

Establishing perimeters is the first order of complexity. Where does one draw the line between “arctic” expeditions and others? Was John Cabot an “arctic” explorer? And when did arctic exploration begin? Was there no exploratory activity subsequent to 1915? Are the dates “500 B.C. to 1915” simply arbitrary delimiters, or is there reason to work within this framework? Shall this book reference only scientific geographical expeditions? What about activities spurred by commercial or recreational interests? And how should one classify the attempts to reach the North Pole by Peary and Cook? None of these issues—space, time, or purpose—provide simple lines of demarcation. Nonetheless, Holland deftly and succinctly spells out his editorial policy on such issues in the short introduction.

Even when editorial policy has clarified what will be included, the vast amount of detailed work to be done is staggering. Because this encyclopedia encompasses all the Arctic—not only the North American Arctic—Holland has had to work through expedition accounts in some half-dozen languages. He has had to decide which version of place-names to use in his entries, a thorny enough problem in Canada and a nightmare, one suspects, when working in Russian or Greenlandic. “Inuit” has replaced “Eskimo” in most contexts in Canada, and while I cannot agree with Holland’s choice to retain the term “Eskimo,” myriad parallel issues must have arisen about other circumpolar peoples. If Holland’s cultural politics are old-fashioned on this count, one can at least understand his decision to use in this volume names widely adopted by Europeans. What seems of real importance is that Holland made informed decisions and produced an extremely helpful reference tool. Because of its great chronological scope, it is even necessary to distinguish between dating by the Julian or Gregorian calendars, which differ by about ten days!

For those who know Alan Cooke and Clive Holland’s *The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500 to 1920: A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), the format and mechanical aspects of this new encyclopedia will be familiar. Most of the material in the earlier book—long out of print—appears in this more comprehensive volume. The heart of the book is 526 pages of entries, arranged chronologically, documenting nearly 2000 expeditions and major events in the circumpolar Arctic. This is where the new encyclopedia not only outstrips the 1978 Cooke and Holland effort, which covered only expeditions into the Canadian Arctic, but where the complexities of dealing with primary accounts written in Danish, Norwegian, Greenlandic, and Russian become almost mind-numbing. Each entry provides an itinerary of the expedition, the names of its leaders and sponsors, dates of departure and return, a brief statement of its objectives and significance, and a list of bibliographic sources. All this information is painstakingly cross-referenced wherever appropriate.

The entries are followed by 46 pages of bibliography, which give full references for the brief bibliographic tags that appear after each entry. This is followed by a 50-page appendix that lists the main members of the expeditions included in the entries. Thus, a researcher who knows the

name of an expedition member but not the date can find the entry through this appendix. Surely creative scholars will find many other ways to make good use of this appendix.

Next come 30 pages of maps that have been especially prepared for the encyclopedia. As much as is practical, the place-names in the entries are shown on the maps. The maps are followed by 37 pages of general index and then 10 pages that list the ships by name and key them to specific entries.

Only time and frequent use of this encyclopedia will tell how accurate and, hence, how useful it is. Typographical errors and transpositions—inelegant and unprofessional in all books—are the bane of a volume of this sort, full of dates, unfamiliar names, and strange spellings. But with Holland’s incredible concern for detail and the excellent reputation of Cooke and Holland’s *The Exploration of Northern Canada*, this new circumpolar encyclopedia promises to be very useful indeed. Holland, Garland Publishing, and the Trustees of the Leverhulme Trust (who funded the research) are to be congratulated for their support of this astonishingly comprehensive and decidedly valuable undertaking.

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‘TOO MANY PEOPLE’: ORDER AND NONCONFORMITY IN IGLULINGMIUT SOCIAL PROCESS. By WILLEM C.E. RASING. Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit, 1994. 312 p., photographs, maps, bib., tables, illus., appendices. Softbound. Cdn\$40.00.

“In ten to twenty years from today—if nothing changes—everyone in the Baffin Region is going to have a criminal record” (p. 209). So states an Inuit paralegal court worker from Iqaluit who is one of many informants cited in this book. While the court worker may be relying upon hyperbole to make his point, there is no doubt that Inuit communities throughout the Canadian Arctic have experienced a dramatic increase in social disorder brought about by population increase, sedentism, alcohol and drug use, unemployment, underemployment, and a history of paternalistic tutelage which has effectively undermined the autonomous nature of Inuit society. Rasing’s *Too Many People’: Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process* provides a detailed account of social change in Iglulingmiut society, with particular attention paid to the issues of order, nonconformity and social control. The author rightly states that a thorough understanding of contemporary patterns of social deviance and criminality in the Arctic cannot be realized without a historical perspective that goes back to the earliest period of Inuit-European contact. As a result, the author deals with five distinct time periods of Iglulik area history, from earliest contact to the contemporary settlement period. The stated goals of this work are to answer the following questions:

- 1) Which values, norms, and behaviour did the Iglulingmiut consider as constituting, or contributing to, 'order' in social life?
- 2) In which ways did they respond to behaviour that was considered as disrupting this order? and
- 3) How, why, and under what conditions did their views, values, norms and behaviour change? (p. 267)

Since this book is clearly an outgrowth of a thesis project, parts of it read like a dissertation, especially the first few chapters where the theoretical perspective is outlined. As readers continue, however, they will be impressed with the amount of material presented. Rasing's extensive interviews with Iglulingmiut elders are complemented by detailed archival citation of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) reports, Hudson's Bay Company documents, and other useful historical sources. Overall, I was remarkably impressed simply with the number and depth of interviews that Rasing conducted with Iglulingmiut elders and other community residents over the period of the research.

The book begins with a description of contact-period Iglulingmiut society, relying heavily on the ethnographic observations of Captain William Edward Parry and his second in command, Captain G.F. Lyon. This chapter, aptly titled "The Law of Mutual Forbearance," provides a description of traditional methods of social control within the figuration (context) of small, highly dispersed social groupings at the time of first contact in 1822–1823. Both Parry and Lyon praised the Iglulingmiut, finding them "honest, hospitable, reliable, even-tempered, friendly people among whom theft, interpersonal frictions, and violence were rare" (p. 26). Rasing notes that, in the course of his fieldwork in Iglulik (two extended visits between August 1986 and August 1989), he often thought about the observations made by Parry and his men 165 years before and wondered how the Iglulingmiut had made the transition from a comparatively ordered, peaceful, and harmonious society to one plagued by so much social disorder.

It is this transition from supposed order to disorder which constitutes the primary theme of this work. Ultimately the author is concerned with the process of social change and the impact that it has had upon strategies of social control as well as perceptions of deviance and conformity. In the second chapter, the author introduces the reader to the figurational perspective, which is the guiding theoretical precept of the book. The figurational approach, developed initially by Norbert Elias (1978) in his study of state formation in north-western Europe, assumes that people are dependent upon one another for survival, safety, well-being, and the satisfaction of individual needs. How these needs are met within the context of social interdependencies constitutes a particular figuration. Each person is born into an existing figuration which molds his or her behaviour and thought patterns. A key premise of the figuration approach is that figurations are highly dynamic and subject to change as a result of the actions and interactions of interdependent individuals. For the Iglulingmiut, the important transition has been from a camp-

based, subsistence-oriented figuration to a modern, settlement-based figuration where population concentration and growth have led to less cohesion and less self-control, especially among the younger generation of Iglulingmiut. The problems inherent in contemporary Iglulingmiut society are voiced by an elder, who states that there are simply "too many people." In stating this, the Iglulik elder not only provides the title for this book, but echoes the sentiments of many other Inuit elders throughout the North.

The rest of the book is divided into four major sections: Interlude I: 1865–1922; Rules of Survival: 1922–1955; Interlude II: 1955–1964; and Survival of the Rules: 1964–1989. Each of these sections describes the economic, material, political, and socio-legal changes to occur among the Iglulingmiut as a result of increasing Euro-Canadian presence in the region. The two periods which receive the greatest attention are the trapping/camp period of the 1920s through the 1950s and the settlement period which began in the mid-1960s with the construction of government housing in the community of Iglulik. The introduction of trapping into the Iglulik region in the 1920s brought a greater degree of prosperity and security to Iglulingmiut camps, but did not radically change values, behaviours, and modes of social control. Although RCMP patrols occasionally visited the widely dispersed camps, the Iglulingmiut maintained a high degree of autonomy in socio-legal affairs, using largely traditional strategies of control (rumour, joking, teasing) and punishment (social or physical ostracism, group-condoned execution). Rasing provides a thorough analysis of camp life during this time period and discusses the strategies used to maintain order within the figuration of camp life. Included in this section are specific discussions of strategies for coping with nature, with other Inuit, with outsiders, and finally with the self. The author does an excellent job of interweaving all these levels to provide the reader with a better understanding of how Inuit at this time period maintained ordered social relations within the figuration of post-contact camp life. Indeed, this reviewer found the author's discussion of confession of wrongdoing to be one of the more interesting and illuminating parts of the book.

This time period, however, was not without important and noticeable changes to Iglulingmiut social life and values. The increasing dependence upon modern technology for subsistence hunting and trapping (traps, whaleboats, rifles) meant that people were less subject to the whims of nature and could range farther and hunt more effectively than in the past. As a result, the basic worldview regarding human relationships to the natural world started to change. Not only did many taboos and spiritual proscriptions drop out of use, but shamans lost much of their influence in regulating relations with the animal world. Use of modern hunting technology also contributed to an increase in economic disparity between households, which would become much more apparent in the settlement context.

The settlement era began in the mid-1960s with the construction of government housing in Iglulik and the concentration of the regional population. This development created a figuration unlike anything else the Iglulingmiut (or any other

Canadian Inuit for that matter) had experienced. Bringing together large numbers of Inuit from different camps who were no longer dependent upon one another for survival or social support resulted in a figuration characterized by an increasing frequency of non-conforming behaviours (as defined by both Euro-Canadian and traditional Iglulingmiut standards). The author's conversation with a young Inuk describing how to render Lysol into a drinkable liquid will strike many readers with northern experience as all too familiar. I found this chapter the most interesting, since it allowed me to make direct comparisons with the western central arctic community where I have been working for the past 17 years. Nonspecialists and experienced northern researchers alike will find this section an excellent synthesis of court records, RCMP offense data, and interviews with local residents regarding issues of social control, order, and non-conformity. Regrettably, space does not allow a thorough review and commentary on this section of the book. Although I disagreed with a number of Rasing's observations and conclusions, I felt that he did an excellent job in pulling together an impressive amount of material upon which to base his comments.

The book has a number of very minor irritations. The author relied quite heavily on footnotes, many of which I felt could have been incorporated into the text. While I appreciated the extensive citation and elaboration provided by the footnotes, it did interfere with the flow of reading the main text. There were also a substantial number of typographical errors in the text, and I could not find several cited works in the bibliography. More annoying was the fact a number of direct, and relatively long, quotes in French were not translated for the benefit of non-French-reading individuals.

Another minor criticism is that the author did not convince me that the figurational perspective really offered a different view of social change in Iglulingmiut society than that which could be attained simply by using a more traditional culture concept. Many of the changes that Rasing discusses have been described by other researchers, all of whom are cited and discussed in the text. Nevertheless, Rasing does an excellent job of pulling together his own exhaustive data with the observations of others. I also take issue with the comment on the last page, made perhaps in a moment of non-reflection, wherein Rasing notes that increasing social differentiation and integration led to civilization and state formation in northwestern Europe (according to Elias 1978, 1982), but that contact with the outside world appears to have had the reverse influence—a "decivilization process"—among the Iglulingmiut. While one cannot doubt that incorporation into the Canadian nation state has brought a host of significant social problems, to characterize these as representative of a "decivilizing process" is somewhat misdirected. Aside from the fact that the civilizing or decivilizing processes are never fully explained, the reader is left to wonder what, if any, parallels exist between the Iglulingmiut over the past 150 years of their history and the state formation period in northwestern Europe. A more apt comparison would be with the contact experiences of other small-scale, kin-based

societies within expansionist nation states.

Nevertheless, I found this to be a superbly researched and well-organized work by a promising young scholar. Individual points can be debated, as they should be, but this monograph will be an excellent addition to courses in legal anthropology and contemporary arctic ethnography.

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POLAR PIONEERS: JOHN ROSS AND JAMES CLARK ROSS. By M.J. ROSS. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. 435 p., 26 illus., 22 maps, glossary of place-names, notes, bib., index. Hardbound. Cdn\$34.95.

The history of Western exploration of the Arctic and Antarctic continues to fascinate both the general reader and the more zealous student of the past. This book will satisfy both. Much has already been written about the exploits of John Ross and his nephew James Clark Ross. Few books dealing with the history of exploration of the Canadian Arctic and Greenland lack the illustration of John Ross's meeting with the Polar Eskimos (ancestors of the present-day Inughuit) near Cape York in 1818. The distinguished career of James Clark Ross and his impressive voyages in both polar regions have also been properly acclaimed, and I wouldn't consider either man to be an "unsung and forgotten hero" as suggested on the book jacket. What makes this work particularly interesting is the author's familiarity with his subjects. M.J. Ross, the great-grandson of James Clark Ross, takes the reader on a number of interesting excursions into the more or less private lives of the two heroes.

The book opens with a fairly short and not altogether smooth historical account of the Galloway branch of the "Ross clan," aided luckily by a schematic family tree that unfortunately ends in the middle of the nineteenth century. What follows is a most interesting account of John Ross's early naval career, which began when he was nine years old. To describe it as a tough life would be an understatement. It was a time when the British navy was repeatedly engaged in war. In fact, it is quite remarkable that John Ross lived to see the Arctic. He was wounded in both legs, wounded in the head, bayoneted right through his body and had both legs and an arm broken.