I share Ms. Gilday’s optimism for change because of the growing public mistrust of deficit government and its programs, and the rising interest of civil society (the privately owned, market directed, voluntarily run or friendship based non-governmental organizations) in taking responsibility for environmental stewardship. In transferring some of the responsibility from deficit government to civil society for the ongoing maintenance of environmental stewardship, local experts and aboriginal elders will have the opportunity to move beyond merely voicing their concerns. Consideration of their traditional environmental knowledge and regional experience base will be necessary in order to conserve resources and ensure renewable harvests. Simply put, how can deficit governments retain control of the environmental agenda when they cannot afford to maintain it? A new balance must therefore be struck among the state, civil society and the individual. This new balance has the potential to become true co-management of the resources which are our birthright.

All in all Winning Back the Words is a delightful book. At $16.95 it is not too expensive to become a high school and university text, and its appeal to civil society environmental organizations should be pronounced. I also hope that its publication encourages others to contribute to the case study literature of public hearings. As oft referenced world leaders in this process, we, as Canadians, should be honing our skills on the cutting edge of its reform.

REFERENCES


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Hugh Beach, one of the most experienced and knowledgeable anthropologists on the Swedish Saami, describes his early work among the reindeer herders in the Jokkmokk district of Sweden. The book is ethnography as literature, written in the first person from Beach’s daily journals from his stay in Tuorpon Saami village from May 1973 through October 1974 (with some material from his 1975 journal), and framed by the author’s personal reflections on “traditional” Saami society. Beach’s view is similar to that of many anthropologists — that change among small-scale societies is bad. This view contradicts how many Saami view change, believing that modern transportation and improved communication create a better way of life. Beach admits he was filled with “out-dated or even false romanticism” (p. vii) toward the Saami, as he continued to live in a turf hut while his neighbors built modern cottages. Yet, at times, the author appears naive about how traditional the Saami were during his study, and he writes (p. 170) in a slightly melodramatic tone: “No one outside of Lillselet knew that we had arrived. Tomorrow would be soon enough to step into the technological world.” Such statements seem inappropriate to describe people who regularly flew in helicopters, carried walkie-talkies and watched television. Clearly Beach’s sentiments are with the old ways, and Beach is more interested in the passing generation than the future one. He uses dialogue with older Saami, mostly males, to explore several different topics, such as shaman drums or yoiking, traditional Saami singing. While the technique is effective, the book may feel disjointed at times to those unfamiliar with the region.

Beach structures the book around the major events in the Saami annual herding cycle — calving, spring migration, calf marking, herd separation, fall slaughter and autumn migration. Chapter 1 details how the author entered the world beyond Lapland’s tourism, eventually gaining acceptance by offering companionship, labor and supplies (including cognac) to the herders. In chapter 2, Beach describes a long and painful walk through the vast mountains, when he joins the Saami families after their move to the summer village. While at the village, the author uses the major summer event of calf marking to introduce the reader to the herding industry in chapter 3.

The new reindeer calves must be identified and marked by the owner in the summer before they leave their mother. Marking involves cutting notches in the animals’ ears according to the owner’s register mark. At the end of July the reindeer are driven to the marking enclosures by aircraft and herders using dogs. Calf marking takes several days to complete, depending upon how the herds are scattered. The entire family travels to the calf marking enclosure, sets up tents, waits, and when the reindeer arrive, works around the clock. After the animals are marked and released, the families return to their summer villages, checking the herds occasionally by aircraft. They will not be collected again until the autumn slaughter in September. Following the frenzied pace of the calf marking, the summer activities consist of fishing, berry picking, and maintenance work on huts. The absence of reindeer work leaves plenty of time for visiting and “cooking coffee”, and both are amply discussed in chapter 4.

The book concentrates heavily on the summer and early autumn; a concentration stemming from Beach’s view of the Saami as a passing traditional people. These are the Saami’s most traditional seasons, times when they have a direct relationship with the mountain resources that have shaped their existence. During that part of the year, the Saami reside near the remote Norwegian border close to their herds, where by law only they can live. Since there are no roads in these highland areas of Sweden, contact with the majority of Scandinavian society is restricted, limited to occasional visits.
by hikers. As a result, however, the book is mistitled since nearly three quarters of it covers the three months from mid-June to mid-September. Other seasons receive only limited attention, such as winter in Jokkmokk (including the winter fair) described in chapter 9.

The book is directed towards a non-academic audience. Nevertheless, non-Swedish readers may have some difficulty understanding the places and events described in the text. Beach explains some aspects of Saami herding and northern Sweden that are unfamiliar to English speakers, but does not do a thorough job. For example, he frequently uses the term sameby, but does not adequately describe this complex political, economic, and social unit at the heart of the Swedish reindeer industry. Therefore, as a reference work, the book is of little value, since it contains no citations and no bibliography. The author acknowledges that it was not his purpose to write a formal ethnography of Saami herding, like his 1981 dissertation, “Reindeer-Herd Management in Transition. The Case of Tuorpon Saameby in Northern Sweden.”

A second weakness of the book is that the maps are confusing and difficult to interpret. For example, the map on page 44 is supposed to illustrate the influence of the Agricultural Line, an historical demarcation between traditional Swedish and Saami regions. Yet the line is not marked on the map, and many of the place names are unreadable. Adequate maps, perhaps reduced color versions of the Swedish Fjallkartan (mountain maps; 1:100 000 m) would impart a more visual sense of the vast emptiness between summer villages, and the rugged migration routes.

I recommend that junior students read the book with a companion volume or series of journal articles on the Saami. I also recommend the work to general readers, who will experience the fun times and the hardships of the Swedish highlands and its people from the perspective of one not used to the extreme cold, nor trained to survive in it. Through the author’s eyes, ears, and skin, the reader feels the mosquitoes’ stings and shivers at the cold breath of this northern land.

I recommend the book most of all to experienced northern scholars. Ethnographic field workers from the circumpolar region will readily identify with how an outsider copes, or fails to cope, with the physical and mental demands of native industries in an unforgiving environment:

Two thousand reindeer followed Per-Henrik. Their walk spoke of eighty hard miles, and yet they gave the impression that they could go on forever. Three heads stuck above the sea of reindeer. Nils-Anders came directly behind, Henrik and Lars-Anders on the flanks. . . . I fell in behind, and the herd passed. . . . Now on the open lake, free from the trees, they picked up the tempo. I straggled along behind as best I could, surrounded by the sounds of a moving herd: the shouts of the herders, barks of the dogs, and muffled thundering of several thousand reindeer hooves on snow. For half an hour I felt the thrill of migration before I stopped to rest. They had already pulled well ahead of me. I watched them draw further and further down the lake. The sounds grew faint. The entire herd shrank to a dark speck in a white world. It was a silent and lonely world they left behind them. I turned and dragged myself back toward Lillselet in the failing light. (p. 155)

For every student of northern culture who has been unable to participate completely in native enterprises, Beach’s reflection reduces personal feelings of inadequacy and intimates the bond felt between circumpolar researchers. The book also details vividly why northern scholars share an adventure that colleagues in warmer climates can never appreciate.

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In the last century the Arctic was a playing field for the creation of British heroes. The search for the Northwest Passage and the missing Franklin expedition were tests of the prowess of red-blooded men in a place of terrifying spaces, towering icebergs of wondrous forms, and inhuman coldness.

John Rae, the Hudson’s Bay fur trader and explorer, and the subject of this book and exhibition mounted by the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, more than lived up to the Arctic’s many challenges. Moreover, he was the first to bring news back to England of the fate of Franklin and his crew. Despite this, “the death of Rae in London in 1893 caused no ripple of national sentiment and prompted no public eulogy. To this day, there is no marble plaque for him among the great in Westminster Abbey, and no bronze statue overlooks the rushing traffic of the capital city” (p. 4). Instead, his only memorial is a surprisingly unheroic yet beautiful marble sculpture in St. Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall, Orkney. Rae is seen sleeping on the cold marble (ice) under a buffalo robe with a rifle at his side, while the light from a small church window above casts a glow over his form (Fig. 1). Though far from the throbbing centre of London it evokes the individualism and strength of a man who was far ahead of his contemporaries in understanding how to live with the land and its indigenous peoples. Why then has so little attention been given to Rae’s contribution to nineteenth century Arctic history? Answers can be found in this interesting and long overdue exhibition and study.

Central to Rae’s career was his appointment by George Simpson, head of the Hudson’s Bay Company, to accompany Sir John Richardson, who led the Admiralty’s overland branch of the 1848 search for Franklin and his crew. Raised in the harsh climate of the Orkneys, Rae was in every respect an experienced partner for Richardson. Both had medical educations from the University of Edinburgh and both were experienced Arctic travelers. Rae’s ten years in the Arctic with the Hudson’s Bay Company had taught him the survival skills of the native peoples and allowed him to develop a