

he has done so. This is a debatable point in Mayers' book. There is little doubt that he knows the relevant English literature on the topic (which is the most important aspect), and quite an impressive number of books and articles are mentioned in the notes. But Mayers himself does not comment on them very often or relate to them explicitly.

This weakness comes to the fore when Mayers paints the background to Borough's voyages and the first expeditions in search of the Northeast Passage. He places heavy emphasis on the sudden drop in cloth export during the 1550s, which impelled English merchants to seek other overseas exports outlets and no longer remain dependent on Spain and the Netherlands. According to the author, this was the decisive factor (and he is probably right), but it would have been nice if he had attempted to weigh this up against other issues, some of which might also have been necessary preconditions. One was the need for a route to the east that was not controlled by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. This question is hardly touched upon and could have been discussed at greater length. Mayers mentions that other historians hold different views, but he refrains, by and large, from discussing these.

Mayers' accounts of the expeditions of 1553–54 and 1556–57 are fascinating: one really does get an understanding of how brave these men must have been, and what kind of hardships they had to endure. Nevertheless, it may be argued that Mayers' perspective is too narrowly English. He takes no account of the fact that these narratives are also very important sources of northern Russian history. Borough's meeting with Russian sea-mammal hunters in 1556 is a very important source, shedding light on the economic activities of the Pomors in the mid-sixteenth century. In this connection, it is unfortunate that the author seems to be unaware of the discussion concerning the route followed by Borough on his 1556 *Serchethrift* voyage. He therefore perpetuates the prevalent misunderstanding in polar literature that Borough's first harbour in Russia was at 'Cola River' at Kola town, which today forms part of the city of Murmansk.

Borough estimated the latitude at 'Cola River' as 65°48', that is, 4° too far south (present-day Murmansk lies at 69°20'), despite the fact that there is otherwise a very high degree of accuracy in his latitude measurements. This was a solitary case, and according to Mayers the only possible explanation is that Borough for some reason wrote five instead of nine, or that Hakluyt made a mistake when he copied the account (neither of which is likely). Mayers does not consider a third possible explanation: that there was no mistake here. As early as 1901, the Russian historian/ librarian A.P. Filippov put forward the theory that what has been thought of as Borough's first harbour in Russia was not Kola River on the Kola Peninsula, but the Kuloy River in Mezen. The matter is significant because the location of 'Cola River' on the map clearly has repercussions for how the information contained in Borough's travel account should be interpreted. Today

there is hardly any doubt that Filippov was right. The latitude measurement of 65°48' was as correct as could be, because Borough was at 'Kuloy River' on the eastern side of the White Sea (see Hultgreen and Nielsen 2005).

Let me also mention a few inaccuracies when it comes to Norwegian affairs. There are two misprints in the rendering of place-names (along the north Norwegian coast), both forgivable: Kjordvik instead of Kjelvik, and Moskenstraumen instead of Moskenesstraumen. Olaus Magnus was not 'bishop of Oslo,' but a Catholic archbishop of Sweden in exile after the Reformation. Fridtjof Nansen did not start his *Fram* expedition from the Bering Strait, but from the New Siberian Islands. The glossary compiled by Borough in his account of the 1557 voyage along the northern coast of Kola Peninsula does not consist of Russian words, as Mayers asserts, but of Sami words, a mistake that could easily have been avoided by consulting someone proficient in Russian. These are all minor inaccuracies in an otherwise fine and readable book, where the author obtains his goal, that is, to bring forward new and important knowledge about Stephen Borough, his exploits, and their effect on English maritime traditions. (Jens Petter Nielsen, Department of History, University of Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø, Norway.)

Reference

Hultgreen T., and J.P. Nielsen. 2005. Stephen Burrough at 'Cola River': a reconsideration. *Polar Record* 41 (217): 97–102.

WHALING IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS DEPENDENCIES 1904–1931: A HISTORY OF SHORE AND BAY-BASED WHALING IN THE ANTARCTIC. Ian B. Hart. 2006. Newton St Margarets, Hertfordshire: Pequena. vxi + 365 p, illustrated, hard cover. ISBN 0-9552924-0-09. £25.00. doi:10.1017/S0032247407236344

What used to be called the Falkland Islands Dependencies (formally defined in 1908) bordered a vast area of the Southern Ocean mainly south and east of the Falkland Islands, extending towards both the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. It included the Antarctic Peninsula (or Graham Land as the British government preferred to call it at the time), the South Shetland Islands, the South Orkney Islands, the South Sandwich Islands, and South Georgia. With South Georgia and the South Shetlands as centres, the Dependencies contained the main Antarctic whaling grounds of the early twentieth century. Whaling started there in 1904 and developed until technological achievements and the economic crises of 1931 permanently caused most of the whaling fleet to operate in other regions of the Antarctic. These two historically significant years mark the beginning and end of Ian Hart's new book on Antarctic whaling history.

The book is organized in 20 chapters, starting with the historical foundations of the whaling industry. It

discusses in detail the complex sovereignty issues and the gradual establishment of a colonial policy towards the new industry and how licences and leases were handled. The Falkland Islands and Dependencies government in Stanley and its officers are at the centre of the analysis, but so are the mainly Norwegian companies and whaling entrepreneurs, and how they organised their businesses within a management regime that was in the making as the industry developed. The early 'whale boom' is described, as are First World War whaling and post-war development. The increased focus on whale research in the Dependencies in the 1920s leading to the *Discovery* investigations is dealt with in a separate chapter. Chapter 13 is entitled 'Ice and pelagic whaling,' and the remaining chapters all deal with the evolution of the industry from the mid-1920s, when developments in factory ship design gradually lead the industry into new waters outside the Dependencies – into international waters all around the Southern Ocean. Chapter 19 describes the 'final nail' in Dependencies whaling when many leases expired at the same time as the economic crises hit the industry, and led to a standstill of operations in the 1931/32 season. In the South Shetlands and along the Peninsula this marked the end of whaling. At South Georgia the shore-based industry to some extent revived, and pelagic whaling also later took place within the Dependencies region. An epilogue briefly describes this development in whaling after 1931.

The chapters are mainly organised chronologically. A major theme is the government policy towards the industry, but the text also deals with most aspects of the whaling operations. The author demonstrates a wide and deep knowledge of his subject. Companies, vessels, and their performances are listed and described in great detail. However, it should be mentioned that this to some extent is done in a way in which a reader without familiarity with the historical development might have problems in maintaining a concept of the broader picture.

The book is extensively illustrated with photos of people, whaling vessels, and the various whaling sites and stations, concentrating on South Georgia and Deception Island. Some of them are well known, but many have not been published before. In contrast to the large number of photos is the very limited number of maps. It would have improved the quality of the book if more maps had been included. One small map shows South Georgia with whaling stations indicated. Other whaling sites and sites of leases are not shown. Other than a few contemporary maps of whaling harbours, no general maps of the South Shetlands and the Peninsula area are included. A map showing the various main whaling sites discussed in the text would have been very helpful to the reader.

Nineteen appendices with extensive data on catches on the various grounds, companies, vessels, whaling harbours, managers, government officers, etc, conclude the volume. Some of these data are well known, but some have not been published, and consequently add valuable new insight to the historical development of the industry. For example, Appendix 18 lists applications for

concessions in the Falkland Islands and Dependencies not taken up or refused in the period 1908–39. One hundred seventy-five applicants are included, of which about 160 were submitted before 1918, indicating the enormous interest, especially from Norwegian companies, in these new whaling grounds. At the same time, about 20 companies were licensed to operate in the Dependencies — indicating the strict policy.

The history of whaling in this region is not a new topic to Hart. In 2001 he published an extensive history of *Compañía Argentina de Pesca*, the company that started whaling at Grytviken, South Georgia, in 1904 and thus is considered the first Antarctic whaling company. That book was much more than a company history. Indeed, it was effectively a history of South Georgia whaling as well as a history of the Falkland Islands government policy, whaling management, and sovereignty issues. Some of this history is repeated in his new book. Many sources are similar, many photos have been used before. Even an opening poem ('The song of the whalers') is repeated — reproduced from *The Falkland Island Magazine & Church Paper* in 1920. So, why this new book? It obviously has a much broader perspective than Hart's former volume. *The Falkland Islands Dependencies* is by all means a territory well worth an explicit historical analysis. It encompasses the most important area of early Antarctic whaling. The development there was also important for the development of the industry throughout the Southern Ocean. As a matter of fact, for several years they were almost identical. It was obviously also very important for the later development of the industry. Had another administrative policy been imposed, the development of Antarctic whaling might have been very different (although not necessarily better for the whales).

Many topics dealt with in the book are known from other historical accounts of the development of the Antarctic whaling industry. Hart to some extent relies on this literature. His main contribution, in my view, is his detailed work on the Pesca archives and those of the Falkland Islands government and Falkland Island Dependencies government. This significantly adds to the details of the analysis, and sheds valuable new light, especially on the sovereignty questions and the management policy that was gradually developed in the Dependencies. The most fascinating parts are those dealing with what we may call the Allardyce period, when William Lamond Allardyce was the Governor of the Falkland Islands (1904–15). Allardyce pioneered the strict administrative regime with licenses and leases that prevented the industry from expanding out of control. He was also concerned with the tremendous waste in the early days when the whalers were interested only in the blubber, and he encouraged better utilisation of the carcasses. To the extent that we can identify a 'hero' in this book, it is no doubt Allardyce. Hart returns to him on the last page: 'had Governor Allardyce's early far-sighted whale conservation policies continued, rational harvesting could have been maintained, the whale

stocks would have been preserved for biological posterity and the ensuing slaughter would have been prevented.' Bjørn L. Basberg (Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration, Helleveien 30, NO-5045 Bergen, Norway.)

CIRCUMPOLAR LIVES AND LIVELIHOOD: A COMPARATIVE ETHNOARCHAEOLOGY OF GENDER AND SUBSISTENCE. Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach (Editors). 2006. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. xiv + 330 p, illustrated, hard cover. ISBN 0-8032-2606-3. £35.00. doi:10.1017/S0032247407246340

As an undergraduate anthropology student during an era concerned with feminism, heavily influenced by the scientism of cultural materialism, I was taught that the status of women within any given society was a direct consequence of women's contribution to subsistence. For foragers, I learned that the division of labour dictated that men were normally the hunters while women gathered plant foods, and that in northern zones where the climate dictated that diets contained few plant foods, women's status was very low indeed. As a young feminist, I found the sweeping certainty of such analysis troubling and unfair, but could not, at the time, recognise that my discomfort lay in the apolitical basis of cultural materialism.

Thirty years later, through the efforts of Robert Jarvenpa, Hetty Jo Brumbach, and their colleagues and contributors to this collection, it is also clear that the claims that northern women did not hunt and/or were insignificant contributors to subsistence were simply wrong. Northern women were, and in many cases continue to be, intimately and actively involved in food procurement. *Circumpolar lives and livelihood* reports on a controlled comparison of gender and subsistence work in four circumpolar societies. Brumbach and Jarvenpa directed the project and conducted ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research in a Chipewyan community in sub-Arctic Canada. Their collaborators — Carol Zane Jolles, Elena Glavatskaya, and Jukka Pennanen — worked among Inupiaq Eskimos (Little Diomed Island, Alaska), Khanty (western Siberia, Russia), and Sámi (Finland), respectively. For each society the ethnographers have written two chapters: the first provides a general cultural overview focussing on gender relations and subsistence practices; the second presents detailed descriptions of two different food procurement activities. Introductory and concluding chapters by Jarvenpa and Brumbach frame the case studies.

In each of the four societies, animal proteins provided significant contributions to the traditional diet. The data presented by the four research teams reveal, however, that both men and women are intensively involved in procuring and processing animals for food. In all four groups, men (at least in modern times) are the ones primarily tasked with obtaining large animals for

food, but women hunt and herd animals as well. Both Khanty and Chipewyan women, through fishing and rabbit snaring, have been responsible for the everyday provisioning of protein foods. Inupiaq women control and manage food storage and distribution. Sámi women carried the burden of caring for cattle, and Sámi girls were indispensable to all subsistence activities. As Brumbach and Jarvenpa point out, the data presented in the case studies also reveal that the assumption that men are 'hunters' is at least in part a consequence of our only partial understanding of what is entailed in procuring animals for food. 'Men generally shoot the animals. This highly restricted moment in the provisioning process is sometimes narrowly conceptualized by men and women alike, and indeed by Westerners, as "hunting"' (page 55), but that in fact 'the moment of dispatch is but a fleeting fragment in the total enterprise of hunting' (page 289).

It is also critical to recognise how colonialism and geopolitical events have affected subsistence practices, social organisation, and the gendering of tasks. Interviews with consultants of different ages indicate that the current, gendered differences in subsistence work are of relatively recent origin. The establishment of permanent settlements and state services, especially schools, served to restrict the mobility of women and children who previously moved seasonally along with men. Instead, contemporary women engage in subsistence tasks that can be conducted from a home base, and the editors note that '[g]ender differences are encoded in the physical landscape as well. The historical processes of increasing divergence in gender roles and reduction in family mobility have contributed to an increase in a gendered division of space within homesteads and settlements' (page 47).

This is a highly readable and useful study that adds to the understanding of the ways that social relations inhere and are embedded in tasks. The explication of the research methodology and the structured approach to the reporting add to the strength of the combined case studies. I was slightly disappointed with the absence of contextual information in the chapters on the Khanty. We learn almost nothing about the role of the Soviet state in transforming Khanty subsistence practices and social relations or about the effects of hydrocarbon exploitation during the post Soviet era. I found Glavatskaya's statement that Khanty society is 'conservative' and that Khanty gender roles 'have not undergone significant changes' (page 115) difficult to believe, but given the general lacuna of ethnographic literature in English about Siberian peoples it is not easy to evaluate the assertion. In contrast, Jukka Pennanen provides significant information about the relationship between Sámi and the Finnish state and describes the manner in which the state has influenced both Sámi subsistence activities and their gendered practices. For example, he reports that the Sámi community he studied took up and subsequently abandoned cattle raising in response to Finnish laws regarding land tenure. Sámi women were responsible for the care of the cattle, but