

One manifestation of this Euro-centrism regarding the Arctic has been to identify the North with man's heroic battle with nature. This is portrayed in our fascination with the lives of individual explorers and a focus on man-the-hunter surviving through skill and ingenuity in a harsh environment. Unfortunately, this orientation all too often has polarized men's and women's roles, obscuring in the process the crucial and multifaceted contribution of indigenous women to their culture. Through Sadie Brower Neakok's narrative we gain important insights into the flexibility of the gender division of labor as she meets her multiple commitments to family, career and Iñupiat culture. As an important leader, wife of an *umealik* (whaling captain) and mother, her oral history is instructive about other dimensions of struggle and heroism — dimensions that locate human frontiers not only in a confrontation with the physical environment in the North, but in the many social, economic and political issues that are interlinked with the survival of Iñupiat culture.

From the beginning Sadie Brower Neakok has lived in two worlds. Growing up in Barrow, Alaska, as the sixth child of her renowned father, whaler and trader Charles Brower, she was expected to eat "white man's food" at his table and observe his evening curfew — in sharp contrast to the freer life of her Iñupiat friends. From Asiagataq, her capable, compassionate mother, she learned Iñupiat ways, including how to hunt and sew skins. This occurred most intensively during the occasional year-long absences of her father and at hunting camp during the summers. From her mother she also acquired an enduring concern for the welfare of her people.

Sent to high school in San Francisco, she found history and government difficult, seeing them as abstract and unrelated to her experiences back home. Also, she relates, "my language bothered me . . . I was always afraid to talk in class . . . And I got tongue tied . . ." The solution to her dilemma was to actively affirm her own culture. When required to give speeches in the classroom, she told stories about life in the North, "until I felt by my fourth year I was just as good as they ['the white kids'] were" (p. 88-89). Later, when she became a teacher in Barrow, these experiences enabled her to understand the problems of Iñupiat children who were faced with the requirement of speaking English at school.

Upon her return to Barrow, she saw life there through different eyes. "Oh, the different feelings I had . . . I was so happy to be back . . . but seeing my friends . . . how they were dressed, and their home conditions . . . People were so poor — but high in spirit . . ." (p. 98). This moved her to put her education to work. By the time she married her lifelong companion, Nate Neakok (whose entire schooling was in Iñupiat culture), she was committed both to the substantial work entailed in remaining close to a subsistence way of life, especially as the wife of an *umealik*, and to public service in the community of Barrow.

Best known for her 20 years as magistrate in Barrow, she also served as a volunteer health aide and welfare worker as well as teacher. All of these occupations made her part of the governmental structures she had found so confusing as a high school student. In addition to her employment, she and her husband raised their 12 children as well as occasionally providing foster care for others. As a person of unusual energy who never seems to have found a problem that couldn't be solved, she relates her remarkable story with insight and wit, filling the reader with the sense of vitality that sustained her in even the most difficult circumstances.

At times she was able to utilize her dual role as magistrate and welfare worker to advantage, as when in a court case she seized a moose from a man who had taken it out of season. Then, as welfare worker, she awarded the meat to his needy family. Larger issues also concerned her. For example, it was she who demonstrated the importance of allowing the Iñupiat language to be used in the courtroom, thus achieving that significant change for members of all Native groups.

Her concern over the threat to Iñupiat subsistence brought about by the enforcement of the Migratory Bird Act in 1961 led to her active support of the famous Barrow "duck-in." Hunting of this

significant food source was being banned during the only season when they were to be found on the North Slope. This brought about an organized protest where 150 Iñupiat hunters — men, women and children, each holding a duck — presented themselves before the game warden to be arrested. The outcome was that the hunting of waterfowl was allowed on the North Slope from May to September.

This book is about two worlds in another sense as well, in that it represents the combined efforts of an Iñupiat and a Euro-American. Anthropologist Margaret Blackman avoids merging the two voices in the book by using italics where she interjects her own well-drawn commentary to clarify or elaborate Sadie Neakok's words. The original tapes were edited by Neakok and then published with minor changes by Blackman. A number of members (primarily white) of the state judicial system speak with great admiration about Sadie Neakok's tenure as a magistrate. Yet the voices of the community she served are missing. Although she used her knowledge of the community and Iñupiat values in her position as magistrate, she also had to operate within institutional requirements that she enforce standards that came from Euro-American culture. Perceived as both a public official and an Iñupiat, she must have generated some ambivalent feelings among community members resistant to outside controls — a topic that is not addressed.

Several other features strengthen this book. First, Blackman adroitly sets the narrative within the larger framework of North Slope history in an introductory chapter. Second, she provides a lucid, valuable analysis of the oral history approach, describing the complex process and choices involved in publishing this book, beginning with its origins in the North Slope Borough Field School at Barrow. Finally, there are two sections of photographs that enhance the text.

Even though an oral history necessarily focuses on a given individual, Neakok's account does not subordinate North Slope life to her own. Her narrative is situated in the broad sweep of events affecting life in Barrow for over half a century rather than on more personal dimensions of living. During that time she has played a significant leadership role. The recognition she has achieved both within the state and nationally attest to the contributions of this unique woman.

This fine book will appeal to a wide spectrum of readers interested in anthropology, oral history, the Arctic and women's studies.

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TO SIBERIA AND RUSSIAN AMERICA. THREE CENTURIES OF RUSSIAN EASTWARD EXPANSION. 3 vols. Edited and translated by BASIL DMYTRYSHYN, E.A.P. CROWNHART-VAUGHAN and THOMAS VAUGHAN. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1985, 1988, 1989. 540, 590, 557 p., illus., maps, index, bib. Hardbound. US\$30.00 each vol.

This is a magnificent collection of 330 documents that, in three long volumes, provide us with a researcher's delight on the Russian penetration of Siberia, the North Pacific Ocean, and North America. In the first volume, *Russia's Conquest of Siberia, 1558-1700*, the story begins in 1558 with Tsar Ivan Vasilevich's letter patent granting a financial, judicial, and trade monopoly on the "uninhabited lands" along the Kama River to Grigori Stroganov. The first stage ends with the Treaty of Nerchinsk, agreed to by co-Tsars Ivan V and Peter I and the Khan of China in 1689. Volume 2, *Russian Penetration of the North Pacific Ocean, 1700-1797*, opens with an account of an expedition to Kamchatka in 1697 by Vladimir Atlasov (written in 1701) and concludes with a report to Emperor Paul I in 1799 on the formation of a United Fur Trading Company in Siberia.

Volume 3 is devoted to the *Russian American Colonies, 1798–1867* and begins with the Act of Incorporation of the United American Company, 1798. It closes with the Treaty of 1867, in which Alaska was ceded to the United States. Each volume has a satisfactory introduction, a glossary of terms, and a bibliographic essay. Each volume also includes a substantial final bibliography, with mostly Russian-language sources, and a useful index. All in all, these large tomes present us with our most exhaustive English-language documentary record of Russia's conquest of Siberia and its native peoples; the inexorable Russian push to eastern Siberia, then to Kamchatka and the Aleutians; and, finally, imperial Russia's colonial advances across the Bering Straits, past the mouth of the Columbia River, and south to Fort Ross in California.

Among the documents are treaties, charters, Muscovite and imperial decrees (*ukazy*), and secret communiqués. Reports abound from Cossacks, geodesists, explorers, merchants, diplomats, commanders and other officials, and from missionaries. Included also are dispatches from *voevodas* and governors, instructions from state ministers, extracts from diaries and log books, letters, petitions, and inventories.

Although the key sections remain intact, a number of the documents have been abridged. Therefore scholars will still have to turn to the originals in order to complete serious research. Some historians may regret certain absences, for example, of materials from the fascinating and corroborative diaries of such important 18th-century explorers, botanists, or archivists as Stepan Krasheninnikov, Johann Gmelin, G.-F. Müller, P.S. Pallas, and others. But most of these are available elsewhere and their stories are apart from the more official versions that were sought for here. Because of its completeness, and the availability of original English-language materials with which to compare their content, the documentation of the origins and purpose of the Russian American Company, in Volume 3, seems to present the most complete picture. Volume 1, however, is especially significant for its record of the early stages of Russian-Chinese competition along the Amur and elsewhere.

The introductions are somewhat skimpy, but they serve their purpose nonetheless and provide food for further thought. In spite of, or because of, its length there is very little else to review in a publication of this type, unless one were to attempt a collation of the translations with the originals or suggest at length that other items should have been included. Neither is necessary. The value of the collection lies in the fact that it brings together records previously unavailable to English-only readers and provides users with an invaluable picture of one of history's greatest — but perhaps least well-known — “expansions.”

The compilers and translators are to be congratulated for their 15 years of labour on this project. The collection should be in every university library.

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THE JOURNAL OF ROCHFORD MAGUIRE, 1852–1854: TWO YEARS AT POINT BARROW, ALASKA, ABOARD H.M.S. *PLOVER* IN THE SEARCH FOR SIR JOHN FRANKLIN. Edited by JOHN BOCKSTOCE. Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Vols. 169–170. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988. 584 p., maps, illus., index, bib. Hardbound. £30.00 for 2-vol. set.

This recently published journal by Rochfort Maguire comes up to the high standards of editing for which the Hakluyt Society is well known. The journal accounts for the two years that the *Plover* spent on the northwest coast of America under Rochfort Maguire's command as a backup supply vessel for H.M.S. *Enterprise* and *Investigator*. The latter two ships were engaged in the British Admiralty's search for Sir John Franklin's missing crew and ships,

this branch of the search being conducted through the Bering Straits. The *Plover* spent numerous years in the Northwest, but the years 1852–54 found her under Maguire's command. Essentially, nothing of major significance occurred during the two winters the *Plover* was frozen in the ice just off Point Barrow. Under Maguire's command and orders, the *Plover* was never intended to undertake any exploration of consequence or to search for the missing Franklin party. Her purpose was exclusively to provide a supply station to which other British Admiralty vessels could fall back in time of need.

Clearly, then, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire, 1852–1854* does not make exciting reading by virtue of the events that unfold in its narrative. Nothing of the natural vigor of Samuel Hearne's journey to the Coppermine or John Franklin's desperate retreat across the Barrens to Fort Enterprise is to be found in Maguire's account. But Maguire's journal has its own appeal. In the Introduction, Bockstoce remarks on the tangible sense one gains of Maguire's personality in reading the two volumes. I'm moved less by a growing sense of Maguire's personality and more by the developing image of compromise and understanding that arises between Maguire and his frequent Iñupiat visitors. For instead of coasting along the arctic shoreline surveying navigable waters, Maguire spent two lengthy winters frozen into the ice of Elson Bay, only a short distance from the Iñupiat settlement of Point Barrow, located at the end of the long spit of land behind which the *Plover* sheltered. Hence, Maguire's journal is not a running commentary on tides, coastal indentations, and shoals north of Bering Straits; instead, it provides a daily record of social engagements between two diverse cultures who had previously experienced no sustained contact with each other. Rather than begin each day with weather conditions, the typical entries for Maguire's journal start with a report on the number of Iñupiat on board.

Clearly, anthropologists and ethnologists will be interested in much that Maguire reports about his visitors and their culture. But one need not be trained in anthropology to become engrossed in the process of tolerance and compromise that unfolds through these two volumes. Initially, Maguire's ethnocentric personality expresses great distaste for the “heathens” he meets; nor do the Iñupiat find much to recommend the European intruders, except for the obvious material wealth they carry with them. At the centre of the conflict lies the concept of private ownership. While Maguire initially has little curiosity about customs and beliefs of the Iñupiat, it is their propensity for thieving that most galls him. In fact, references to pilfering run like a leitmotif through the journal, especially in the first volume. But as the months pass, both Maguire and the Iñupiat come to understand more of the other's perspective. With efforts from both sides, the “problem” does not disappear, but the two groups find ways to deal with their differences so that the common humanity of all parties can rise to the surface.

Because the journal is Maguire's, the reader's vision is obviously funnelled through his eyes, and not through the Iñupiat's. It requires a bit of extrapolation, accordingly, to see the changes that come to the Iñupiat as they begin to comprehend and grow to trust Maguire, but the change is clear nonetheless. This is an important facet of the journal, it seems to me, as we hear so much today about the faults of British ethnocentrism and cultural exploitation (or, at best, insensitivity) in the nineteenth century. Indeed, Maguire's own account shows that many such charges were true. But by reading his journal, we also come to understand that other cultures were equally ethnocentric. Ultimately, the friendships that develop between individuals are what permit the Iñupiat and the crew of the *Plover* to live harmoniously.

A word about the editing of the journal is in order. Bockstoce has omitted the segments of Maguire's journal that relate his travels to and from the Arctic. As well, Bockstoce has deleted Maguire's meteorological and auroral observations. Together, these omissions constitute about 30% of the original journal, and while my first instinct is to prefer a complete transcription of a historical account (thereby permitting readers to use the document as best suits their needs), the fact that the journal already runs to two volumes probably