

missionaries, Archibald Fleming stood out. His countless pictures and films were used as fundraisers and to show supporters their money was being well spent. They also conveyed a paternalistic view of Canada's northern peoples. The Hudson's Bay Company employed a variety of filmmakers and photographers to celebrate its 250th anniversary in 1920. They produced a large number of pictures and films that depicted a romantic version of fur trappers and life in the Arctic, even as that way of life was disappearing.

A single chapter is devoted to Richard Finnie, who made a career of photographing and filming the Canadian Arctic. While he began filming for the government, he went on to become a prolific independent filmmaker, leaving behind a legacy of images that are still referred to today. The last chapter ties the book all together, examining the similarities and differences between the practices of the three institutions. It also touches on some topics not explored in the book, such as the depiction of women in the images, leaving us with the idea that there are alternative ways to view these Arctic pictures.

A lot of historical information is packed into this little book, intermingling politics, religion, culture, business, and the art of photography. The attention to detail shows in the book's careful annotation and the extensive bibliography and filmography included for those wanting to seek more. Though wonderfully illustrated with over 85 archival photographs, the book leaves readers wanting to see more of these intriguing pictures that carry so much history. Perhaps the next edition could be a coffee-table book filled with images!

I would recommend *Northern Exposures* to anyone with a serious interest in Canadian history and the Arctic, especially in how our (Southern) perception of the North has evolved. I would also recommend this book to image-makers who venture into the Arctic. Even those who take simple tourist shots may find themselves framing their pictures with a more critical eye.

Sandra Tober
Karvonen Films Ltd.
2001 – 91 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
T6P 1L1

THE SÁMI PEOPLE: TRADITIONS IN TRANSITION.

By VELI-PEKKA LEHTOLA. Translated by LINNA WEBER MÜLLER-WILLE. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004. Rev. 2nd ed. (Translated from the revised Finnish edition: Saamelaiset: Historia, Yhteiskunta, Taide [The Sámi: History, Society, Art]. Jyväskylä, Finland: Kustannus-Puntsi, 1997). 144 p., maps, colour and b&w illus., glossary, bib., index. Softbound. US\$27.95.

The idea of unity implied in the title is quickly contradicted by the book's portrayals of the disconnected economies, dialects, and cultures of various Sámi groups. Lehtola rejects

the stereotype of Sámi as a uniform ethnic group, derived from scholarly labeling of them as mountain-dwelling reindeer herders. In fact, the oldest livelihood, Forest Sámi, involved hunting, fishing, gathering, and small-scale reindeer herding. Settled along the Arctic Ocean, Sea Sámi constituted the largest livelihood, combining fishing and reindeer herding. Other cultural elements divided Sámi, as the author illustrates with a map of the ten Sámi dialects and a description of major clothing styles.

Yet, a modern, pan-Sámi ethnic identity has developed:

Improved communications and information networks have, together with pressure from outside, led to a growing feeling of solidarity among Sámi. There is a consciousness that all Sámi once again form a community, Sápmi, which the national borders and other historical events had destroyed.

The birth of an ethnic identity was only possible when the family and village based local identity of Sámi culture was exchanged for a general Sámi identity, a general Sámi feeling of belonging. A village and group identity changed to a feeling of ethnic community and solidarity (p. 57).

The Sámi People provides an insider's view of how Sámi today "build a bridge between tradition and modern times: between old lifestyles and the influences of modern society" (p. 9). An example is the use of Sámi place-names in the text and on the map of Sápmi (e.g., Giepmá instead of Kemi). Lehtola presents an insider's view of Sámi history, beginning with settlement following the last glaciation, through the emergence of a Sámi ethnicity arising from contact with Bronze Age farming societies, and continuing with the rise of nation-states in Scandinavia and Russia during the Late Middle Ages. The history, enhanced by the photos, maps and documents, builds a foundation for Lehtola's primary focus on more recent Sámi experiences.

The author traces modern Sámi ethnic identity to the early 20th-century policy of Norwegianization and its influence on political and social policies, especially education, which sought to transform Sámi into settled, Christian farmers fluent in Norwegian language and culture. Other countries in Sápmi carried out their versions of Norwegianization. Nowhere did the attempted elimination of Sámi ethnicity succeed as much as on the Kola Peninsula in Russia, where in the late 1930s, Sámi villages were destroyed and their people imprisoned or killed as "subversives" who threatened the Revolution.

Lehtola targets World War II as a "turning point" (p. 52) in the creation of Sápmi. Large-scale changes in Finnish Sámi society resulted from a multitude of influential events, such as the region's being depopulated and resettled. Additionally, several herds were forced onto smaller pasturages as a portion of pre-War Finland was transferred to Russia by treaty. The subsequent rise of commercial reindeer herding eliminated cooperative economic behaviors and made the industry competitive. Importantly,

traditional Sámi material culture was destroyed when buildings and villages were burnt in the war, and traditional buildings, equipment, and clothing were replaced by Western versions.

Following the war, Finland, Sweden, and Norway dammed northern rivers for hydroelectric power, and Sámi lost access to traditional natural resources like reindeer pasturage. Lehtola maintains that the 1980–81 Alta Conflict in Norway, which involved massive resistance to the Alta River damming, solidified a pan-Sámi people determined to resist assimilation. While Sámi lost the Alta conflict, the four countries constituting Sápmi changed their policies and created Sámi parliaments. The national Sámi parliaments formed an international conference that is connected to other international indigenous rights organizations. The new Sámi political organizations attained rights like reclaiming traditional land use, controlling handicraft authenticity, and funding native-language education.

While owing its genesis to political self-determination arising from external influences, Sámi culture emerged from internal forces. Although many writers, musicians, and artists received formal training at Western institutions, they engaged in discoveries of Sámi traditions that had disappeared or fallen out of favor. “Through their own activities, Sámi artists have had a great impact on cultural policies...they have strengthened and shaped a new Sámi identity, a self-image of Sámi people in the present transition” (p. 95).

Lehtola traces the personal journeys of Sámi writers who struggled to bridge the gap between the outside world and Sápmi. Hans-Aslak Guttorm wrote about Sámi life in the early 1940s, influencing Sámi writers who chronicled the post-war emergence of a new ethnicity. Female poets like Inger-Mari Aikio portrayed changing women’s roles, while exploring their continuing emotional connections to Sápmi. Sámi literature struggles to find an audience, since there is tension between the desire to publish works in the native language, for a limited readership (and low commercial success), and the wish to translate works into a majority language, whereby indigenous meaning and accessibility to native speakers are lost.

Traditional Sámi music survived in the 1970s and 1980s because the next generation of musicians, raised on MTV and hip hop, produced songs with Sámi music, language, or themes. Groups like Máze nieiddat (The Girls from Máze) and Vilddas brought yoik into the 21st century by adding instrumentation and adding genres like jazz and country. In addition to its performance aspect of music, Lehtola believes, the hybrid yoik-Western music became an important part of Sámi political and cultural events.

Sámi artisans produce some of the finest and most expensive handicrafts in Europe. The 1982 acquisition of an official handicraft trademark, Sámi Duodji, provided both a symbol of pride and a means to authenticate items manufactured for the tourist and handicraft trade. Clothing is especially important as an internal handicraft item today. While post-war modernization brought international

clothing styles and materials to Sápmi, the traditional Sámi clothing, easily identifiable by outsiders, continues to contain important ethnic symbols about gender and place for insiders.

Displaying colorful examples of pictorial and three-dimensional arts, Lehtola traces the continuity of Sámi art from rock paintings through pre-Christian shaman’s drums, to 20th-century artists like Johan Turi. Many modern Sámi artists came from reindeer-herding backgrounds, and some attended Western art schools. While earlier symbolism was lost through external forces, such as the missionaries’ destruction of drums used in religious observances, continuity with the past is accomplished by art that reflects Sámi themes like reindeer and nature. With emerging political and social identity in the 1970s and 80s, Sámi art groups formed for mutual support and to organize exhibits that provided powerful symbols of the emerging Sápmi.

The book’s structure presents a challenge to readers, even those familiar with the topic. Organized in a loose chronological arrangement of events, the book sometimes drifts from the topic. Explorations of key topics, noted only by italics in the table of contents, consist of two-page inserts in a smaller font, interspersed with the main text. Yet, the inserts are informative, covering relevant topics such as “The Sámi and the Laestadian faith,” “Pioneers of Sámi literature,” and “The Áltá chronicle.” While sometimes a challenge, the combination of insightful text, enriching key topics, and attractive visuals makes engaging reading.

The book’s main weakness is its documented scholarship. The text lacks citations, and the bibliography, compiled by Ludger Müller-Wille, is notable for both omissions and inaccuracies. Several topics covered in the text, for example, Sámi prehistory, are not represented in the bibliography. In addition, despite the author’s in-depth discussion of the influences of the Swedish Crown in the 16th and 17th centuries on the evolution of modern Sámi herding, the bibliography does not list important sources on that topic (e.g., Lundmark, 1989). Sources of direct quotes or specific works referred to in the text, such as Kaisa Korpjiaakko’s (1989) influential work on land rights (p. 84), are also not listed in the bibliography. While Müller-Wille states that “the range of publications was chosen to provide the interested reader with information on pertinent works that, in most cases, are easily accessible in libraries and bookstores in European and other countries” (p. 135), the bibliography lacks easily accessible sources such as the extensive coverage of the Sámi in *National Geographic* (e.g., Shor and Shor, 1954).

While scholars receive little help from the book’s bibliography, Lehtola provides an innovative perspective on the emergence of Sápmi. Everyone with an interest in modern Arctic cultures should read *The Sámi People*. Lehtola finally delivers what many writers have promised—to bring the story of modern Sámi ethnicity to a wider audience. The book is appropriate for an undergraduate course on indigenous rights, especially since

Lehtola voices a positive tone about the Sámi as a modern people who have retained many traditions. Graduate students will find the book useful as a model for analyzing the development of pan-ethnic movements. All northern scholars should take from this work the necessity of involving indigenous peoples in research to attain an insider's perspective. Conversely, indigenous groups should learn from Lehtola's example the importance of having educated members who combine outside scholarship with inside perspective to produce synergistic works.

REFERENCES

- KORPIJAAKKO-LABBA, K. 1989. Saamelaiden oikeusasemasta Ruotsi-Suomessa: oikeushistoriallinen tutkimus Länsi-Pohjan Lapin maankäyttöoloista ja -oikeuksista ennen 1700-luvun puoliväliä. [Sámi legal status in Sweden-Finland]. Helsinki: Lakimiesliiton Kustannus.
- LUNDMARK, L. 1989. The rise of reindeer pastoralism. In: Broadbent, N., ed. Readings in Saami history, culture and language. Miscellaneous Publications 7. Umeå, Sweden: Center for Arctic Cultural Research. 31–44.
- SHOR, J., and SHOR, F. 1954. North with Finland's Lapps. *National Geographic* 106(2):249–280.

Robert P. Wheelersburg
Department of Sociology-Anthropology
Elizabethtown College
Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
17022
wheelersburg@etown.edu

IN A HUNGRY COUNTRY. By SIMON PANEAK. Edited by JOHN MARTIN CAMPBELL. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press. With contributions by GRANT SPEARMAN, ROBERT L. RAUSCH, and STEPHEN C. PORTER. ISBN 1-889963-59-3 (Hardbound). 125 p., maps, b&w illus., colour photographs, index, bib., appendices, notes. Hardbound, US\$59.95; Softbound, US\$27.95.

This book, which consists of stories and essays by one of the great Alaskan geniuses of our time, is both thrilling and disappointing. Simon Paneak was raised in northern Alaska in the rich traditions of the Nunamiut or inland Eskimo. His knowledge of his own Iñupiaq language and culture was enhanced by his ability to read, write, and speak English, skills he apparently learned from his wife. As a consultant to many Arctic scientists, including Laurence Irving, Helge Ingstad, Ernest "Tiger" Burch, as well as to editor Jack Campbell, Paneak generously recorded his own keen observations along with his traditional knowledge of the flora and fauna and human history of the Brooks Range.

I was fortunate enough to meet Paneak and drink tea with him in his sod house (the only one remaining) in

Anaktuvuk Pass in 1968. Even then he was already something of a legend. Born in 1900, Paneak lived until 1975, and today a museum in the village is named after him. Editor Campbell, a field archaeologist, corresponded with Paneak and lent him a tape recorder, which he used to great advantage. The present volume is based on stories and essays that Paneak wrote and transcriptions of tape recordings he made of himself.

A Foreword by Grant Spearman and Campbell's own introduction precede the five chapters composed by Paneak himself. The range of topics covered here includes "The Supernatural" (traditional stories), "The Hunting Trail" (subsistence), "Trade" (the historic impact of contact and the white man's technology), "War and Hunger" (historical legends), and "The Last of the Old Days" (detailed recollections of daily life and travels in the year 1940). The format of the texts is rather unusual, but pleasing. Each page is split down the middle, providing in the left-hand column transcriptions of Simon's own writing or of his nonstandard spoken English. In the right-hand column is Campbell's "translation" into standard English.

The nonstandard English originals have a great deal of stylistic charm, although they are indeed difficult to follow. It truly helps to have both, however, for the originals give us a strong sense of Simon's "voice," while the translations provide us with clarity, flow, and continuity. Compare, for instance, "Parent of all mosquitoes are discuss all about problem to their bunch of childrens in early of June after had them all winter long in special room they had for Store." Campbell's translation: "In early June the parents of all mosquitoes were discussing problems with their many children after they had been in a special room for all winter."

There are some redundancies, since Campbell includes reproductions of Paneak's pencilled sketches. These sketches, a kind of folk art, contain portions of the typed narrative texts in Simon's original hand. Specialists may want to consult a companion volume entitled *North Alaska Chronicle: Notes from the End of Time: The Simon Paneak Drawings*, also edited by Campbell, and published by the Museum of New Mexico Press in 1998.

Campbell's purpose here is to provide a lasting memorial to his great friend and collaborator, and we are all the richer for it. At the same time, the book has a significant number of flaws or deficiencies that can be laid at the hands of the editor and his contributors.

First, it is disappointing that no mention is made in the bibliography of the tape recordings Paneak made for Campbell or of the twelve tape recordings of him made in 1972, which form part of the Songs and Legends collection stored in the archives of the Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska. These tapes contain much information on the history of the Nunamiut, a wealth of traditional stories, accounts of Nunamiut wars with the Gwich'in and Koyukon Indians, and several songs. Persons eager to hear Paneak's voice and appreciate the full extent of his intellect may borrow copies of these tapes (now digitized onto