

of July summer was upon them, with plants flourishing and temperature rising, making it "shirt-sleeve weather" had it not been for the mosquitoes. On 6 July it was recorded that they backpacked 18 km, and by 10 July they were at the last cache, some 170 km from their destination.

The pace slowed, as if to prolong the experience, as if the goal were no longer relevant. The land was now a "compelling part of their lives." They sensed the presence of the ocean some 60 km away; the weather was more unstable and damp, and temperatures changed. As they neared their destination, autumn was upon them, with leaves turning red and remnants of flowers swaying in the breeze. On 26 July, from a ridge they glimpsed the Arctic Ocean, the northern edge of the continent. Rain delayed their arrival until 30 July, when they spent a quiet and contemplative evening on the shore opposite Coppermine. The next morning they were picked up, and soon they flew back to the city.

The above sketch does not indicate some of the difficulties encountered. Early on, the travellers realized the scarcity of water and the dangers of dehydration. As well, during the manhauling stage, reflection of the sun off the snow led to sunburn and the danger of heat stroke. Later, at the end of June, one of the women collapsed, perhaps because of the water, and a medical evacuation was radioed, but she recovered before it was put into effect. Before they reached the second cache, they had to supplement the rations by hunting game — hare or ground squirrel — and even picking berries. On various occasions wind and rain kept them tent-bound. At times they forded the cold waters of rivers; at others they broke through the rotting shore ice.

The film presents several images. One is of the barrenlands (or Barrens) as a land of "disaster and ruin, a land scraped barren, strewn with boulders from the last ice age." A number of vista shots reflect this, including photographs of glacier erratics, which led to a discussion of how these were left by the last ice age. Other shots include the boreal forest in the grips of late winter and scenes of rugged mountains and low mountains eroded by ice, wind and water. The narrator, Peter Harmathy, noted that the barrenlands have no trees by which one can judge scale: consequently it is easy to misjudge size and distance. Another image presented is one of mercilessness and cruelty, when Harmathy talked of the cruelly deceiving landscape or particularly when he discussed an event when 11 of 20 died 150 years before. Vastness is another word used in the film. The initial aerial shot and narration depict the barren arctic landscape stretching uninhabited. On another occasion the narrator speaks of isolation.

Yet despite this, the film suggests it is a land of contrast — miniature (in terms of vegetation), yet vast; empty, yet full. The variety of the Arctic can be seen in some of the shots and incidents. For example, there is the flight of a ptarmigan from her nest. Gull, eagle, fox and bear are shown. One incident occurred when Shawn Ryan went to get a closer look at a wolverine on the lake ice and it started to turn on him. On two occasions caribou herds, "nomads of the North, spirits of the landscape," passed by, their hooves moving noisily over the rocks. Some of the rocks looked as if they had been sculpted by man, as did some of the melting ice pans. An interesting illustration was the shot of a soaring raptor juxtaposed with a native legend of a bird creating the world.

These images of word and photography reflect the view of the narrator. In many respects, then, the film is a lyrical representation of his thoughts as he reacted to the Arctic.

There are a few problems. Although maps are used to outline the trip, basically there are no indications of specific places, such as where the caches were, or some of the features named in the film — such as Snare River, Winter Lake or Napatiluk Lake. Some references could be clearer; for example, the expedition event noted should have been identified as the first overland expedition of John Franklin, as distinct from the more famous sea expedition in which all 129 died. In this first expedition death had much to do with

poor leadership. There is no mention of Greenstockings Lake as being named after a native woman who played a role in this first Franklin expedition. Mention of the Franklin expedition earlier might have underlined, even more, the cruelty of the barrenlands. The massive falls towards the end of the film might have been identified.

Another concern relates to the background of the members. While the city-origin is mentioned, one wonders if it was other than Yellowknife. All of the motives would be interesting to know, given the conclusion that the narrator did not become a stronger person, as well as the opinion that there was a genuine need for wilderness and a place completely untouched. They did feel defeated to know they were not part of the land, but they felt that despite the physical pain and time the experience gave them much. Finally, the viewer wonders what special preparations were made for the expedition, especially as the video lists credits for 26 people and organizations that helped them.

Some of the views or conclusions raise questions. For example, there is a statement about wondering why the land was abandoned, completely empty. However, contemporary natives still use the barrenlands to hunt, even if they might live in a community. The narrator expresses the hope that civilization never reaches the area, and yet not only do native cultures use the area but for a very long time aspects of the larger Euro-Canadian culture, whether geologists, geographers, biologists or even tourists, have been using the region covered in the film.

The film was probably designed for a television production, or at least for schools, though teachers would have to devise the particular lessons to be learned at various levels only after careful review of the many facets presented in the film. The expert will not find much new, though this need not be a drawback, for it should be remembered that an early National Film Board production *Across Arctic Ungava* dealing with scientists about 1948 was also more one of image and hardship. Thus the film does present the Arctic as seen by five city people. Moreover, at times the narration is full of imagery. These two features then become the strength of this film.

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SOVEREIGNTY OR SECURITY? GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THE CANADIAN NORTH, 1936-1950. By SHELAGH D. GRANT. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. 385 p., maps, illus., index, bib. Hardbound. Cdn\$29.95.

Shelagh Grant's detailed and competent study of Canada's northern policy in the crucial 1936-50 period is sure to spark considerable debate. The question that frames the study — sovereignty or security — clearly bedeviled officials and politicians during the time under investigation and, as recent discussion over submarines, pipelines and Canada's ability to defend its interests in the Arctic reveal, through to the present. (There was a third element — stewardship over northern Native peoples — that Grant considers and which was clearly a major element in policy discussions at that time.) It was in this period, as Grant carefully documents, that Canadian officials finally overcame an attitude towards the North that Jack Granatstein characterized as "a fit of absence of mind" and asserted full colonial control over its northern appendages.

The volume begins with an overview of Canadian policy towards its northern lands, well-covered ground but essential to what follows. After a brief description of the North during the depression years, Grant turns to political and diplomatic considerations. A description

of the state of federal northern administration and policy is followed by the strongest segment of the book, which covers the rapid changes that followed the outbreak of war and the American "invasion" of the Canadian North. The remainder of the book considers federal struggles with the competing demands of "sovereignty, stewardship or security in the post-war period."

Grant's study fits neatly into the mainstream of northern historiography. Her emphasis is clearly on Ottawa and the politicians, government officials and influential private citizens (particularly those associated with the Arctic Institute of North America and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs) who sought to awaken the country to its northern obligations. She goes beyond the existing scholarship, however, in documenting the marked impact of American and British diplomatic and military pressures in forcing Canada to reconsider its long-standing neglect of the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

*Sovereignty or Security?* has much to recommend it. The diplomatic and political nuances are carefully traced. Northern administrative structures (and changes thereto) are described with precision. One leaves the book with a very solid understanding of how official Ottawa perceived the North, how that perception shifted through the war years, and how federal policy changed as a result of competing regional, national and international forces. At this level — and this was clearly Grant's objective and priority — the book can only be judged a major success.

There are, however, weaknesses with both this approach and its execution. The book includes a useful description of the North in the depression years, although I would disagree with the author's characterization of the northern society and economy on several points. Because of this early chapter, one anticipates that later discussion of government policy will be closely connected with the actual situation in the region. Sadly, that is not the case. As the book progresses, one gets farther and farther from the North and more firmly ensconced in Ottawa. The promising beginnings are lost and one gets another "traditional" northern history, in which the North is reduced to a field of government responsibility and is not considered as a vital regional society.

There are other difficulties. Most readers will find this to be a tough read, particularly in the latter half when discussions of myriad meetings, exchanges of correspondence and administrative changes tend to overwhelm. It is hard to know how this could have been avoided, for it reveals that increasing complexity of government activities in the North, but one feels swamped by the bureaucracy. Also, Grant's characterization of the major actors is overly generous. Hugh Keenleyside and several other key figures are presented in a particularly favourable light and without the critical insight that time and distance should have permitted. (It is unlikely, for example, that the major civil servants, who often passed on quickly to other departments and responsibilities, were as committed to the North as this book suggests.) On a different level, the brief segments allocated for statistical analysis of government spending are impressionistic and inconclusive; a more sophisticated discussion, and one with a longer time frame, would have been helpful.

The connections between Ottawa civil servants and federal officials in the field are shown in chart form, but not always followed up in the text. George Jeckell, Controller of the Yukon for most of the period in question, is mentioned on only five occasions; Ottawa insiders rate far more coverage. (We are given photographs of many of the major Ottawa-based personalities, but none of the minor federal officials in the field or territorial politicians.) Grant makes her Ottawa-orientation very evident, which reveals a great deal about her approach to the study of government policy. Francis Prucha, a noted American historian, once wrote that "a policy can be fully understood only by watching it unfold in practice." We are not offered that perspective here. The omission is important, for we are left with little sense of how people in the region perceived the Ottawa mandarins and their policies. One Yukon politician, writing

in 1947, applauded the Yukon Fish and Game Association for starting to "inject some intelligence into the craniums of the ignorant dictators in Ottawa." One gets no sense of this regional hostility in Grant's analysis, which presents a very positive image of the federal policy makers. This said, however, Grant's book clearly provides a crucial foundation for anyone wishing to investigate the regional implementation of federal policy.

Sadly, this book is not up to the production standards one expects from a major university press. The text includes a number of small errors. There are numerous problems with the illustrations, which is a particular shame since the book contains a variety of well-chosen images. One set of plates is, inexplicably, relegated to the appendix and several of the illustrations are mislabelled (my copy included handwritten corrections). [The publisher has advised that a printed "errata" sheet is now available and that many of these problems will be corrected in any subsequent printings. — *Ed.*] There are a number of functional maps, but they are too small and, in several instances, hard to use. The book also contains seven appendices. While some are valuable, others are of marginal use and could have been dropped without much loss. In general, the book required more careful editing and greater attention to the details of publishing. Ms. Grant has been poorly served.

The critical test of this book, ironically, will not rest with northern historians. Despite Grant's suggestion to the contrary, regional scholars are very much aware of the critical transition in government policy between the 1930s and 1950s and are, in a variety of ways, tracing the impact of post-war government programs on northern society. The major contribution of this study lies in its analysis of the inter-connections between Canada's northern policy and its relations with the United States and Britain. It would do this volume a grave disservice to label it as simply a work of northern history; it is, instead, an important contribution to Canadian diplomatic and political history.

Canadian historians have long been noted for their ability to ignore most of what is northern in this country, seemingly believing that northern topics are seldom of much national interest or importance. Shelagh Grant's *Sovereignty or Security?* speaks directly to the misapprehension and challenges historians of World War II and the immediate post-war era to give serious consideration to the role of the Canadian North in the formulation of government policy.

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**INUIT DOLLS: REMINDERS OF A HERITAGE.** By EVA STRICKLER and ANAOYOK ALOOKEE. Toronto: Canadian Stage and Arts Publications Ltd., 1988. 176 p., 2 maps, 125 black-and-white photos, 65 colour photos, list of dollmakers, glossary. Softbound. Cdn\$29.95. In English with some Inuktitut.

The Inuit have made dolls from prehistoric times until the present. Dolls were a parental gift, a teaching device, and bearers of the culture passed down from antiquity. Young girls learned to master the skills of skin preparation, cutting and sewing, the use of materials at hand, design, and the significance of symbols. This ancient art is now disappearing and another link with the past is in danger of being broken.

When Itée, of Spence Bay, recently found a doll from the 1950s on an old campsite, the authors were inspired to photograph and write about Inuit dolls in order to recapture this singular tradition, which encapsulated a significant part of the heritage. Anaoyok Alookey says: "Because the dolls give a true picture of the people of the north, it is our hope that the people living in the south will