had the advantage that the Admiralty became uncommonly inclined toward science, but a disadvantage was that the non-naval geographical or scientific enterprise, such as that by whalers, who had an unrivalled knowledge of the Arctic, was discouraged.

There was, in fact, little real understanding of the nature of science in the Admiralty, and objectives tended to be more geographical than scientific, although there was some recognition that the attainment of the Pole could not be the ultimate objective of Arctic research. Even in exploration, there was the handicap that the Royal Navy was hidebound in its approach to land travel, failing to learn anything from the Hudson's Bay Company and certainly nothing from the Eskimo. Eventually, the expense of repeated searches for Sir John Franklin and his crew, lost in an attempt to find the Northwest Passage, led the Admiralty to stop support for Arctic exploration for more than two decades. Pressure from scientists for its resumption was resisted on the grounds that the *Challenger* expedition was using all the available money, but in 1874 it became clear that it was necessary to assert British authority in the face of increasing US interest in the far north. The resulting British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76 discovered new coastline, carried out first-rate geological work, and collected extensive magnetic, meteorological, and tidal observations, although it was badly affected by scurvy and failed to reach the Pole.

After this expedition, other bodies came to predominate in exploration of the Canadian Arctic. The Hudson's Bay Company, virtually the sovereign power in these parts until 1870, had given logistical support to many naturalists and had employed meteorologists and collectors. However, it had been inclined to see the Royal Navy as an intruder rather than a contributor to knowledge, and had been little concerned with mainstream science. In the second half of the century, American explorers and scientists pushed along the west coast of Greenland and north through the archipelago. For a time the Smithsonian Institution was a main focus and clearing-house for Arctic science. The major contribution of the US to the International Polar Year of 1882–83, an expedition based at Lady Franklin Bay, Ellesmere Island, went appallingly wrong, but nevertheless produced valuable observations. After the turn of the century, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, more buccaneer than scientist, explored the region in 1908–12. His second-in-command, Rudolph Anderson, organized an impressive array of biological, geological, and geographical studies, and one of his associates, Diamond Jenness, who lived for a time with an Inuit family, later became Canada's leading anthropologist.

A general picture of the physical and biological features of the Canadian Arctic emerged from these diverse ventures and provided a strong basis for Canada's claim to sovereignty over the area. Being mainly descriptive and empirical, it had little impact on general scientific advance. Nevertheless, together with parallel work in the Antarctic, it maintained the holistic outlook, which we are now beginning to recognise as essential for the proper understanding of global processes, through a period in which the reductionist approach became regarded as the only correct one for a scientist. Professor Levere aptly sums up: 'Science, sovereignty, security, native rights, and environmental issues are seen today as interdependent.

The seeds for that interdependence were already germinating in the aftermath of the Canadian Arctic Expedition under Stefansson and Anderson' (page 423). (G.E. Fogg, School of Ocean Sciences, Marine Science Laboratories, University of Wales, Bangor, Menai Bridge, Gwynedd LL59 5EY.)

A YEAR IN LAPLAND: GUEST OF THE REINDEER HERDERS. Hugh Beach. 1993. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. xi + 225 p, illustrated, hard cover. ISBN 1-56098-230-6. US\$29.95; £19.50.

LIVING ON THE LAND: CHANGE AMONG THE INUIT OF BAFFIN ISLAND. John S. Matthiasson. 1992. Peterborough, Ontario; Lewiston, NY: Broadview Press (distributed by Baily Distribution; available through Drake Marketing). 172 p, illustrated, soft cover. ISBN 0-921149-93-X.

How to write about human cultures is one of the most-debated and problematic methodological issues within contemporary social anthropology. Few anthropologists would claim that absolute objectivity is possible, yet is reflexivity a valid alternative? Should a literary approach be adopted? And has post-modernism meant that, from what the anthropologist writes, the reader now learns more about the anthropologist than the people he appears to be writing about? Indeed, who is anthropology really for, and should it be popularised? There are no ready answers to these kinds of questions, but perhaps anthropologists should at least be making another way of life accessible and real, whatever their writing style.

The authors of these two books, one about the Saami in Sweden, the other about the Inuit of Baffin Island, succeed in doing this. They have chosen to write personalised accounts of their fieldwork experiences, yet, far from being detached spectators, both Beach and Matthiasson are ever present in their texts, acting as guides and helping the reader to see lives as they are lived, or rather as they were once lived. Both books capture a way of life without trivialising or being unnecessarily reflexive, and take as their focus the relationship between Arctic people and their environments.

Beach portrays a year-long journey through Lapland, as he experienced Saami life in the 1970s. His writing style is elegant and lyrical, giving the reader insight into the seasonal movement of Saami herders and their reindeer through the mountains and forests of northern Sweden. But it is also an account of an anthropologist learning about Saami ways, about detail in landscape, and, as well as herding, about fishing and hunting. The book is more travelogue and anecdote than anthropology, although there is room for this kind of writing to stand alongside more heavily academic material.

Matthiasson, on the other hand, compares Inuit life as it was lived on the land in northern Baffin Island in the early 1960s with that of settlement life a decade later. Descriptions of camp life in the 'contact-traditional' period are accompanied by summary accounts of the influence of the whaling era, the implementation of federal