northern co-ordination and research centre department of northern affairs and national resources

# THE ESKIMO OF RANKIN INLET: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

ROBERT C. DAILEY
AND
LOIS A. DAILEY

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# PREFACE

This is the final report of a preliminary investigation of the mining community (including Eskimo settlements) situated on the premises of the North Rankin Nickel Mines, Limited, Rankin Inlet, District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories. The observations contained in this account were made during the months of June, July and August, 1958.

As outlined in the contract entered into between the writers and the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (see Minute of the Honourable the Treasury Board No. 533615, dated June 12, 1958), the study was conducted in terms of the following five considerations:

1. Population composition and movement.

2. The economics of wage employment and its effects on the Eskimo, including such aspects as the number of Eskimo employed as skilled or unskilled labourers, average income, the use to which money is being put, job proficiency, and general living standards.

3. The changes which are taking place in traditional social organization as reflected in the family structure, child rearing patterns, marriage system, method of social control, leadership pattern and community organization.

4. An analysis of the attitudes of Eskimo towards their former way of life, routine work, money, employers and non-Eskimo workers.

5. An assessment of the Eskimo's ability to acquire new skills and the effectiveness of methods of training.

The following text has been prepared in a form common to most ethnological reports. At the same time it makes no pretenses at completeness. Certainly of the above items four and five were hardly broached. Indeed we have yet to learn how to ask an Eskimo a meaningful question. Three appendices have been added which contain data that could only be summarized in the body of this report. In detailed form it may be of value to administrators who are responsible for Eskimo health and welfare.

Finally the authors are extremely grateful to many persons who assisted us in the field. In particular we would like to mention the following: Mr. William Kerr, Northern Service Officer; Mr. A. J. Easton, North Rankin Nickel Mines, Limited; Father Georges Lorson, O.M.I.; and Mr. Douglas James, manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store.

# INTRODUCTION

Rankin Inlet is situated on the west side of Hudson Bay some 320 air miles north of Churchill, Manitoba. See Map 1, page viii. The Inlet is actually a large fjord about thirty miles in depth and approximately sixteen miles wide at the mouth. The community is located on the tip of a finger of land that projects into the fjord from its northwest corner. See Map 2, page ix.

The terrain around Rankin Inlet is typical of the Barren Land sections of the Pre-Cambrian Shield. The country may best be described as low rolling with rocky outcroppings and gravel ridges. Beaches on the top of hills are not unusual.

The west coast of Hudson Bay is very uneven. Birket-Smith describes it as follows:

> "The coast itself is low everywhere, with a gradually falling shelf outside. The northern part, where the land mostly consists of pre-Cambrian rocks, is much indented, especially by the long narrow fjord Chesterfield Inlet and the shorter and broader Rankin Inlet. There are also several open bays dotted with islands, such as Pistol Bay and Mistake Bay. Of the islands only Marble Island, thus called after its white quartzite, reaches a respectable size. South of Dawson Inlet the topography of the coast changes character; only rarely is a rock seen in situ, and great flat plains stretch everywhere down to the sea. From a distance the horizon line of the coast seems to have been drawn with a ruler. In some places, for instance at Eskimo Point, eskers from the interior stretch forward in the form of low sand-spits; there are hardly any islands - one of the few is Sentry Island, a continuation of the esker at Eskimo Point - and the coast water is so shallow that boulder reefs can be seen projecting above the surface at ebb at a distance of about ten kilometres from the shore. Apart from the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Chesterfield Inlet and Eskimo Point, there is not a single permanent settlement on the whole of this coast - a remarkable contrast to other Eskimo coasts."[1]

The climate is Arctic with temperatures varying between -40° to 70°. The coldest months are January and February, the warmest June and July. The prevailing winds are northwest, and it is seldom that they do not blow. Fog conditions are often hazardous in the summer as are snow storms in winter.

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1. Kaj Birket-Smith, "The Caribou Eskimos," Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. V, Part I, Copenhagen, 1929, p. 40.

There are four seasons. Winter is the longest lasting for about eight months. The easing of temperatures and the arrival of wildfowl in May mark the appearance of spring. Summer commences with the disappearance of ice in the fjord and the inland rivers. During this time, June and July, the Barren Grounds are alive with myriad vegetation. Small Arctic flowers and lichen thrive wherever they can take root. Dwarf willow grows in small clumps along the water courses. Fall appears gradually. Shadows lengthen as the days grow shorter. In September the birds disappear, and temperatures commence to fall. By the end of October the fjord is often frozen over and winter has come once again.

Precipitation is difficult to determine. There is considerable rainfall in spring and summer. Storms may last for several days at a time. In winter, snowfall is not heavy, but what does fall remains until spring. Blizzards are frequent and the loose snow is driven for miles until it finally settles in a sheltered place. Because of the high winds which accompany these winter storms rocky outcroppings and the tops of gravel ridges are seldom snow-covered.

Frost is a continual problem for this mining operation. Indeed, it is claimed that this is the only mine in the world which operates the entire year under these conditions. In the mine, the passages are completely encrusted with frost.

# THE ESKIMO OF RANKIN INLET:

# A PRELIMINARY REPORT



by

Robert C. and Lois A. Dailey

The material for this report was collected by Mr. Robert C. Dailey and his wife during the summer of 1958 while under contract to the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of this Department. It is reproduced here as a contribution to the knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of this Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to V. F. Valentine, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,
Ottawa.

June, 1961.

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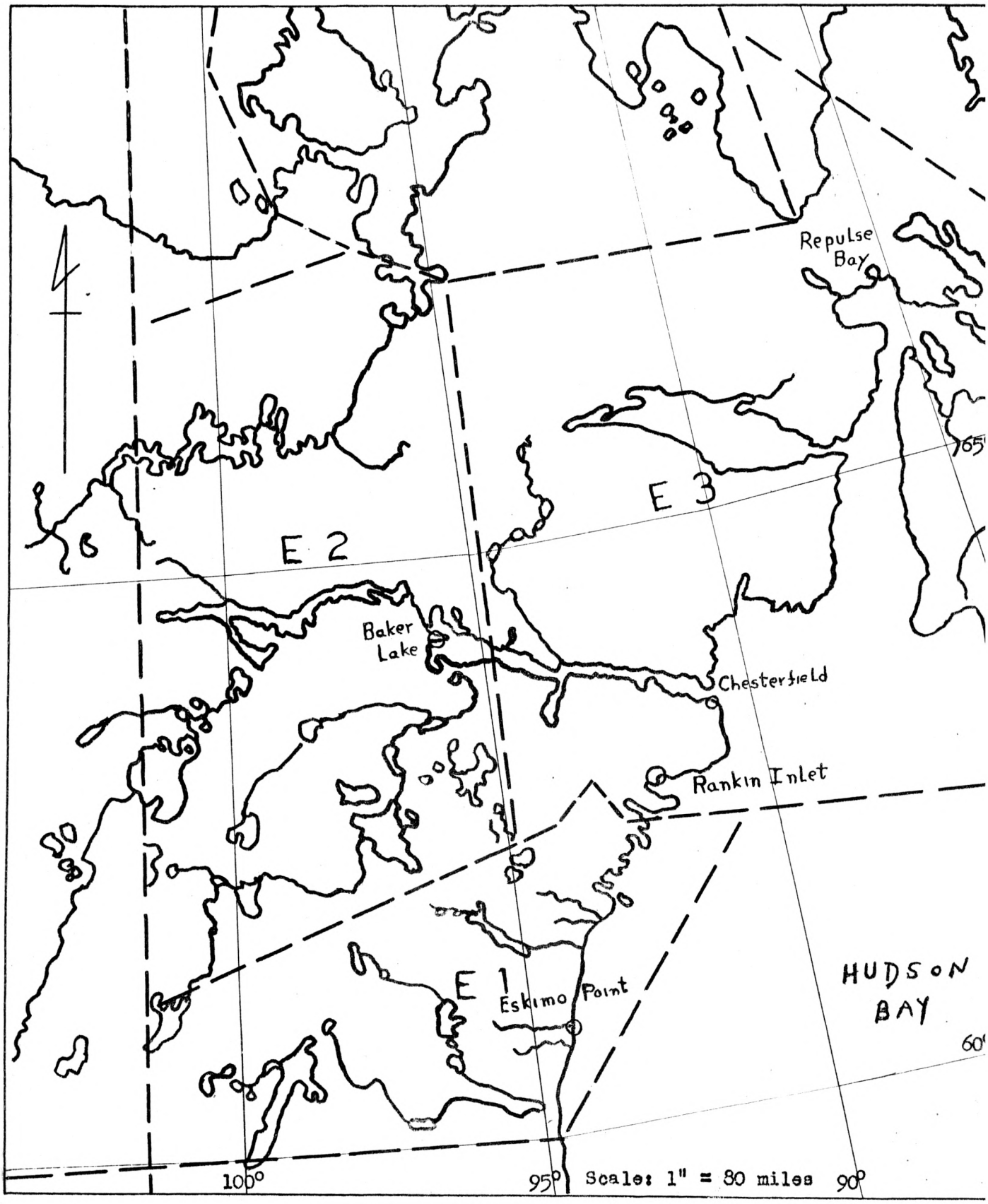
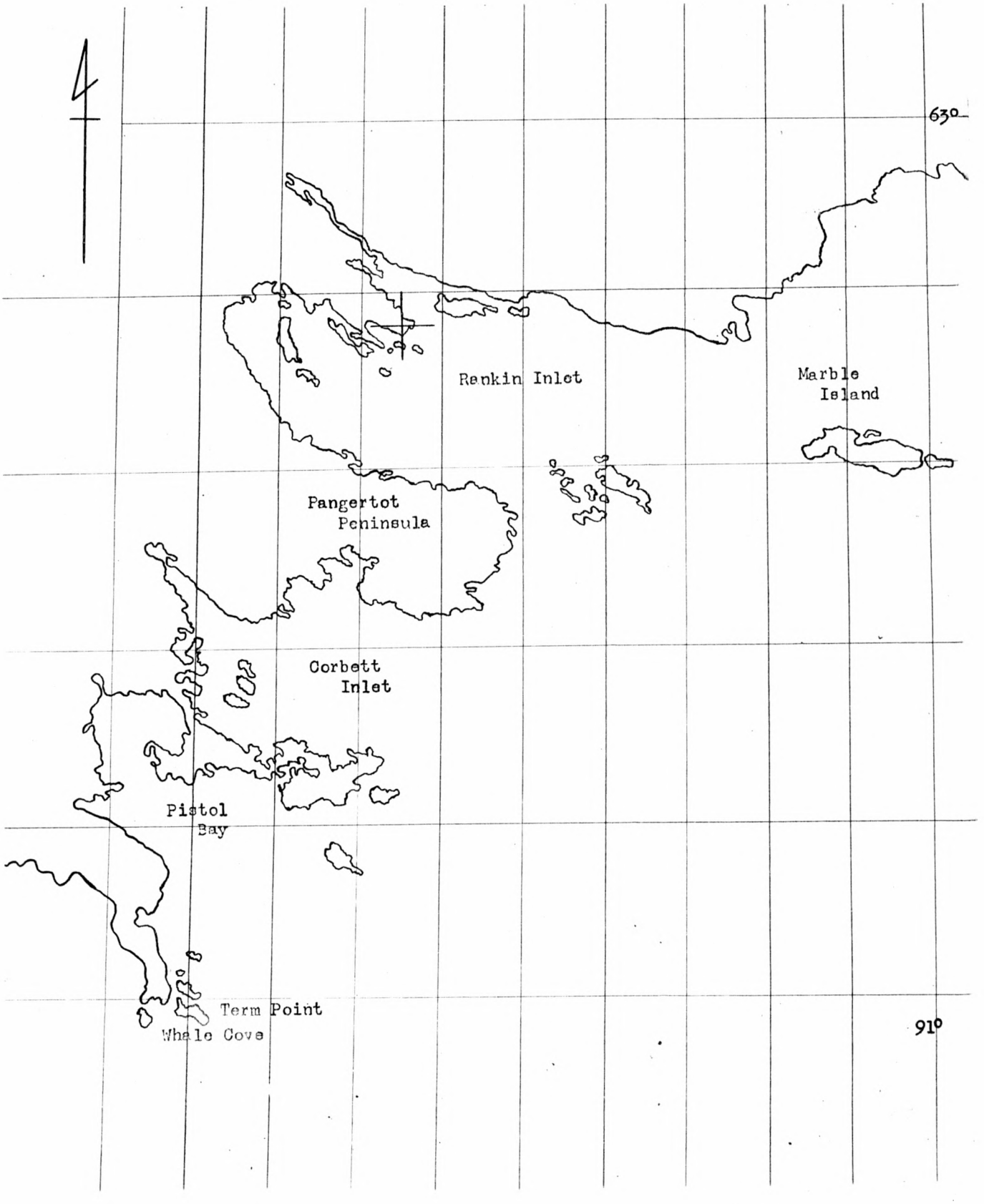


MAP 2 - Rankin Inlet and adjacent fjords.



# CHAPTER 1

## THE HISTORY OF THE MINE[1]

Mining at Rankin Inlet comprises two operations: (1) the recovery of ore consisting principally of nickel, a small quantity of copper, and minute amounts of gold, silver and platinum, and (2) its reduction to concentrate form through crushing, grinding, and chemical separation. At present the ore being mined and processed is of extremely high grade. Recovery in the mill averages better than ninety percent. A surface plan of the operation is shown in Figure 1, page 2. A distant view of the mine buildings and a close-up of the mine yard are shown in Plate 1, page 3.

### Development of the Mine

The ore body was discovered by R. G. Johnston in 1928. Preliminary diamond drilling was conducted on the premises by the Cyril Knight Prospecting Syndicate and Nippising Mines, Limited during the year 1930 and again in the year 1936. Nothing more was accomplished toward developing the mine until the years 1951 and 1952. During this period the newly formed Rankin Inlet Nickel Mines, Limited undertook magnetometer and electro-magnetic surveys to trace the extent of the ore body. A permanent mining camp was built by the company during the summer of 1953. The present vertical shaft was sunk at this time to a depth of some 300 feet with lateral work proceeding at both the 200 and 300 foot levels.

In the year 1954 the company reorganized and the name changed to the North Rankin Nickel Mines, Limited. The reorganized company was beset with financial difficulties which were not solved until late in the following year when Mogul Mining Corporation agreed to provide the necessary funds to put the mine into production. Equipment was delivered to the premises by boat during the summer of 1956, and ore was finally fed to the newly constructed concentrator in the month of May, 1957. The mine has been in continuous operation since this time. The first season's production was bagged and shipped to refineries in eastern Canada via Hudson Strait. This year's production was stored in bulk, shipped to Churchill, Manitoba, by boat and thence transported by rail to the Sherritt Gordon refinery at Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta.

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1. No effort has been made to include more than the immediate history of the mining development and the place of the Eskimo in it. There is a vast literature describing the District of Keewatin including among other things its history and geography. The most useful source to consult is the Arctic Bibliography, Marie Tremaine, ed., 8 Vols., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

FIGURE 1

Plan of the Mining Buildings

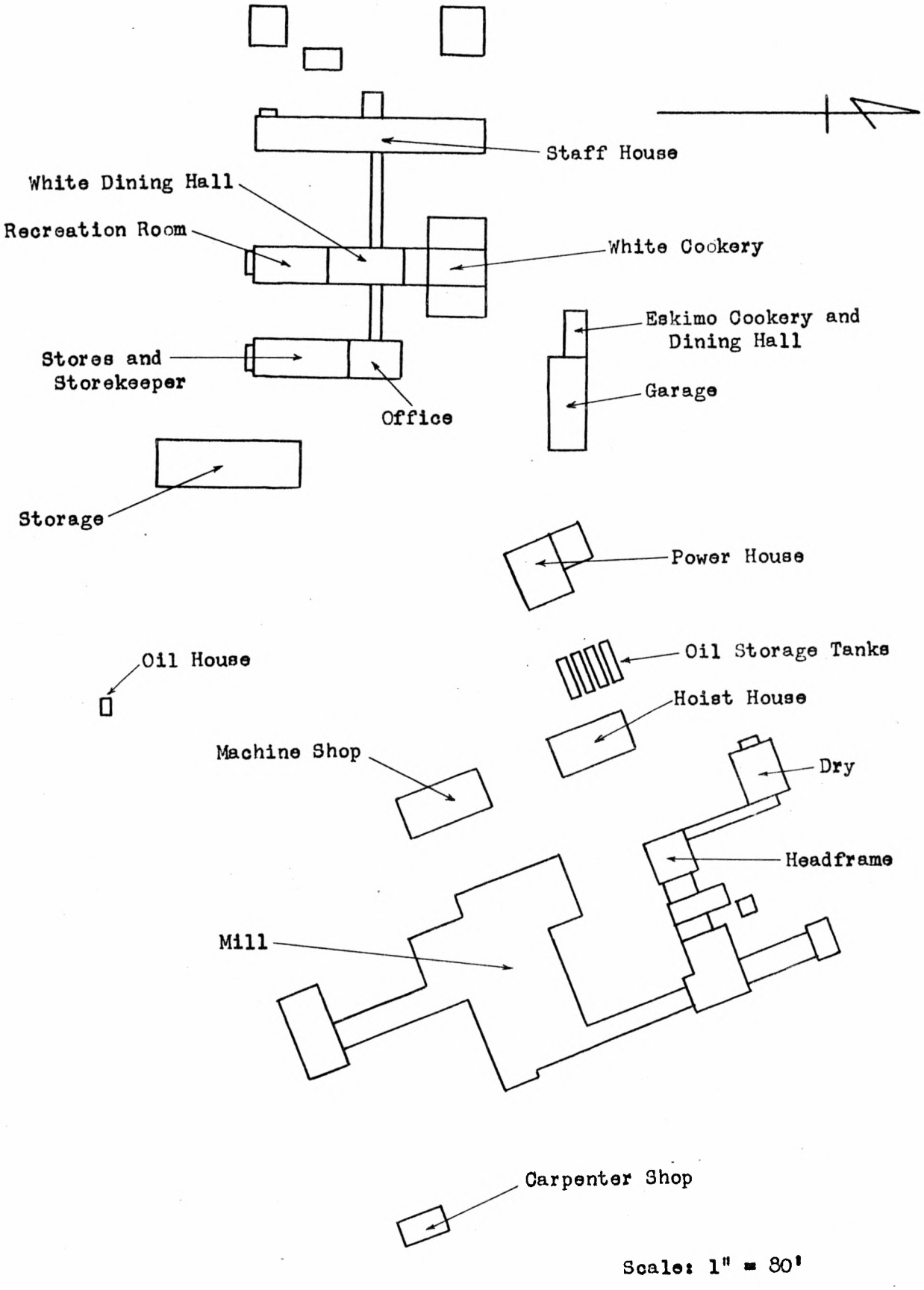
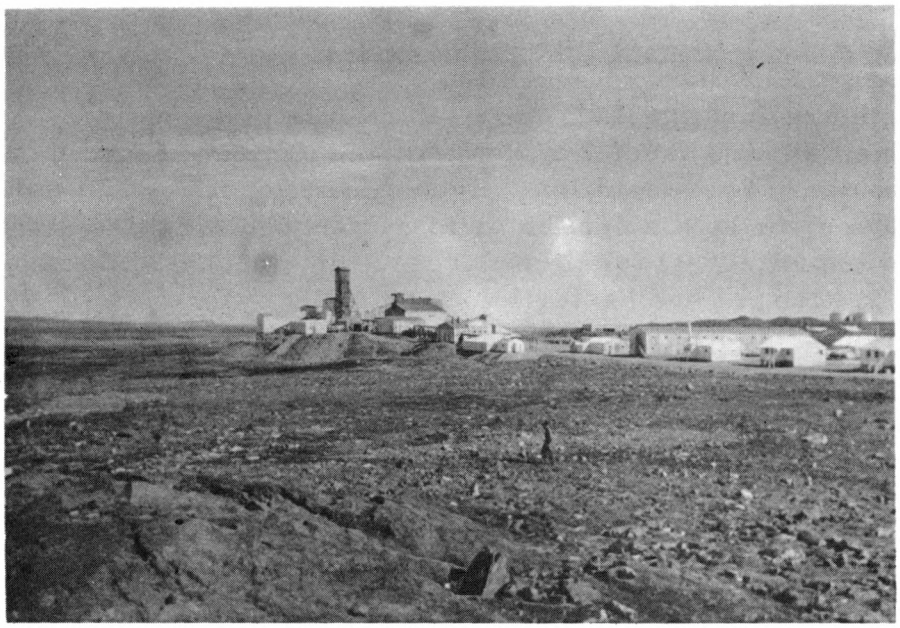
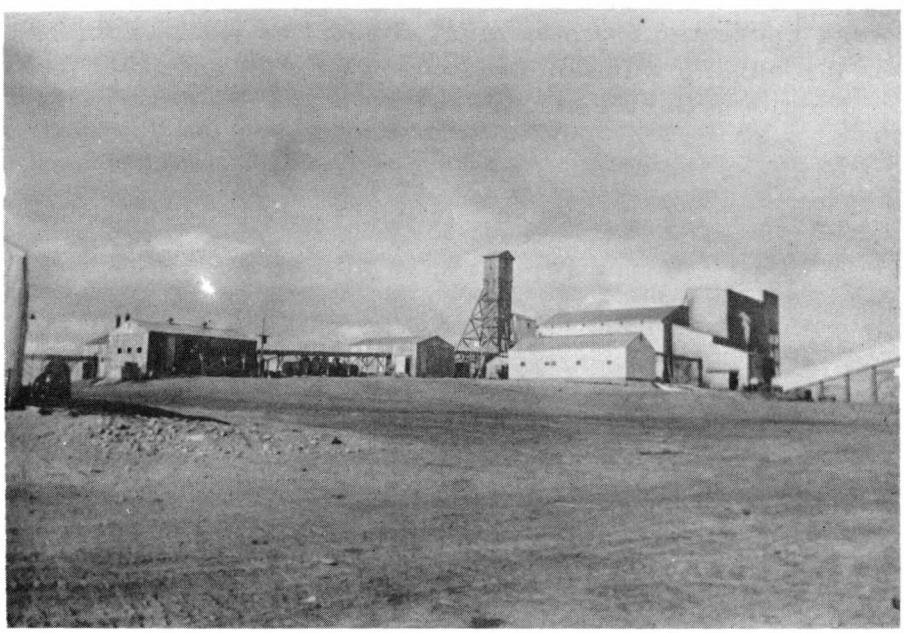


PLATE 1



a. View of the mine buildings looking east along the north service road.



b. View of the mine yard from the south service road. Mill is to the right of the headframe.

During the summer, the mine secured the necessary supplies and equipment to remain in operation for another year. Doubtless if there is no further deterioration in the market price of nickel the mine will remain in operation as long as the ore body remains productive. We are not aware of the estimated longevity of the present workings.

## History of Eskimo Labour

Prior to the opening of the mine, Rankin Inlet (Kangeklinak) annually supported a mere handful of Eskimo, the number of families rarely exceeding ten. These families "lived off the land" by hunting and fishing, or trapping, or a combination of both. Though they lived at Rankin Inlet and exploited its local resources, they identified themselves with the larger settlement at Chesterfield Inlet. Here were families with whom they were intermarried. This kinship affiliation continues to be very strong.

Although construction of the mine was begun in the year 1953, local Eskimo labour was not utilized in the development until the spring of 1956. At this time, five or six heads of household were initially employed during the month of April. By November of the same year, the number of Eskimo men employed had increased to 14. During the spring of 1957, the number grew to 20 and by the end of the year had reached more than 70. Since then the mine has provided steady employment for approximately 80 Eskimo men, and several women.[1]

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1. In order to secure an Eskimo labour force of this size prospective employees were recruited from several coastal as well as inland settlements. Recruiting was done privately as well as with the assistance of Northern Service Officers.

# CHAPTER 2

## STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The community consists of three settlements: two are occupied by Eskimo, the third by white mine personnel and, with the mining company's permission, others who are engaged in offering services to the community at large. The latter include the several missions, the Department of Northern Affairs, and the Hudson's Bay Company. The entire community is constructed on mining company property. Holdings comprise some 1,340 acres of which only a portion is improved. The mining installation alone is valued at approximately five million dollars.

### The White Settlement

A plan of the white settlement is shown in Figure 2, page 6. Roughly it consists of two rows of buildings, mostly houses, bounded on the east by the mine employee's staff house and on the west by the Hudson's Bay Company store. The rows are separated by a distance of some 80 feet with service roads constructed parallel to each. The buildings in the white settlement include: six staff houses, three in each row; the school building, the Northern Service Officer's quarters, the Roman Catholic Mission and the Continental Interior Mission. See Plates 2, 3, and 4, pages 7-9.

Heat for the community, except the Continental Interior Mission which is heated with oil space heaters, is supplied from a steam line connected with the mine's boiler house. This line is enclosed in a conduit which is above ground and is situated midway between the two rows of buildings. The conduit also encloses the water and sewage disposal lines, both of which require steam tracing to prevent freezing.[1]

The service roads which parallel the white settlement also lead to other parts of the community. The north service road connects with the airstrip and the pumping station on Lake Nipissar, some 1 1/2 miles to the west. The south service road provides access to the radio transmitter building and the new Eskimo settlement.

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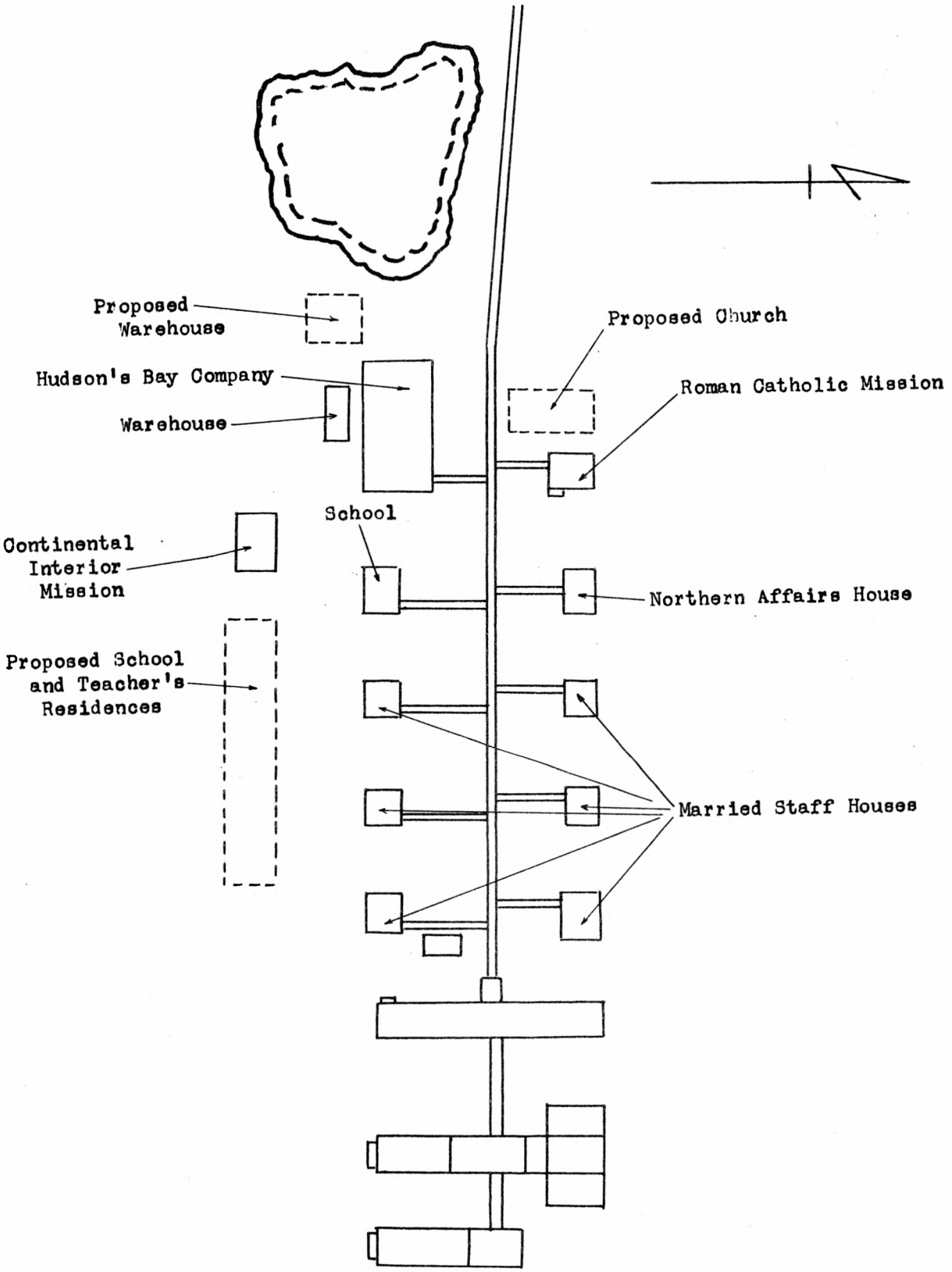
1. Heat, power, and water for the Hudson's Bay Company store, the Northern Service Officer's quarters, and the Roman Catholic Mission are purchased from the mining company. The Continental Interior Mission secures oil and power from the same source. They do not have indoor plumbing in their Mission building.

FIGURE 2

Plan of the White Settlement




Scale: 1" = 80'

PLATE 2

a. View of the white settlement including the mining buildings.

b. View in the white settlement showing steam traced water and sewer conduit, and orientation of staff houses.

PLATE 3

a. View of the north service road showing Northern Service Officer's quarters (Panabode house) and Roman Catholic Mission building.

b. View of the south service road showing staff houses and company-built school building in left center.

PLATE 4

a. View of the Continental Interior Mission Building.


b. View of Hudson's Bay Company store. Edge of warehouse is shown to left.

## New Eskimo Settlement

This cluster of houses is situated approximately one-quarter mile southwest of the white settlement. See Figure 3, page 11. It represents a company project and was built during the month of November, 1957. There are fourteen houses arranged in two rows of seven each. Houses are separated from each other by a distance of some 50 feet and the two rows are approximately 80 feet apart. See Plate 5a, page 12. Occupancy of the houses is controlled solely by the mine manager.

Each house, identical in structure, is one story in height and constructed of pre-cut plywood panels throughout. The units are on skids and plumbed with additional supports.

The houses are 16 x 32 in dimension. Each is divided into three separate rooms of equal size. One of these rooms is used as a kitchen; the other two are sleeping and living rooms depending upon the size and number of families occupying the unit. In some, a family also lives in the kitchen. A typical plan is shown in Figure 4, page 13. Single doors opening to the outside are situated at either end of the building. These are not protected by a storm entrance.

Each room has one side window. Ventilation is provided by the outside doors and a small louvre built into the frames of the side windows. Partitions separating the rooms have open doorways. Heat is provided by a combination cooking and heating range, which is oil fired. Oil for these stoves is purchased from the mine and deducted from wages. Aside from the oil stoves which are standard and supplied by the mine, but purchased on instalments by the occupants of the houses, there is considerable variation in interior furnishings. A few have composition floors, but most retain the bare plywood. Furniture also varies with or according to the number of occupants and the availability and cost of standard furniture. The principal items in most homes include a kitchen table (or shelf) with several chairs. The sleeping and living rooms contain beds and chests of drawers or large suitcases. A few continue to employ the sleeping platform instead of commercial beds. These platforms are made of lumber discarded by the mine.

Almost every house has a calendar and pictures of various kinds. The former seem to be popular more for aesthetic than practical considerations. Mostly these appear on one wall. In the same place are found symbols of their faith, such as a crucifix or a madonna and pictures of the reigning Pope.

There are usually several radios in every house and at least one clock. In addition a new outboard engine (in pastel shades) often occupies a conspicous place along one wall. A new rifle may be hung up as well.

FIGURE 3

Location of the New Eskimo Settlement in Relation to White Settlements

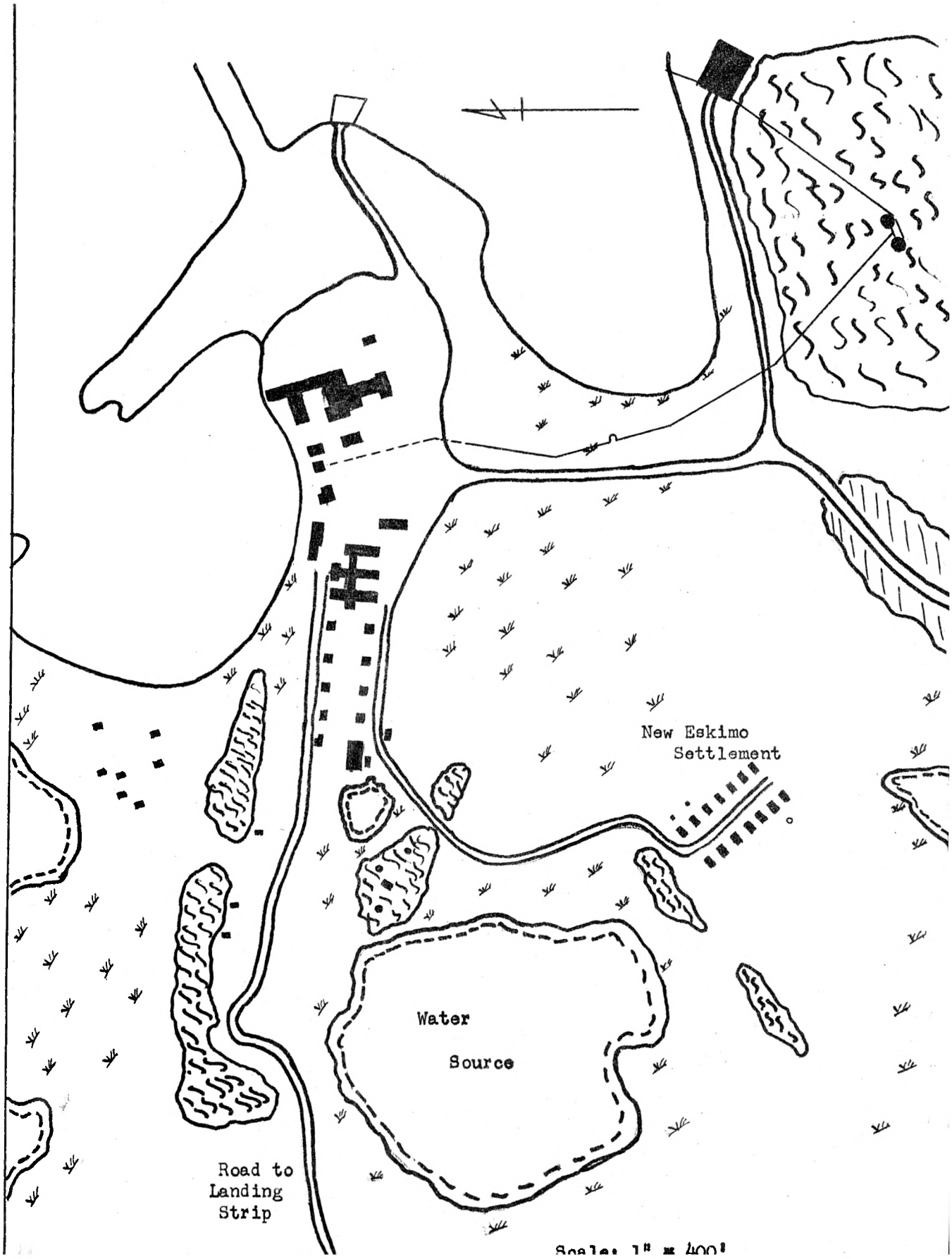
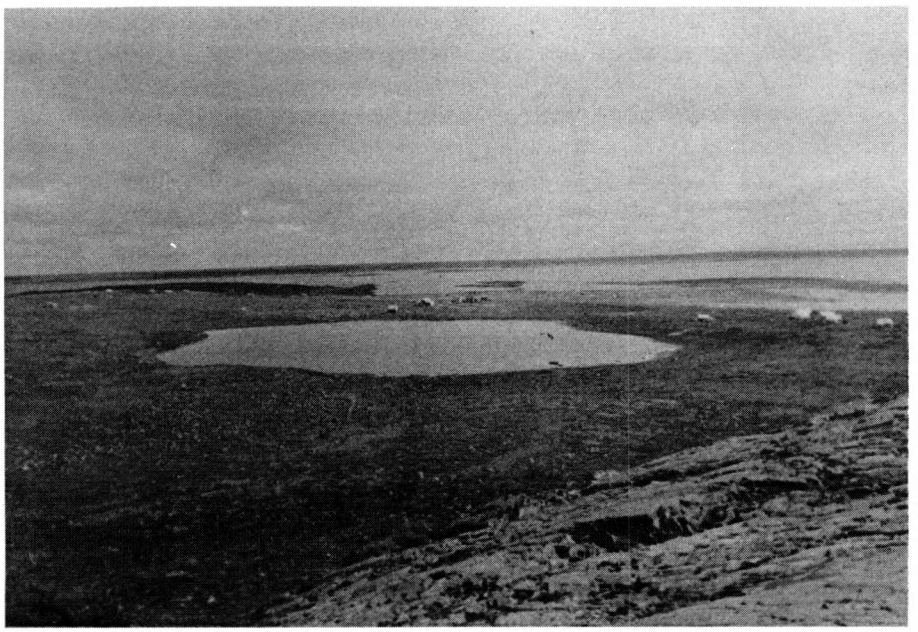


PLATE 5

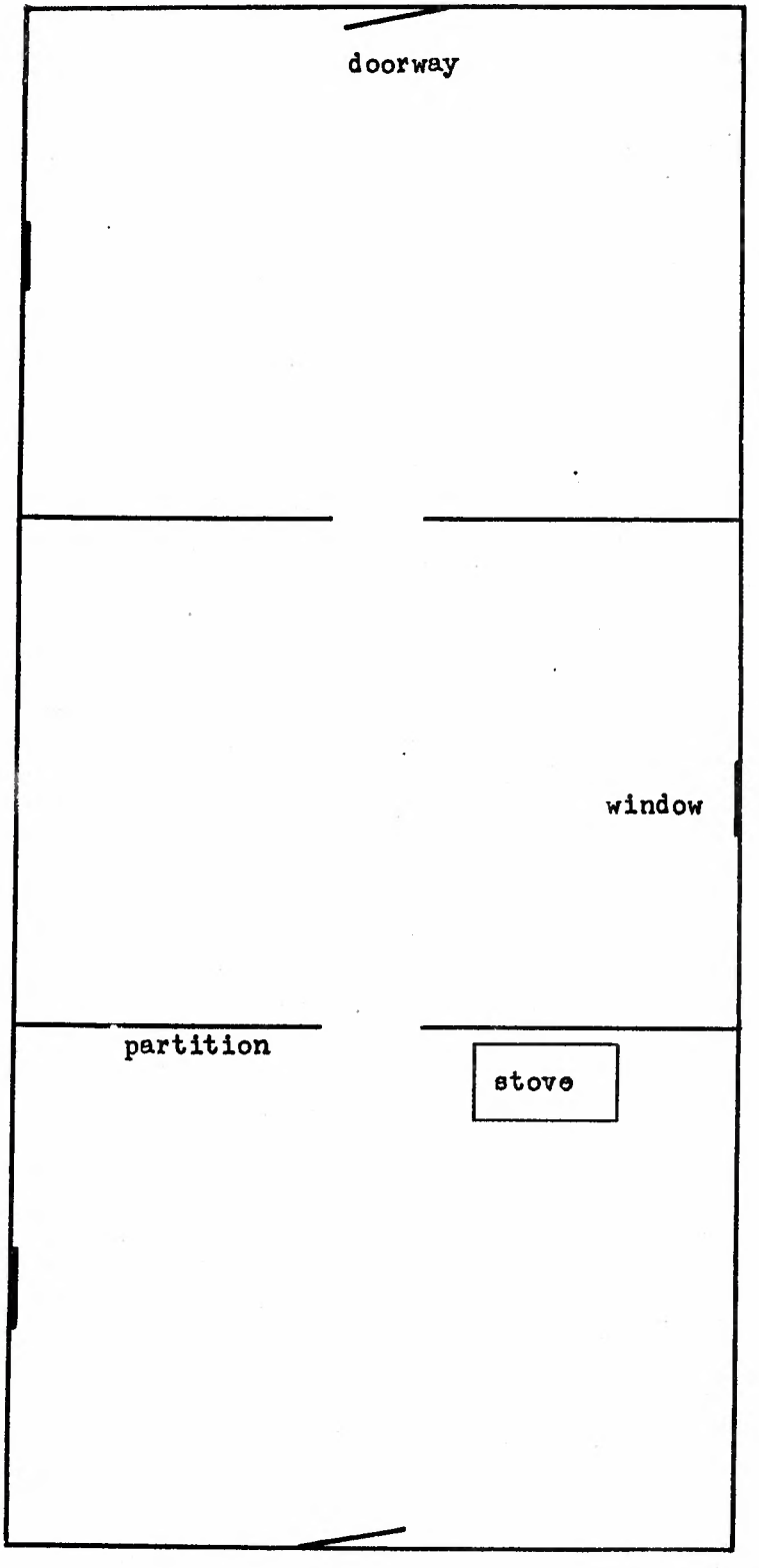
a. View of the new Eskimo settlement looking east.



b. View of old Eskimo settlement showing water source in center and clusters of tents and shacks.

FIGURE 4

Typical Plan of Company House in New Eskimo Settlement




Scale 1/4" = 1'

All of the houses are equipped with electric light. This is provided as part of rent, which is $30.00 per month. Rental charges are divided between the number of families occupying the unit and deducted from their monthly wages. Water is secured from Loon Pond, which is situated just west of the settlement. This is a run-off water hole which stays full throughout the summer months. In the winter water is secured from snow and chipped ice which is melted on the stove. Garbage is deposited in a company-maintained dump to the east of the settlement. The new settlement is tidy and rather carefully supervised by the mine. Some sanitation is provided by two outdoor privies which are used by several families in the north row of houses. In addition almost all use indoor toilets. When these houses were initially occupied, one of the requirements was that each house be equipped with a chemical toilet. These were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and installed by the occupants. Very few of these manufactured toilets are still in use. When they rust through, a lard pail secured from the company dump is substituted. Also only two or three families buy the chemical which the Hudson Bay Compay store continues to stock.[1]

## Old Eskimo Settlement

The old settlement is located about 1/4 mile north of the mine headframe. See Figure 5, page 15. Actually the settlement consists of three or four distinct clusters of houses (tents and shacks) stretched along several beach levels for a distance of better than 1/2 mile. See Plate 5b, page 12, and Plate 6a, page 16. Several of the buildings here, particularly at the far end, were built by those Eskimo families who made their homes here before the opening of the mine. There are no roads of any kind in the area. The terrain is rough and rocky and inaccessible to conveyance except by water. Several footpaths connect the zones to other parts of the community.

There are approximately fifty buildings in this area. Of this number some thirty-five or forty are more or less continually occupied. Over half of these are tents or as is more usually the case tents stretched over two-by-four frames with wooden or paper packing-case sides. The remainder of the dwellings represent frame structures covered with lumber and metal collected from the mine dump. See Plate 6b, page 16. Most of the houses are 10 x 12 or smaller. A few of the more substantial dwellings have wooden floors. Where possible a window has also been inserted in the front wall, next to the door.

During the past winter two or three genuine snow houses were built by residents of the old settlement. Also a few makeshift snow houses were improvised by simply walling in a tent.

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1. Actually the initial supply has never been used up.

FIGURE 5

Plan of Old Eskimo Settlement Showing
Habitation Areas

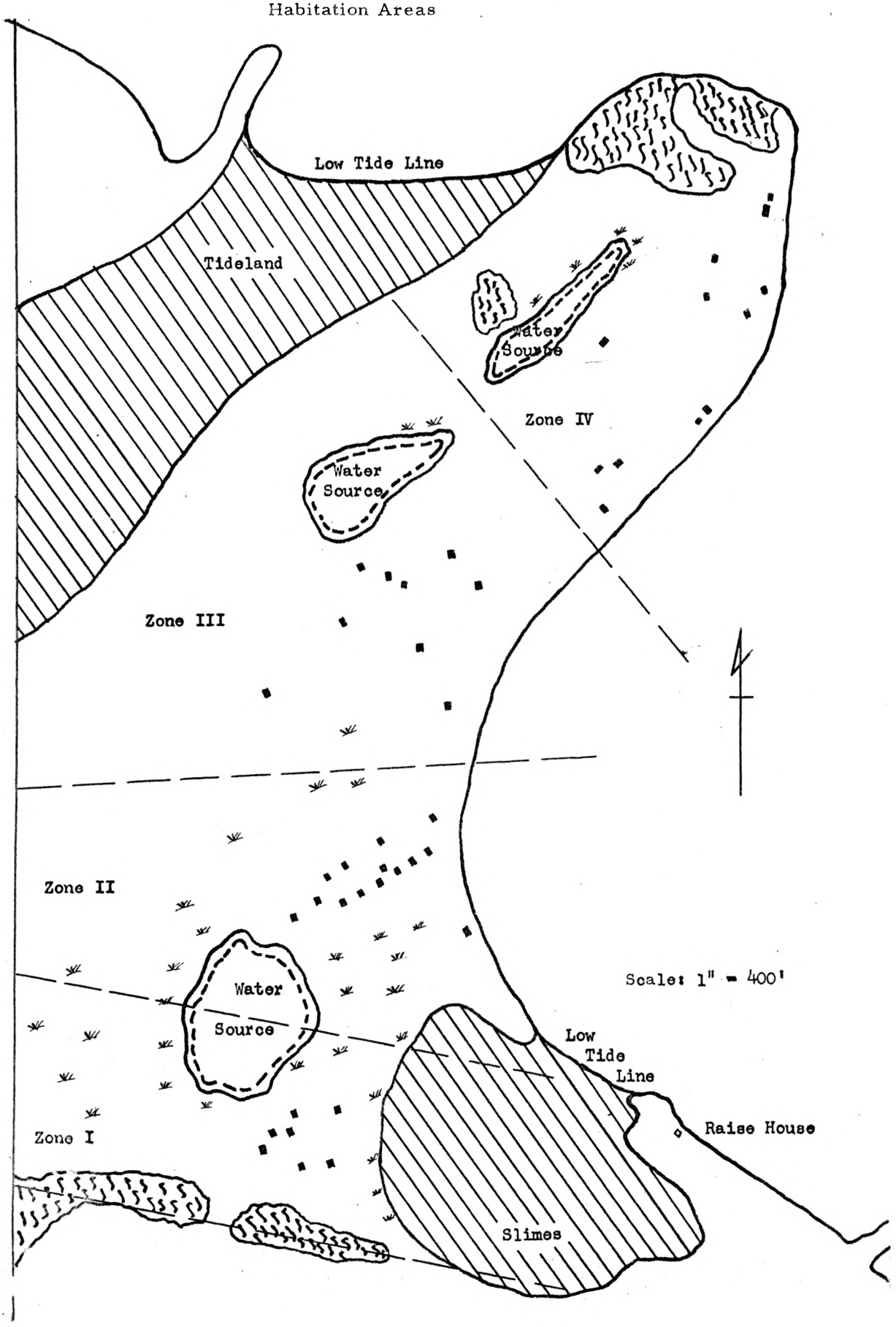
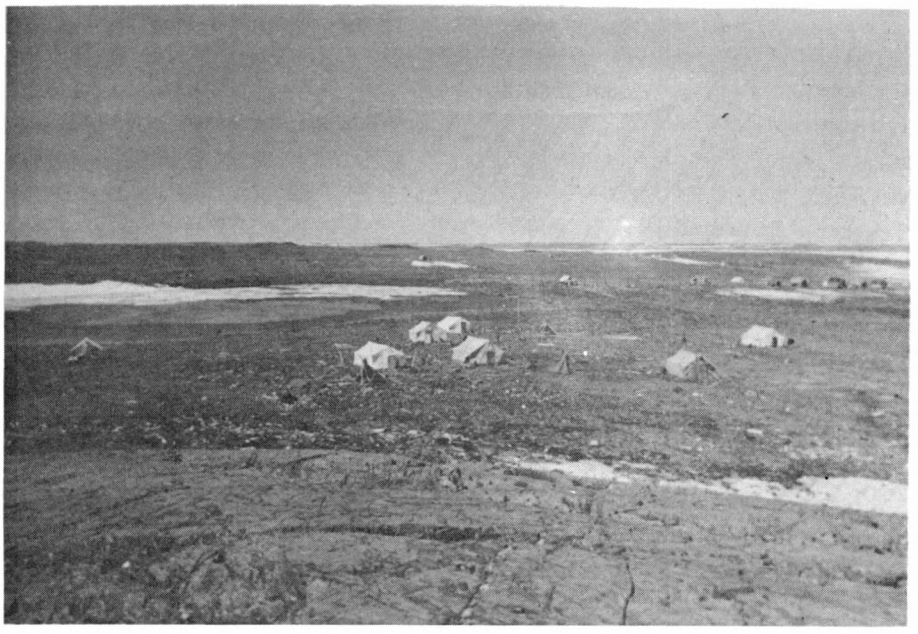
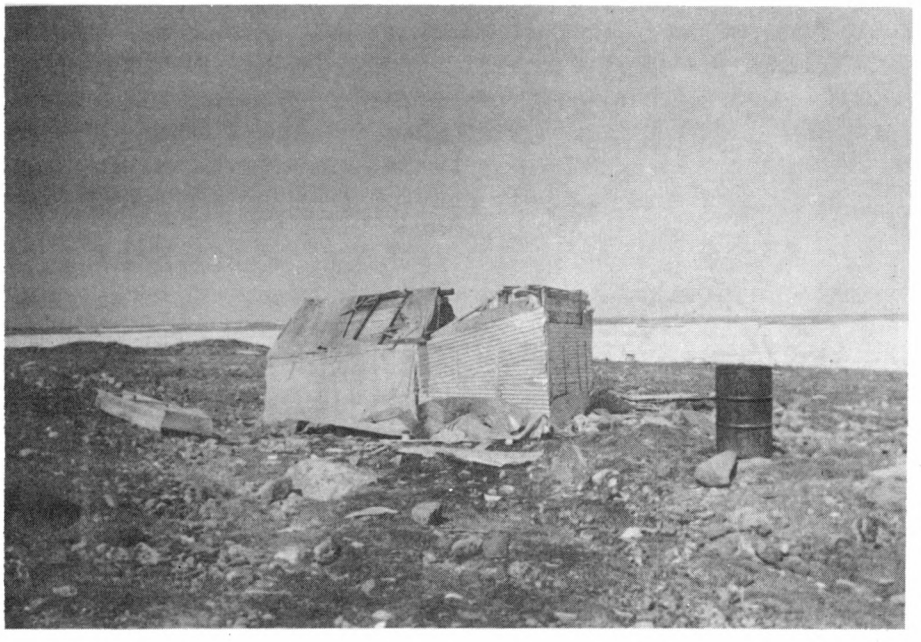


PLATE 6



a. View of old Eskimo settlement showing tents and outside cooking windbreaks of Eskimo Point people.



b. An example of an Eskimo tent-house in the old settlement showing its composite construction.

There are four residential zones in the old settlement. Zone one comprises seven tents with two or three outdoor cooking huts. This zone is occupied exclusively by families from Eskimo Point. These people secure their water from a large run-off pool a few hundred feet to the north and west.

Zone two consists of approximately 15 dwellings of which nine are more or less permanent, the remainder being tents that are erected in the summer and taken down before the winter sets in. The dwellings in this zone are situated on a lower beach than those of zone one. The two zones are separated by a distance of some five hundred feet. Occupants of zone two secure their water from the opposite side of the same pond which supplies water for zone one.

Zone three is built on higher ground than that occupied by either zones one or two, and is separated from the latter by a distance of several hundred feet. There are ten houses in this zone spread out over a larger area. Again they consist mostly of shacks with a few tents pitched here and there. Water for this zone is secured from a run-off pool located on the top of a high gravel beach that lies to the rear of the area.

Zone four extends northward for almost one-thousand feet terminating on a rocky point of land. There are some fourteen dwellings in this area. Only about half of these are occupied, their owners having moved to the new Eskimo settlement. During the summer months, a number of families move back to these houses either permanently or on weekends when they have time off. Also many former residents keep their canoes and outboard engines here rather than carry them to the beaches which are a considerable distance from the new settlement.

Water for occupants of zone four is secured from a third pond which lies at the top of a beach just to the rear of these dwellings.

In the old Eskimo settlement no facilities are provided by the mine. Heat and light for tents and shacks are derived from either a Coleman oil lamp or a primus stove. A few of these families also have Coleman cooking stoves. There are no sanitation measures employed in the old settlement, nor is there any real supervision of the area. Debris is scattered everywhere. See Plate 7, page 18. Large middens of tin cans, paper boxes, old clothing, and garbage accumulate in front of each dwelling. The piles of garbage and debris in the old settlement is particularly threatening to health because most of the water sources are lower in elevation than the dwelling areas. However, to date, although the threat of pollution is ever present, no severe epidemics of gastro-enteritis have occured.

PLATE 7

a. View of a typical "shack" in the old Eskimo Settlement showing collection of debris in foreground.

b. View of old tent ring on an unoccupied beach showing lack of debris.

When the debris in front of the tents becomes unmanageable, the occupants move to a relatively clean place. This shifting continues throughout the year, although in the winter it is not quite so easy. It should be noted that though families shift about, they do not move out of their respective zones unless they are offered quarters in the new Eskimo settlement which they decide to take. Not all families want to reside in these "better" homes. Generally speaking, the families in the old Eskimo settlement do not identify themselves as closely with the mine as those in the new. Nor on the average do people in the old settlement make as high a wage as those in the new.

The families in these zones represent strong in-groups. Most are kinsmen either in the broad sense of community identification such as being from Chesterfield Inlet or Eskimo Point, or in the fact that they are actually related to one another either by "blood" or marriage.

In the old settlement, household items are of necessity uniform. Every house must have a sleeping platform as well as equipment to provide heat and light. Beyond these essentials, a few of the larger and more substantial dwellings also have a table and chairs.

# CHAPTER 3

## DEMOGRAPHY

The total Eskimo population at Rankin Inlet during the period in which this study was conducted numbered 332. Generally speaking, the statistics for this community compare favourably with the population trends reported across the Canadian Arctic.

It may be described as a young population that is steadily increasing in size. Life expectancy is somewhat lower than the North American average. There are more males than females, but females have a slightly longer longevity. Infant mortality remains high.

Detailed geneologies and other data concerning family composition is described in Appendix 1.

### Composition of Eskimo Population

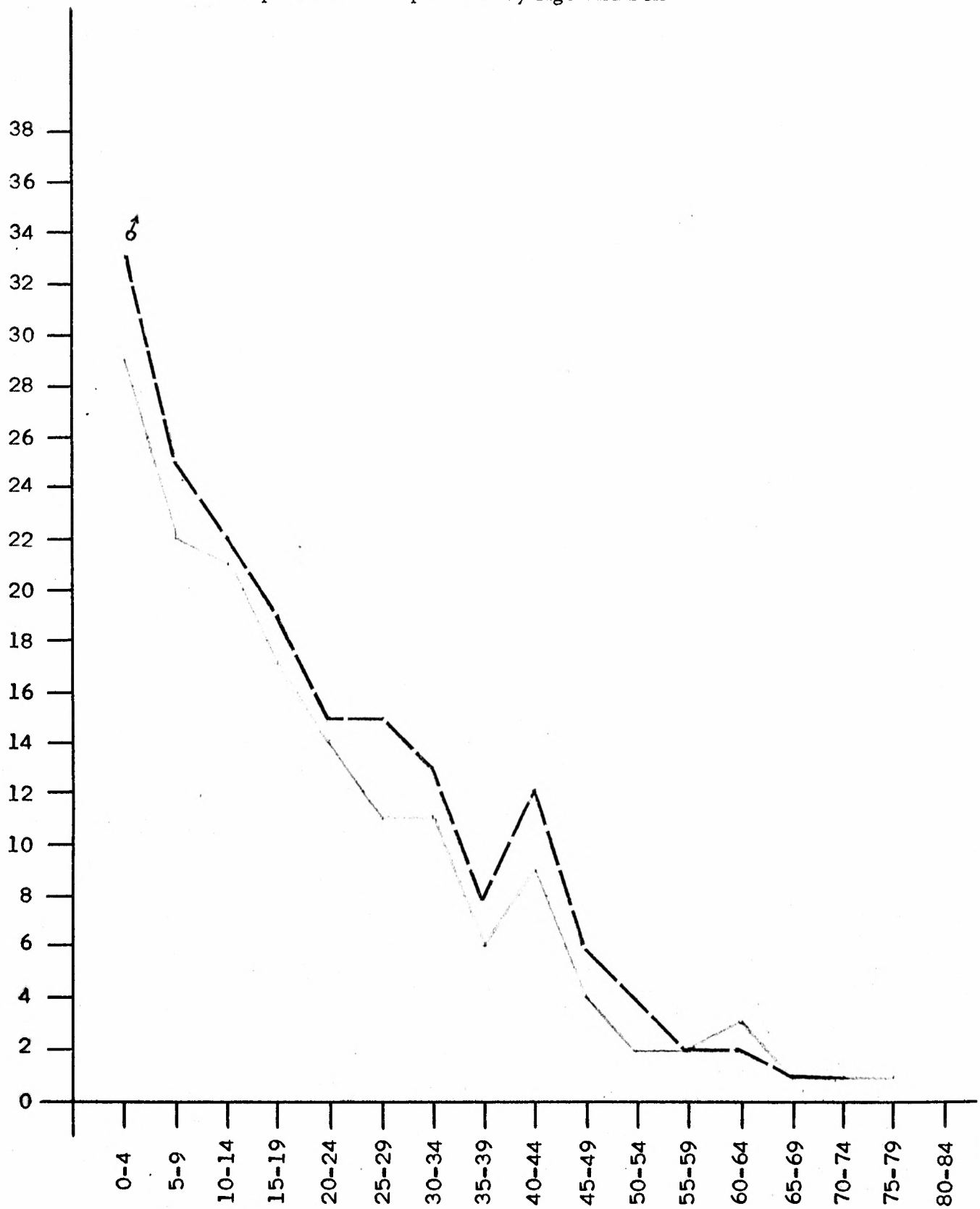
The majority of Eskimo at Rankin Inlet have emigrated from settlements within a radius of some 400 miles. As indicated in Chapter 2, Rankin Inlet, in the days before the opening of the mine, supported only a few families. However, when the mine began hiring in 1956, and embarked upon a policy of full-scale Eskimo employment in 1957, immigration to Rankin Inlet proceeded very rapidly. By the summer of 1958, the population had increased eight-fold. Of these immigrants, almost 2/3 came from Chesterfield Inlet. The next largest group represent former residents of Eskimo Point, and small numbers came from Repulse Bay and the Baker Lake area. In the latter instance, 11 males, 7 of whom were married, were hired for summer labour only. Their families did not accompany them. The following table shows the distribution of numbers and the community with which they were formerly affiliated:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chesterfield Inlet (including those who claim Rankin Inlet | 224 |
| Eskimo Point | 79 |
| Repulse Bay | 19 |
| Baker Lake | 11 |

Age and sex of the population is shown in the following table. See also Figure 6, page 21.

FIGURE 6

Composition of Population by Age and Sex



| Age Group | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 0 - 4 | 33 | 29 |
| 5 - 9 | 25 | 22 |
| 10 - 14 | 22 | 21 |
| 15 - 19 | 19 | 17 |
| 20 - 24 | 15 | 14 |
| 25 - 29 | 15 | 11 |
| 30 - 34 | 13 | 11 |
| 35 - 39 | 8 | 6 |
| 40 - 44 | 12 | 9 |
| 45 - 49 | 6 | 4 |
| 50 - 54 | 4 | 2 |
| 55 - 59 | 2 | 2 |
| 60 - 64 | 2 | 3 |
| 65 - 69 | 1 | 1 |
| 70 - 74 | 1 | 1 |
| 75 - 79 | 0 | 1 |
| 80 - 84 | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 178 | 154 |

Of the 332 Eskimo which comprised the population during the summer of 1958, approximately 30 individuals were out of the community. This figure fluctuates slightly depending upon: the availability of transportation, the length of convelescence in hospital or sanitarium, accidents, and technical school schedules.

With respect to residence within the community, the population is about evenly divided between the new and old Eskimo settlements. There are 160 Eskimo residing in the new settlement, and 152 in the old. In addition 14 men were residing in "bachelor" tents, 2 in the mine staff house and one family "out of sight of the mine", having been ordered off the premises by the manager. While these figures fluctuate with people moving out of the new settlement into tents in the old, during the summer months, nonetheless, it is representative of settlement composition. The following table indicates the number and size of families occupying each house in the new settlement.

| House Number | Number of Families | Number of Residents* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | 3 | 12 |
| 3 | 2 | 13 |
| 4 | 1 | 9 |

| House Number | Number of Families | Number of Residents* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | 2 | 9 |
| 6 | 2 | 10 |
| 7 | 3 | 15 |
| 8 | 3 | 15 |
| 9 | 2 | 13 |
| 10 | 3 | 10 |
| 11 | 3 | 8 |
| 12 | 3 | 11 |
| 13 | 3 | 13 |
| 14 | 2 | 16 |

* Some of these family members are in hospitals, sanatoria, and so forth.

The following table shows the number of dwellings, number of families, and number of residents per habitation zone in the old settlement:

| Zone Number | Number of Dwellings | Number of Families | Number of Residents |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 7 | 8 | 25 |
| 2 | 14 | 17 | 61 |
| 3 | 9 | 6 | 35 |
| 4 | 12 | 6 | 31 |

As to marital status, approximately one-half of the population is married, however, some 15 of these, all males, have wives in other settlements. Another 5 are widows or widowers.

Religious composition is very difficult to determine precisely. It is a common practice for churches to claim a much larger membership than regular attendance would indicate. We are omitting for the present the question of belief. The Roman Catholic Mission, which at the time was the only one of the two to devote its full attention to religious activity claimed approximately 85% of the population. It is also true, however, that a number of Catholics attended various quasi-religious functions held at the Continental Interior Mission. We have used the term "quasi-religious" here because the functions referred to involved ritual and hymn singing as well as social activity such as games and refreshments.

Of the 15% that are not Roman Catholic, some 10% consider themselves Anglican, but affiliate with the Continental Interior Mission in the absence of a mission representing this denomination.[1] However, these

1. An Anglican Mission was built in the fall and early winter of 1958.

also attend Catholic services from time to time. The other 5% are not actively identified with either mission. Most of these are old people who presumably do not consider themselves Christians. Included in this group, for example, is an old man who claims he was formerly an angokuq. He attributes his loss of supernatural power to old age.

We do not know the extent to which, if at all, pagan beliefs are still embraced. In our experience we saw no indications of any rites of this kind nor did reports of any ever come to our attention.

## Composition of White Population

The population of the white settlement at Rankin Inlet numbers approximately 95. The majority of these are directly concerned with the mine. Only supervisory personnel are permitted to have their families with them and then only if a house is available. During the summer of 1958, only four of the company houses were occupied, the other two being vacant through termination of employment by their former occupants.

The composition of the white population by sex and relative age was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Adult males | 85 |
| Adult females (all wives) | 6 |
| Male children | 2 |
| Female children | 0 |
| Male infants | 1 |
| Female infants | 1 |

The occupations of the 85 males was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mine including mill | 72 |
| Crawley-McCracken (caterers) | 5 |
| Dept. of Northern Affairs | 1 |
| Hudson's Bay Company | 3 |
| Roman Cathol Mission | 2 |
| Continental Interior Mission | 2 |

## Birth Statistics and Mortality

The following children were born at Rankin Inlet or to residents of Rankin Inlet temporarily removed from the community between January 1, 1958 and September 1, 1958. Of those deceased, date and place of death is also indicated:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Okpiq | - | 8/1/58 Died, Rankin 7/2/58 |
| (2) | Oyaitok | - | 14/1/58 |
| (3) | Piktautok | - | 18/1/58 (Brandon) |
| (4) | Tokaq | - | 28/2/58 |
| (5) | Sikakauq | - | ?/3/58 |
| (6) | Okakluq | - | 9/3/58 Died, Rankin 15/3/58 |
| (7) | Putulik | - | 17/3/58 |
| (8) | Otukeaq | - | 30/3/58 Died, Rankin 31/3/58 |
| (9) | Kattelogak | - | 30/3/58 Died, Churchill 8/4/58 |
| (10) | Agaituq | - | 20/4/58 |
| (11) | Iyattoq | - | 18/5/58 Died, Rankin 11/6/58 |
| (12) | Aniksaq | - | 31/5/58 Died, Rankin 11/6/58 |
| (13) | Kumangaq | - | 13/6/58 |
| (14) | Innukshuq | - | 18/6/58 (Churchill) |
| (15) | Aivraq | - | 28/7/58 |
| (16) | Kitiq | - | 21/8/58 |

Of these 16 children, 7 are male and 9 are female. Eleven were born of families from Chesterfield Inlet, 3 of Eskimo Point, and 2 of Repulse Bay. While the record for the entire year has not been included, it will be seen that the largest number of children are born in winter and spring, and the smallest number in summer and fall. This conforms to what may be a trend for the entire District of Keewatin, although the evidence is merely suggestive. Nonetheless, a count of the births by month of the living population in the 1957 disc list for the E-3 administrative district yields the following data:[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| January | 50 |
| February | 47 |
| March | 61 |
| April | 43 |
| May | 41 |
| June | 37 |
| July | 43 |
| August | 34 |
| September | 35 |
| October | 37 |
| November | 34 |
| December | 43 |

The uncorrected[2] birth rate for the first seven months of the year 1958 is 48.1 per 1000. Of these 16 births 6 or 37.5% died all within the first two months of life. The estimated death rate for the same period of

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1. As sex was not considered in this count, we are unable to provide the ratio of males to females born.

2. There is some evidence to suggest that births are not random.

time would be 18.0 per 1000. In addition to these infants less than one year of age, two children and one adult also died in the seven-month period. See Plate 8a, page 27. Date and place of death are indicated in the following table:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Krasagaq | - 9/1/57 | Died Rankin Inlet - 4/2/58 |
| (2) | Tautuq | - 21/9/54 | Died Churchill - 2/6/58 |
| (3) | Kanoyuq | - 15/2/31 | Died Rankin Inlet - 21/3/58 (Crushed to death in floe ice. Body never recovered) |

Aside from the hunting accident above, the cause of death in most instances is unknown. An exception is the child that died in Churchill. In this case, cause of death was attributed to Tuberculosis meningitis.

The crude death rate for the first seven months of 1958 is 27.1 per 1000. While hardly significant, the ratio of males to females born is 1.7 to 2.2, while the ratio of infant male/female deaths is 1 to 2.

The incidence of miscarriages and still births is almost impossible to estimate. These data is seldom reported to authorities. In our experience, we have only one reliable case of these having occured. A woman reported that she had had a recent still birth preceded by three miscarriages. This family has no living children.

The age of the mother at birth of her first child would be about 20 years on the average. The lowest birth age we could find was 15 and the highest 26. Age of the father, would be approximately two years more.

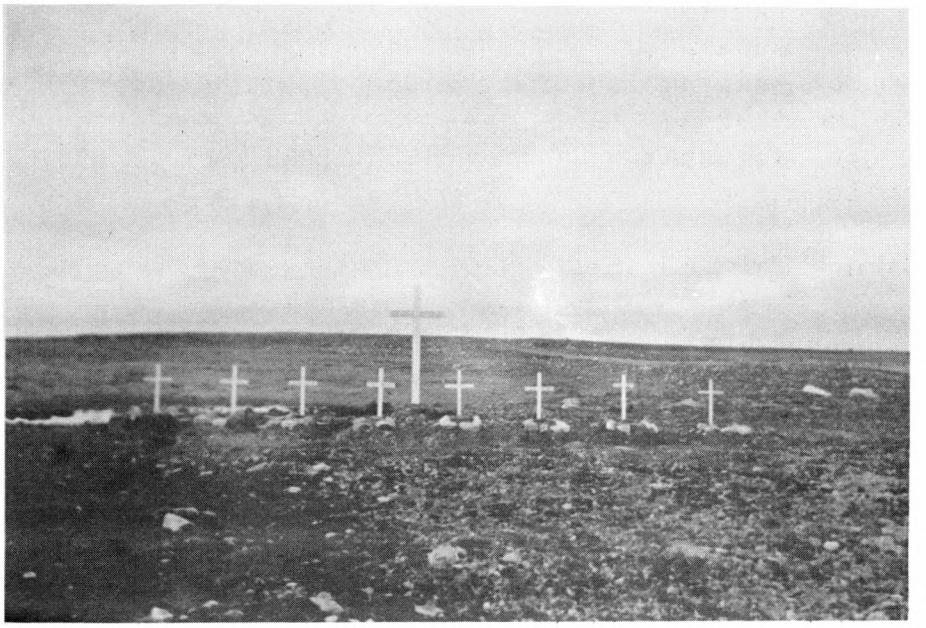
Also size of families and spacing of births varies between settlements. For example, the Chesterfield Inlet Eskimo seem to have much larger families on the average than do those from either Eskimo Point or Repulse Bay. Examples of family size and child spacing are indicated in the following tables:

(1) Chesterfield Inlet families:

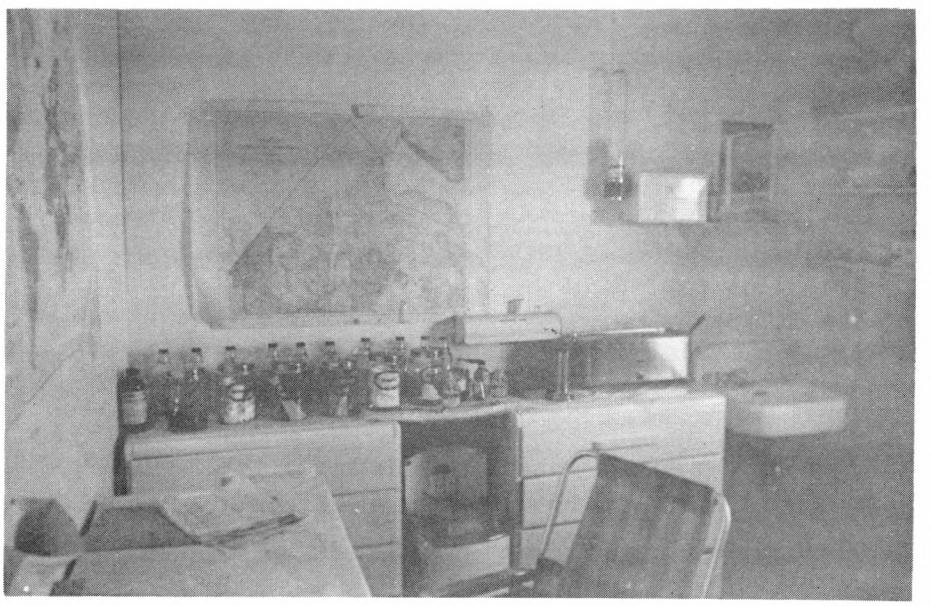
(a)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fa | Keelak | - 1914 | |
| Mo | Taralik | - 1919 | |
| So | Aknalukteetaq | - 1932 | |
| So | Kukkiak | - 1935 | |
| Da | Tiakok | - 1937 | (Deceased) |
| Da | Annartusiq | - 1939 | (Deceased) |
| Da | Aaluk | - 1942 | |
| So | Ipkanak | - 1946 | |
| So | Apowshuk | - 1949 | (Deceased) |
| So | Tunalik | - 1952 | |
| Da | Annartusiq | - 1954 | |
| So | Apowshuk | - 1957 | (Deceased) |

PLATE 8



a. View of the Roman Catholic cemetery showing graves of eight children buried there.



b. View showing the first-aid room in the men's staff house.

(b) Fa Agguk - 1924
Mo Sinnisiaq - 1926
Da Omattok - 1943
So Kuglugiak - 1945
Da Taliktok - 1947
So Papak - 1949
So Arkaruk - 1950
Da Akuveaq - 1953
So Kagvayak - 1955
So Agguk - 1956

(2) Eskimo Point families:

(a) Fa Aningat - 1918
Mo Mikpigak - 1923
So Okratsiar - 1946
So Kaslak - 1952

(b) Fa Okootuk - 1927
Mo Nibviak - 1931
Da Ulayok - 1952
So Nakiteuak - 1955
Da Oyatto - 1958 (Deceased)

(3) Repulse Bay families:

(a) Fa Irkridjuk - 1930
Mo Popopok - 1931
Da Kumasiut - 1951
So Nuviak - 1956
Da Teebageeak - 1954

(b) Fa Kupak - 1918
Mo Ookangook - 1935
So Etianne - 1954
Da Udlurashukjuk - 1956
Da Koomangaq - 1958

## Morbidity

Disease represents a major problem for the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet. Although this community has been hailed in many quarters as the symbol of northern progress, there is much remaining to be accomplished. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Eskimo's need for health education. Already there are indications that as traditional diseases are brought under

control, new ones peculiar to changes in living habits are beginning to appear.[1]

The disease picture described below is derived from the medical records of the mine infirmary. At the time this study was undertaken, the mine maintained a small, poorly equipped first-aid room (See Plate 8b, page 27) in the men's staff house.[2] This was staffed by a St. John's Ambulance Corps-trained attendant. At best the records are inadequate. Not every treatment, particularly to whites was entered by the four different first-aid men which have been employed by the mine since 1956.[3] In one instance, the first-aid attendant removed the entries he had made during his period of employment.

Names of individual Eskimo treated are often difficult to determine. And as few appear for treatment unaccompanied by relatives, it sometimes happens that kinship terms of reference are recorded as personal names. Nonetheless, the records are not without their value. Certainly they provide a fairly clear picture of the range of Eskimo illnesses treated although of course not all were diagnosed by a physician. The complete tabulation is provided in Appendix 3. They cover the period of most rapid population growth, September 1, 1957 to August 30, 1958. Unless otherwise indicated, the organization of the records follows the catalogue of disease categories as arranged in the Merck Manual.[4]

The following represents a summary of the categories of illnesses recorded for one year:

(1) Allergy: Urticaria (hives) has been reported but does not appear to be of sufficient frequency to constitute a medical problem.

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1. Frank J. Sellers and J. A. Hildes, "Report on the Indian and Northern Health Service, Central Arctic Medical Survey," August, 1958.
2. The mine established a small hospital and hired a doctor and two nurses in 1959. This is being financed through a health plan.
3. These records leave inconclusive the mine's contention that the first-aid room is used primarily by the Eskimo, particularly women and children, and that the high cost of maintaining this service is a justification for the lower wage scale which the Eskimo receives. The mine considers this "free" medical service a "fringe benefit".
4. Charles E. Lyght, ed., The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy, 9th Edition, Rahway, N. J., Merck & Co., 1956.

(2) Blood and Lymphatics: Anaemia (deficiency of red blood cells) while diagnosed in several cases, usually was the result of more urgent problems such as excessive blood loss following a retained placenta. Infantile anaemia, however, may be another matter. Instances occur, and although studies of haemoglobin deficiency have not been conducted at Rankin Inlet, experience elsewhere suggests that volumes would be below the norms established for comparable age groups in white populations.[1]

(3) Cardiovascular: Heart and circulatory difficulties are rare. It may be worth mentioning that on the whole Eskimo blood pressures appear to be lower than in comparable white populations. We would estimate the average pressure to be 100/70.

(4) Deficiency and Metabolic: The change in economy and the use of different foods, particularly carbohydrates, may result in problems of vitamin dificiency. Thus far, however, no serious deficiencies have been detected. For example, analysis of 150 urine specimens collected by the authors indicated no appreciable Vitamin B2 (riboflavin) deficiency. On the other hand, the frequency of nosebleed, most of which is treated in the home, may be an indication of a lack of Vitamin C. See also category 5 below, dental and oral.

(5) Dental and Oral: Caries, abscesses, and various inflammations of the gums, mouth and tongue have all been treated. Again the incidence of caries seems to be increasing as a result of new food habits and attendant changes in the bacterial milieu of the mouth. One wonders also if the inflammations of the gums, mouth and tongue might not also be an indication of a slight deficiency of Vitamin B2 and C.

(6) Ear, Nose and Throat: One of the major disease categories. Otitis media (middle ear infection) is an almost chronic complaint. It is particularly prevalent among infants and children, but by no means absent among older people. Concurrent with treatment for purulent otitis media were several cases of aural impetigo. Throat infection is also common, often resulting in tonsillitis.

(7) Endocrine: Anomalies in this category are rare. Only one case came to our attention that of a female child who undoubtedly is a pituitary dwarf.

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1. Sellers and Hildes, op. cit., p. 6, ff.

(8) Eye: Inflammations reported at the infirmary indicate these are more of a problem for adults than among children, although both are susceptible. Hordeolum (sty) is not very prevalent, but has been treated in several instances. Accidents to the eye reflect the hazards of the new industrial milieu. No doubt these will show a steady increase.

(9) Gastrointestinal: Abdominal pains accompanied by elevated temperature and vomiting or constipation with the same characteristics represents the common pattern in this category. Diarrhea is also fairly prevalent. This may be seasonal depending upon the quantity of seal or caribou with which the Eskimo is able to supplement his regular diet. Gastroenteritis while occasionally reported is not a common problem. To repeat, this is surprising in view of the general pollution around most sources of drinking water.

(10) Genitourinary: Very few cases have been reported in this category. Cystitis (chronic inflammation of the urinary bladder) would represent the usual complaint. Several cases of epididymitis were diagnosed and treated. Also two cases of Cryptorchism (undescended testis) were observed.

(11) Gynecological: Practically no cases have been reported for this category. It would be interesting to determine, for example, if dysmenorrhea (painful menstruation) is unrecognized by the Eskimo as a female complaint?

(12) Obstetrics: Aside from the usual treatments for discomfort of pregnancy, complications included retained placenta, vaginal laceration, toxemia of pregnancy and foetus in transverse position. Patients with these complications were evacuated to Fort Churchill Military Hospital for further treatment.

(13) Infectious and Communicable: The common complaint in this category is influenza. It is one of the major illnesses to which the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet are susceptible. In the Appendix, we have also reported a possible outbreak of measles which disappeared without further incident after running its course.

(14) Liver and Biliary: One case of cholelithiasis (Gallstones) was reported in an adult female.

(15) Musculoskeletal: Fractures and sprains of the skeletal system, particularly in the back and appendages are fairly common. Most of these are the result of accidents of various kinds not only in the mine but in the home as well. One case of congenital posterior dislocation of the right hip also was diagnosed.

(16) Nervous System: Headaches are a common complaint for which treatment is sought in the infirmary. Aside from these, nervous difficulties are largely unreported. There is one adult female epileptic who suffers recurrent attacks of grand mal seizures.

(17) Physical and Chemical: Although fairly low in frequency, burns represent the most common difficulty here. Usually injuries of this kind result from spilling scalding hot liquids in the home.

(18) Respiratory: This category contains the major illnesses with which the Eskimo has to cope. More than one-half of the total number of treatments initial and subsequent dispensed in the infirmary are concerned with respiratory illnesses. The usual complaint is the common cold, "acute coryza." Usually if these upper respiratory infections go unchecked, they tend to develop into more serious complications. Among the more prevalent of these are: bronchitis, bronchiectasis, atelectasis, pneumonia, pleurisy, and dyspnea. Also several cases of suspected tuberculosis were treated.

(19) Skin and Connective Tissue: This category includes the last of the major medical problems for the Eskimo - impetigo and other staphylococcal infections, such as boils, etc. Although infection is common across the whole population, it seems to be particularly concentrated in the lower ages. Here also should be listed such complaints as Herpes simplex (cold sores), warts, and an increasing number of cuts, abrasions, contusions, and puncture injuries. The latter result directly from the Eskimo's lack of acquaintance with industrial procedures.

While most of the major illnesses are fairly evenly distributed throughout the year, the peaks would certainly be in late winter, spring, and early summer. These are also the months of highest infant mortality.

Some of these diseases such as the staphylococcal infections are the result of uncleanliness and close-contact, a situation that will not be corrected until the Eskimo is able to improve his standard of living. Other illnesses, particularly the respiratory ones, will no doubt also remain prominent until among other things the Eskimo develops immunities to them. In either case, the outlook is not promising. Increased medical assistance is necessary and will no doubt help, but until the Eskimo himself understands the causes of these illnesses and recognizes the measures he must take to eradicate them no marked improvement in public health can be anticipated for at least a generation.

# CHAPTER 4

## KINSHIP SYSTEM

The kinship system observed at Rankin Inlet reveals some rather striking differences from the type of social organization which has traditionally been attributed to the Eskimo. Without reviewing the history of Eskimo type kinship systems let us turn directly to Murdock's authoritative study, Social Structure.[1] Here he defines the Eskimo type as follows:

> "For the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the social organization of other peoples," writes Murdock, "our classification begins with the type of structure prevailing in our own society. It should be emphasized, however, that this type is by no means characteristic of civilized as contrasted with primitive peoples... By definition, the Eskimo type includes all societies with Eskimo cousin terminology and no exogamous unilinear kin groups. In addition, as theory leads us to expect, it is characterized by monogamy, independent nuclear families, lineal terms for aunts and nieces, the bilateral extension of incest taboos, and the frequent presence of such bilateral kin groups as kindreds and demes, though these may often be unreported."[2]

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to enlarge upon Murdock's rather succinct definition. To begin with Eskimo kinship systems are bilateral, that is, for certain sociological purpose both sides of the family are formally recognized. This is in marked contrast to the social systems of many preliterate people where only one side of the family is given social emphasis, although of course both sides may be known. Meyer Fortes provides a clear picture of these basic distinctions.

> "Two 'facts of life'," he writes, "necessarily provide the basis for every family: the fact of sexual intercourse is institutionalized in marriage; the fact of parturition is institutionalized in parenthood. Societies differ greatly, however, in which of these institutions they select as the more important. Our society selects marriage: the result is the conjugal family, centered upon a single marital relationship and the children it produces. Most human societies, however, rate parenthood above marriage. This results in the consanguineal family, centered upon a single line of descent."

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1. George Peter Murdock, Social Structure, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949.
2. Ibid, pp. 226-227.

"Biologically our lineal inheritance derives equally from both sides of the family according to Mendelian law. Societies that prize lineage, however, restrict social inheritance either to the maternal or paternal line. The social heritage - that is, property, citizenship, office, rank - passes either through the father or through the mother. 'Patrilineal' desecent (father to son) was the rule in ancient Rome, China and Israel, and occurs in many primitive societies. 'Matrilineal' descent (mother's brother to sister's son) is common in Asia, Africa, Oceania and aboriginal America..."

"Our Western way of reckoning kinship is neither matrilineal nor patrilineal. Rather, it is 'bilateral'. That is, we consider our mothers' kin to be as closely related to us as our fathers'. Nowadays we follow the same etiquette with both maternal and paternal relatives. Our terminology distinctly reflects the equality of our conjugal (husband-wife) over the lineal (parent-child) bond, the paternal or maternal orientation of the lineage becomes a matter of indifference. In naming our spouses' relatives we assimilate them to our own: a mother-in-law is a kind of mother, a brother-in-law is a kind of brother, and we treat them accordingly."

"Our kinship terminology, like that of the Eskimos and a few other peoples, follows the so-called descriptive system. We have separate labels for each category of our kin, according to their generation, their sex and their linkage to us by descent or marriage. We distinguish our parents ('father' and 'mother') from their male siblings ('uncles') and their female siblings ('aunts'). We have different appellations for our own siblings ('brother', 'sister') and for our aunts' and uncles' children ('cousins')." [1]

Next it should be emphasized that we in North America employ the same cousin terminology as that attributed to the Eskimo. In this practice our siblings are terminologically differentiated from cousins. Murdock puts it this way: FaSiDa (Father's Sister's Daughter) and MoBrDa (Mother's Brother's Daughter) are called by the same term as parallel cousins (children of siblings of the same sex) but terminologically differentiated from sister. Murdock also adds that the term for cross-cousins (children of siblings of the opposite sex) are usually but not always the same.[2] The

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1. Meyer Fortes, "Primitive Kinship," Scientific American, Vol. 200, No. 6, June, 1959, pp. 149-150, and pp. 153-154.
2. Murdock, op cit., pp. 223, parentheses mine.

Eskimo system of cousin terminology, as specified by Murdock, is diagrammed in Figure 7, page 36. To anticipate a point that is developed further on, we may note here that the Rankin Inlet Eskimo do not observe this system of cousin terminology.

As to the matter of lineal terms for aunts and nieces, there are four possible permutations. These distinctions can best be illustrated by citing the terms for Mo (Mother) as compared with those for MoSi (Mother's Sister) and FaSi (Father's Sister). Thus for these three kin relations: Mo, MoSi, and FaSi the possibilities are as follows: (1) each person called by the same term, (2) Mo and MoSi called by one term and differentiated from FaSi, (3) FaSi and MoSo called by one term and differentiated from Mo, and (4) each person called by different terms. These permutations are known respectively as: (1) generation, (2) bifurcate merging, (3) lineal, and (4) bifurcate collateral. They apply to both aunts and uncles as well as nieces and nephews. It is the third, lineal that Murdock attributes to the Eskimo. These possible relationships are diagrammed in Figure 8, page 37. Here again, it will become apparent that the Rankin Inlet Eskimo do not observe the lineal relationship.

Lastly, let us touch briefly upon the terms "deme" and "kindred". The term "deme" is derived from the Greek work demos, meaning people. Although the term has been in the literature for some time it was generally overlooked until reintroduced into biology in 1939,[1] and in anthropology with the publication of Murdock's Social Structure.[2]

Murdock employs the term "deme" to designate a bilateral local group, that is, one that constitutes a definable territorial and political unit. As applied to human populations, demes may be either exogamous or endogamous. If they are endogamous, as is the case among the Eskimo, the majority of the members of the unit intermarry. Thus, most Eskimo settlements, even today, represent endogamous demes, of which most, if not all, of its members are aware of their genetic, bilateral relationship to one another.

As indicated in Chapter 2, this former territorial identification remains very strong. In communities such as Rankin Inlet where under a wage economy the members of several demes are of necessity brought together, they do not readily interact except in their occupations, and even here the deme seems to act as a subtle kind of sorting device. Normally, Chesterfield Inlet people do not intermarry with Eskimo Point people, nor do they easily mix. These avoidances are even carried into recreational dancing where, for example, people from different settlements each maintain separate squares.

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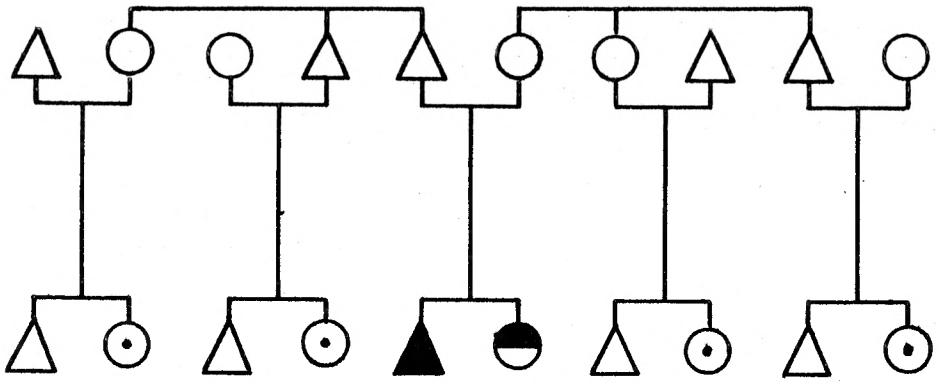
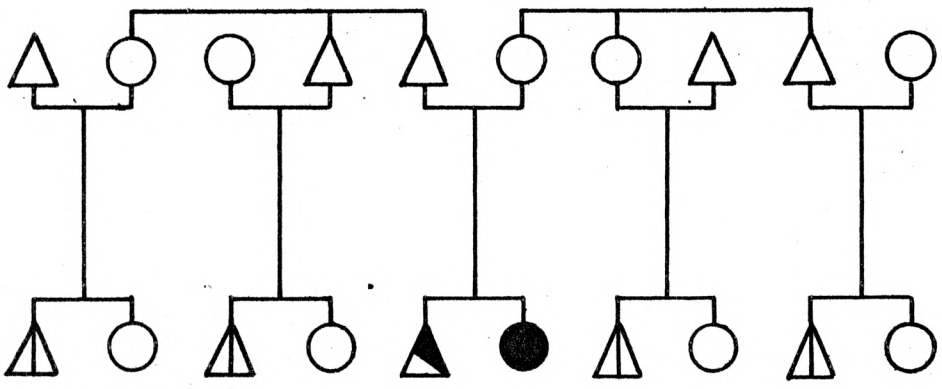
1. G.G. Simpson, C.S. Pittendrigh, and L.H. Tiffany, Life: An Introduction to Biology, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1957, pp. 396-397.
2. Murdock op. cit.

FIGURE 7

Eskimo "Type" System of Cousin Terminology



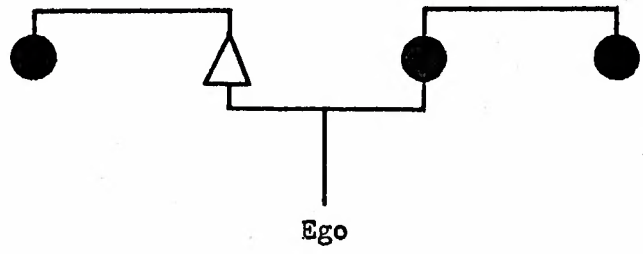
a. Male Ego speaking.



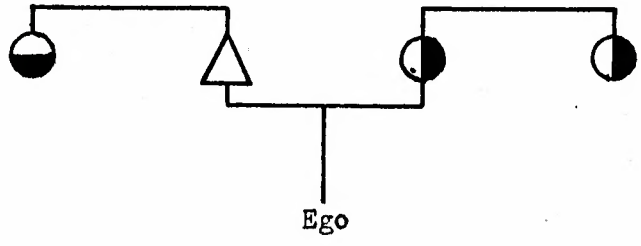
b. Female Ego speaking.

FIGURE 8

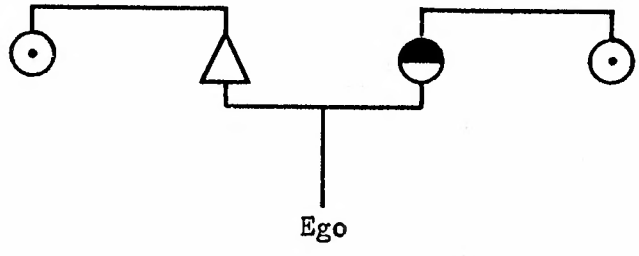
Forms of Mother-Aunt Terminology



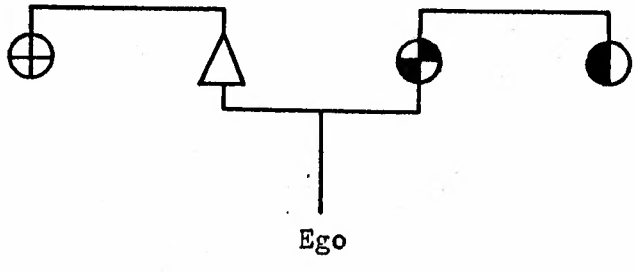

a. Generation.




b. Bifurcate merging.




c. Lineal.




d. Bifurcate collateral.

By the term "kindred", Murdock means that somewhat veiled bond of kinship which, while strong, manifests itself only upon certain occasions.

> "In our society," writes Murdock, "where its members are collectively called 'kinfolk' or 'relatives', it includes that group of near kinsmen who may be expected to be present and participate on important ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, christenings, funerals, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, and 'family reunions.' Members of a kindred visit and entertain one another freely, and between them marriage and pecuniary transactions for profit are ordinarily taboo. One turns first to them for aid when one finds oneself in difficulties. However much they may disagree or quarrel, they are expected to support one another against criticism or affronts from outsiders. The kindred in other societies has comparable characteristics and functions."[1]

There is some suggestion of kindreds among the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet, although they are very difficult to document. The kindred is a very subtle kind of relationship which requires of the observer a sensitivity to patterns of social interaction that are difficult to acquire in a single summer. Sometimes one discovers a kindred quite unexpectedly. This was vividly brought to our attention in the following instance. One of the younger male Eskimo, a mill worker, purchased a new outboard engine for his canoe. Quite by accident we were present when the engine was taken for its initial run. Those who participated in the first ride were all kindred to the owner. Later observations of this same kin group revealed a well established pattern of social interaction, but one nonetheless that would not have been detected had we not been "tipped off" so-to-speak.

A second example is that of a woman in the old settlement who did considerable sewing. Often when we visited her she was engaged in making women's boots (kamiq). Upon inquiring about these from time to time, we learned that in every case the boots were for women who were kindred to her.

Doubtless, we have but touched upon the periphery of a social dimension that constitutes an important part of Eskimo social organization. Indeed, it would seem of value to provide for further studies of the role of kindreds in this and other Canadian Eskimo communities. Nor in this respect can we emphasize strongly enough the importance of supporting general studies of Eskimo kinship systems. Knowledge of this kind is particularly urgent, not only from the standpoint of theory,[2] but also for

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1. Murdock, op. cit., pp. 56-57.
2. See for example the three papers on nonunilinear descent groups in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, No. 4, August 1959, pp. 557-583.

practical purposes as well. In places like Rankin Inlet, the Eskimo is facing the impact of a changing social and technical milieu not necessarily of his own choosing. If we in the dominant society are to understand how the Eskimo is reacting to this new environment and to intelligently formulate policy with respect to it, it is essential that provision be made to secure all the relevant data. Here the study of kinship is particularly crucial because of all the institutions, in the sociological sense, which constitute the structure of a society, it is this system more than any other that determines not only the pattern of membership in that society but also the nature of its solidarity as a "going concern." This in turn provides important clues as to the basis of change and the direction it is taking.[1]

## Kinship Terminology

The kinship terms described below are referential[2] as to use, and represent the system of terminology employed by the majority of Eskimo at Rankin Inlet. This is not to say, however, that the system employed is completely uniform. Indeed, as will be emphasized later, the evidence is growing that uniformity is not to be expected.

In this regard, we are fairly certain that the eleven Eskimo males from Baker Lake and the five families from Repulse Bay each observe a slightly different system than the one reported here. Unfortunately, in the time at our disposal we did not have the opportunity to determine precisely what the difference are.

Terms are employed with respect to two formal relationships: blood and marriage, technically known as consanguineal and affinal, respectively. There are also separate terms employed by adopted children toward their adopted parents. A fourth consideration in kinship behaviour has to do with the matter of names and naming. This, along with adoption, will be dealt with further on.

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1. See the discussion of social change in Marian Levy, Jr., The Structure of Society, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1952, pp. 44-45 ff; and in Raymond Firth, Social Change in Tikopia, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

2. A term of address, e. g., atataq is made a term of reference by dropping the "q" and adding the euphemistic "ga".

## Lineal and Nuclear Consanguines[1]

Grandparental generation (male and female ego speaking):

atatachia (FaFa, MoFa, FaFaBr, MoFaBr, FaMoBr, MoMoBr)
ananachia (FaMo, MoMo, FaFaSi, MoFaSi, FaMoSi, MoMoSi)

Terms for affinals, i.e. spouses of these grandparents are unknown.

Parental generation (male and female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| atataga | (Fa) |
| ananaga | (Mo) |
| acuga | (FaBr) |
| achuga | (FaSi) |
| anuga | (MoBr) |
| anakviga | (MoSi) |

Terms for affinals, i.e., spouses of these siblings are extended according to sex of father's siblings. Thus male spouses are designated by the term "acuga", while female spouses are referred to as "achuga."

Ego's generation (male ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| angayuga | (ElBr) |
| nukuga | (YoBr) |
| nayuga | (Si) |

Ego's generation (female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| angayuga | (ElSi) |
| nukuga | (YoSi) |
| aniga | (Br) |

First descending generation (male and female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| erkninga | (So) |
| paniga | (Da) |

Second descending generation (male and female ego speaking):

engutara (SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa)

---

1. The organization of this section is taken from Robert F. Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo: A Study in Ecology and Society, Smithsonian Institution, B. A. E., Bulletin 171, Washington, D.C., 1959, pp. 66-70.

## Consanguineal Kin - Collaterals

Ego's generation (male ego speaking):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| angotikatiga | (FaBrSo, FaSiSo) | (rendered in the dual form) |
| achnakatiga | (MoBrSo, MoSiSo) | (rendered in the dual form) |
| nayuga | (FaBrDa, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, MoSiDa) | |

Ego's generation (female ego speaking):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| angotikatiga | (FaBrDa, FaSiDa) | (rendered in the dual form) |
| achnakatiga | (MoBrDa, MoSiDa) | (rendered in the dual form) |
| aniga | (FaBrSo, FaSiSo, MoBrSo, MoSiSo) | |

In this system of cousin terminology, the distinction is not drawn as between cross and parallel cousins, but between cousins on the father's side as against those on the mother's side. Also depending upon the speaker's sex, terms for brother and sister are extended to all cousins regardless of which side of the family they are affiliated with. These terms are also extended to the children of these first cousins.

First descending generation (male ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| kangiaga | (BrSo, BrDa) |
| oyoruga | (SiSo, SiDa) |

First descending generation (female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| angaga | (BrSo, BrDa) |
| nuaga | (SiSo, SiDa) |

It should be emphasized again that as with mother-aunt terminology, nieces and nephews are also classified lineally.

## Affinal Kin

Parental generations (male or female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| sakiga | (HuFa, HuMo, WiFa, WiMo) |

Ego's generation (male or female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| nuliaga | (Wi) |
| uiga | (Hu) |

There are no co-wives or polygynous marriages at Rankin Inlet.

Ego's generation (male ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| sakiaga | (WiBr) |
| aiga | (WiSi, BrWi) |
| ningauga | (SiHu) |
| angayunroa | (WiElSiHu) |
| nukuaunroa | (WiYoSiHu) |

Ego's generation (female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| sakiaga | (HuSi) |
| aiga | (HuBr, SiHu) |
| ukuaga | (BrWi) |
| angayunroa | (HuElBrWi) |
| nukuaunroa | (HuYoSiHu) |

First descending generation (male ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| ukuaga | (SoWi) |
| ningauga | (DaHu) |

First descending generation (female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| ukuaga | (SoWi) |
| ningauga | (DaHu) |

Terminological distinctions are observed between affinal relatives on the basis of speaker's sex. Also note that generation is over-ridden with respect to spouses of children.

## Step-and Adoptive Relationships

Although, for purposes of clarity, we have used the term in Appendix 2, the Eskimo have no concept of foster, step or "half" relationships. Children of a wife or husband by another marriage are given full consanguineal recognition in the family unit. This is also true of relationships between individuals which in our society we would designate as half or "step" brothers and sisters.

As to adoptions, the Rankin Inlet Eskimo do have formal terms to express the fact. However, as in the case of "step" relatives, adopted children are so rapidly drawn into the family unit that the distinction is often meaningless in practice. Nonetheless, the terms of reference do exist. They are not extended beyond the nuclear family.

Parental generation (male or female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| atataksa | (Fa) |
| ananaksa | (Mo) |

Ego's generation (male or female ego speaking):

| | |
|---|---|
| angayuksa | (ElBr, ElSi) |
| nukaksa | (YoBr, YoSi) |
| aniksa | (Br, Si) |

## Names and Naming

Names are very important to the Eskimo. They are a part of the bond of kinship that holds the endogamous demes together. Birket-Smith provides a good description of the practice of naming, although today some of the taboos he mentions are no longer observed nor is the namer a shaman as in the past. Nowadays, it is most often a grandmother in the classificatory sense or a female relative in the mother's generation who confers the name - usually at the time of birth. Despite these differences, the attitude toward the practice remains essentially the same as do the names themselves. To quote Birket-Smith directly:

> "As among all Eskimos, the principle in naming is naming the child after one who is dead; for names are looked upon as a rather separate part of man. Every child receives quite a number of names, but at any rate one of them is the name of the person who last died in the settlement or in the district. It is also said that the shaman consults the spirits and thus decides whose name the child is to bear. The name taken from a deceased person must now, however, be taken into use before the child is a winter old, and after that time the mother is forbidden to eat eggs and caribou tongues. It is immaterial whether the child is of the same sex as the one whose name it receives, as the Caribou Eskimo do not differentiate between the names of men and women, even in cases where it would seem to be rather necessary. A male Coast Padlimino was called (ucunialik), 'provided with vulva,' and one of his kinsmen (ucupaluk) 'bad vulva'. The only thing is that in these cases certain considerations must be taken to the clothing as long as the person concerned is a child. What Bertelson has written on original naming in West Greenland applies on the whole here: 'In the use of a word as a name its meaning plays no part whatever, nor does its euphony, clang, etc. It is the use of the name in the family which gives it value.' "[1]

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1. Birket-Smith, op. cit., pp. 282.

The names usually appear in the same family in alternate generations or consecutive generations, the former being the more acceptable practice. Thus a grandchild often bears the name of one of its grandparents. The Rankin Inlet Eskimo do not establish an association between a name and ultimate misfortune. Among many of the world's preliterate people, a name is considered "unlucky" and is discarded if a child dies within several years after being named. At Rankin Inlet, a family will continue to bestow a particular name on subsequent children in order that the name will live. See for example the family of Keelaq (E3-105), Appendix 2, where two children bearing the same name have died. If more children are born in this family or adopted, there is a good possibility the name will be bestowed again.

## Summary of Kinship Characteristics

The kinship system is bilateral with considerable emphasis upon the nuclear family. This emphasis is quite apparent when the range of application of kinship terms employed is analysed. With respect to this range, there are two possibilities: denotative and classificatory. The former serves to classify those terms that are employed to designate a single kinship category such as father and mother. A classificatory term, on the other hand, applies to persons who stand to Ego in two or more possible relationships as defined by generation, sex and geneological connection, but for which a single term is employed. In our society for example, the term for cousin overrides sex distinctions. Thus, the children of our parents siblings are called by a single term "cousin" regardless of their sex. Distinctions in the range of applications of kinship terms employed by the Rankin Inlet Eskimo are shown in the following table:

### Male Ego Speaking

| Denotative | Classificatory |
|---|---|
| Fa | FaFa, MoFa |
| Mo | FaMo, MoMo |
| ElBr | Si, FaBrDa, FaSiDa, MoSiDa, MoBrDa |
| YoBr | FaBr, FaSiHu |
| MoBr | FaSi, FaBrWi |
| MoSi | FaBrSo, FaSiSo |
| Wi | MoBrSo, MoSiSo |
| WiBr | WiSi, BrWi |
| WiElSiHu | WiFa, WiMo |
| WiYoSiHu | BrSo, BrDa |
| So | SiSo, SiDa |
| Da | SiHu, DaHu |
| SoWi | SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa |

Female Ego Speaking

| Denotative | Classificatory |
|---|---|
| Fa | FaFa, MoFa |
| Mo | FaMo, MoMo |
| ElSi | Br, FaBrSo, FaSiSo, MoBrSo, MoSiSo |
| YoSi | FaBr, FaSiHu |
| MoBr | FaSi, FaBrWi |
| MoSi | FaBrDa, FaSiDa |
| Hu | MoBrDa, MoSiDa |
| HuSi | HuBr, SiHu |
| HuElBrWi | BrWi, SoWi |
| HuYoBrWi | HuFa, HuMo |
| So | BrSo, BrDa |
| Da | SiSo, SiDa |
| DaHu | SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa |

In the kinship system employed at Rankin Inlet, generation and sex are rarely overridden with respect to range of application. Denotative terminology for members of the nuclear family serve to establish specific categories of respect relationships and to emphasize its central economic importance. Affinals are all classificatory except for the husbands or wives of the sibling's of Ego's spouse. Collaterality is overridden in cousin terminology but again, as will be seen, this is not incompatible with the basic bilateral structure of the system.

Lastly, it should be noted that there is nowadays no provision for either the levirate or the sororate. In former times when men were plurally married (none are now), it is possible that by custom a man may have married the wife of a deceased brother. At present, however, affinals do not intermarry, nor as will be pointed out in the next chapter, do members of the nuclear family.

## Discrepancies in the "Type"

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the kinship system employed by the majority of Eskimo at Rankin Inlet reveals several discrepancies compared to that described by Murdock. These differences are rather basic and involve both cousin terminology as well as the terminology employed to designate aunt-niece relationships.

As to cousin terms, the system is Hawaiian and not Eskimo. That is, to repeat, a male extends the term for sister to all his female cousins, but terminologically differentiates the male cousins on his father's side from those on his mother's. A female observes the same rule, extending

the term for brother to all her male cousins, but terminologically differentiates the female cousins on her father's side from those on her mother's. This system of terminology is illustrated in Figure 9, page 47.

As to mother-aunt terminology, the system is not lineal but bifurcate collateral. This is, rather than employing a single term for FaSi and MoSi and a separate term for Mo, separate terms are employed for each of the three relatives. The same holds true for niece terms. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter these systems are shown in Figures 8d and 10, pages 37 and 48, respectively.

It should be emphasized that despite the differences in use between bifurcate collateral and lineal systems of classification, nonetheless they are not incompatible with bilateral descent. This is clearly indicated by Driver and Massey in their "Comparative Study of North American Indians."[1] Here they show that the bifurcate collateral system is not only the most dominant, but also probably the oldest system found in North America. With respect to the distribution of these two systems of classification they write:

> "Lineal mother-aunt terminology is much more restricted than bifurcate collateral and overlaps it in only one instance. Nevertheless, it (lineal) is also positively correlated with bilateral descent. Lineal and bifurcate collateral combined, however, yield a higher correlation with bilateral descent than either taken alone. What determines a people's choice between lineal and bifurcate collateral is difficult to say..."[2]

The above quotation raises the question of how the discrepancies in this "Eskimo" system can be explained. We suspect that the differences in cousin terminology and the presence of lineal aunt-niece systems of classification are of considerable age. Certainly they cannot be attributed to recent changes in the ecological picture, nor to the advent of a wage economy. Our oldest informants, both in their 70's, indicated that this was the system they had learned from their parents.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that as more studies are conducted among the Eskimo, the more the assumed "type" seems to lose its clearly defined character. Indeed, in our opinion, the homogeneity that has been attributed to Eskimo kinship stems from a paucity of data rather than common usage.

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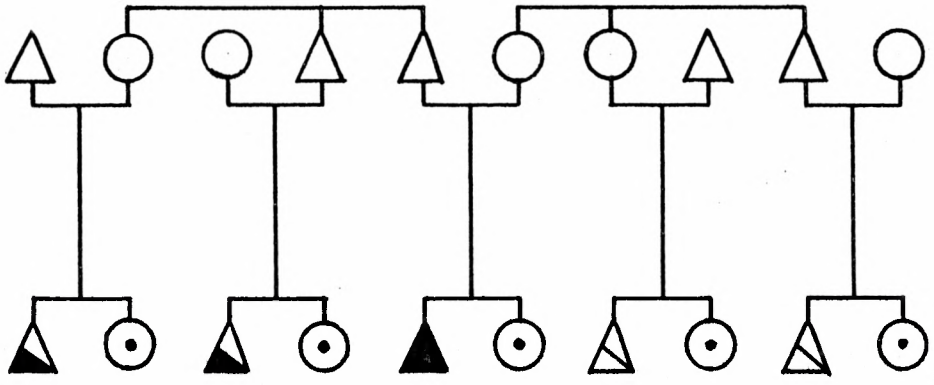
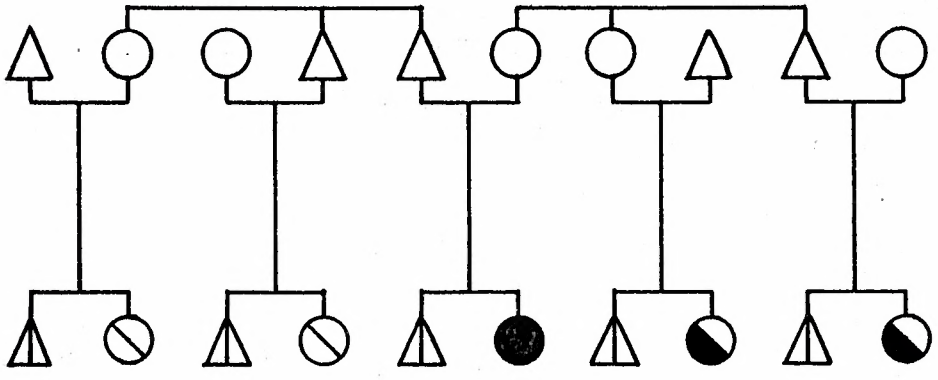
1. Harold E. Driver and William C. Massey, "Comparative Studies of North American Indians," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 47, Part 2, 1957.
2. Ibid., pp. 417.

FIGURE 9

Hawaiian "Type" System of Cousin Terminology
Employed by Rankin Inlet Eskimo



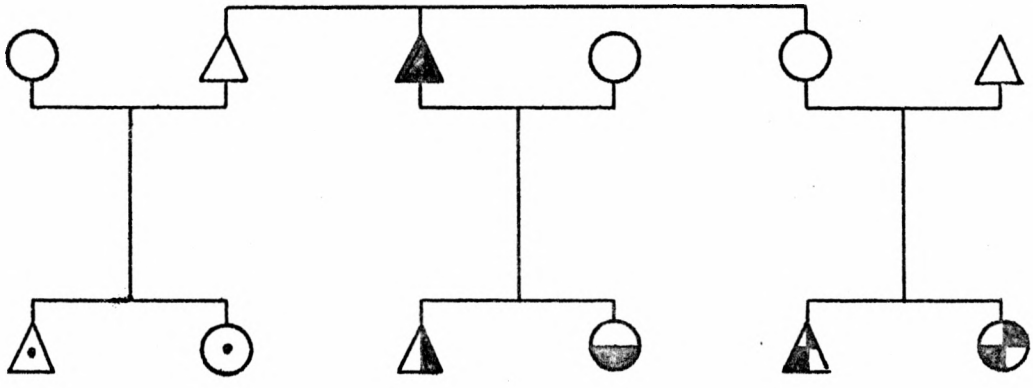
a. Male Ego speaking.



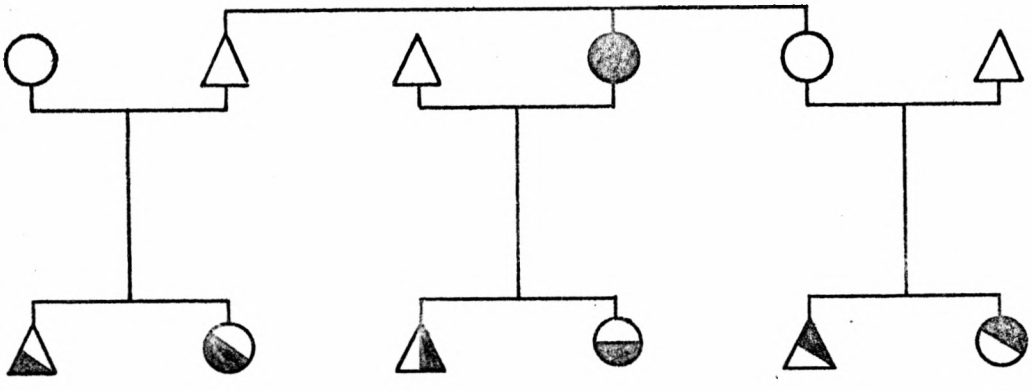
b. Female Ego speaking.

FIGURE 10

Bifurcate Collateral Niece-Nephew Terminology
Employed by Rankin Inlet Eskimo



a. Male Ego speaking.



b. Female Ego speaking.

In recent years several studies of Eskimo kinship have questioned the uniformity of the system. Prominent here is J. L. Giddings, Jr. In an article published in 1952,[1] Giddings writes:

> "The term 'Eskimo' has long been associated with a system of kinship reckoning, and it now designates a form of social structure. Even this usage is not meant by its proponents to identify a specific whole culture and area, one is encouraged by the label to assume that all of those people who are known by no other broad grouping than Eskimo will exemplify the social structure that bears their name. In view of the limited source material on northern North America at the time when Morgan (1871) first set up criteria on Eskimo kinship, we can understand his assumption of a high degree of cultural uniformity not only between Greenland and the coasts of Arctic Canada but across the whole of the American Arctic. A half-century later, however, when Spier (1925) surveyed the kinship systems on the whole continent and divided them into eight basic systems, it had become increasingly clear that some disharmony existed even in kinship terminology between the east and the west Arctic slope... More recently, as we shall see, (Lantis, 1946) it has become increasingly doubtful that the relatively dense population of the Bering Sea coast of Alaska is to be included in the type that bears its linguistic label."[2]

Hughes,[3] also, has indicated that the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo of the Bering Sea display some marked differences in kinship terminology. Summing up he writes:

> "One may ask how this (system) compares with the stereotypic 'Eskimo' patterns found to the east. The St. Lawrence system is different in several crucial details. Taking each criterion separately, one sees that the cousin terms are different, resembling the Iroquois type rather than the Eskimo pattern of one common term for all cousins; descent is patrilineal and there are unilinear kinship groups, although these are neither strictly exogamous nor endogamous; residence is not neolocal, but matri-patrilocal. Another difference is that lineal terms for aunts and neices (for a male Ego) do not exist. Rather, the

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1. J. L. Giddings, Jr., "Observations on the Eskimo Type of Kinship and Social Structure," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, Vol. 1, No. 1, December, 1952, pp. 5-10.
2. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
3. Charles Campbel Hughes, "An Eskimo Deviant from the 'Eskimo' Type of Social Organization." American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, Part 1, No. 6, December, 1958, pp. 1140-1147.

terms are of bifurcate collateral type at Ego's and at the first ascending and descending generations. On the other hand, certain correspondences exist between the more familiar type and St. Lawrence culture: there is in general a bilateral extension of incest taboos (although the outlines are vague), and a conception of the kindred exists. But on the whole, one would have to assert that in the crucial criteria, the St. Lawrence patterns are markedly at variance with the familiar 'Eskimo type' of social organization." [1]

The clarification of these "discrepancies" should be one of the major objectives of further Arctic research in anthropology.

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1. Ibid., pp. 1144-1145.

# CHAPTER 5

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

In the last chapter we reviewed the essentials of the kinship system and noted the strong emphasis placed upon the nuclear or elementary family. We would like to continue this theme here turning first to the nature of Eskimo marriage, the kinds of marriage which occur, and lastly the dynamics of family relationships.

### Basis of Marriage

In the old days, marriage defined here as "both an economic and a sexual union which is known to other members of the society and accepted by them,"[1] was an absolute necessity. Unless a man had a "wife" to make his clothes and prepare his food, he could not survive. And unless a woman had a "husband" to provide the food and raw materials necessary for life she could not survive either.

As Birket-Smith tells us, this resulted in a natural division of labour - one that was based primarily upon sex.

> "The Eskimo," he writes, "do not occupy themselves with theoretic speculations as to the equal rights of the sexes, but arrange themselves in practice. I do not doubt that if one could put the question to an Eskimo in the purely abstract, he would reply in favour of the subjection of woman to the will of man; but as the community has no actually organized government, the man has no other place to demonstrate his superiority than in the family circle, and there theory and practice do not always walk together. Were it not that it would give a wrong idea of the usually harmonious family life, I would say that the man rules by means of his fist and the woman by her tongue - and no one need be in company with Eskimos long before he discovers the latter's equality with the former."[2]

Thus marriage for the Eskimo has in the past been a more or less permanent union based upon a natural division of labour involving predominantly economic considerations. Although this may seem strange, the mutual dependence which is characteristic of Eskimo marriage was in some ways strengthened through wife lending and wife exchanging. Again Birket-Smith provides a most objective description.

> "It often happens," he says, "that men lend their wives for shorter or longer periods, or that two friends exchange wives for a time. This makes their friendship more firm. If a man becomes angry over a wife's unfaithfulness it is because this is an encroachment upon his rights; the next day it may easily happen that he himself lends her out. In exchanging wives

1. Driver and Massey, op. cit., p. 394.
2. Birket-Smith, op. cit., p. 257.

> Crawley sees an example of what he calls ngia ngiampe, a sort of 'magical inoculation' which, in his opinion, is the foundation of a large number of marriage ceremonies. There is hardly any doubt that this is correct with regard to the ritual exchanging... But as regards the ordinary exchanging of wives there is no reason for such an assumption. Purely practical considerations often step in here, as for instance when one husband is going on a journey."[1]

Wife lending and wife exchanging have virtually disappeared at Rankin Inlet, although there is one very clear instance of the latter having taken place. No doubt the principal cause is the Christian Church. It has exerted considerable pressure to discourage activities of this kind. This is true of plural marriage also. For the Church the ideal is a monogamous union for life, and they strongly discourage any deviations from this objective. We suspect that ecological factors may also be involved, particularly over the past few years since the Hudson's Bay Company has come to play so predominant a role in the Eskimo's subsistence pattern. But this requires further study and is outside the scope of this report.

Again in the old days marriages were easily dissolved. The Eskimo lacks a concept of "divorce," such as we in our society entertain, because he also lacks a concept of "marriage" as a civil contract. For him marriages are simply dissolved, mostly by mutual consent. Furthermore, one might seriously question to what extent he views marriage as a "sacrament" despite his acquaintance with Christianity and his participation in a marriage ritual.

In this contrast between the old and the new, we should turn next to the matter of betrothal. There is considerable evidence indicating that this was the usual custom, however, observers differ as to whether the betrothal took place at the time of birth or later. Logistics alone we believe would support the view that both forms must have prevailed, although probably infant betrothal was the preferred practice.

Where betrothal is the rule, there are few other considerations in marriage. Personal attractiveness was not a consideration. Furthermore, it was assumed that a man would be a good provider and a woman an efficient homemaker. Indeed the central values of the society upheld these ideals, and every effort was made to inculcate these preference in the child-rearing techniques. While alien to our more idealistic views of matrimony, there is this to be said of arranged marriages, they remove the tensions which go with choice and also automatically provide an Ego with a spouse. Young people grew up knowing who they were to

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1. Ibid., p. 295

marry. And since marriage among most pre-literate people take place between families not just individuals as is the case in our society, there was a great deal of security in the system for all concerned.

Today this is rapidly breaking down. In our experience it is not often that the Eskimo is vociferous in his attitudes about anything, but in this case we found no one among the younger generations who supported the betrothal system. Invariably they pointed out the "failure" of the marriage of so and so and attributed it to the fact that they had been "promised" and there was "no way out". Open hostility in some of these marriages is not unusual. In one instance, for example, a wife deliberately attracted other men to show her contempt toward a husband she was "forced" to marry.

Already there are indications that the wage economy at Rankin Inlet is affecting the basis of marriage. This is happening in two rather significant ways. Firstly, in this industrial setting the old division of labour is breaking down. Eskimo women are losing their former economic role and with it the status that insured their equality. This in turn is causing discontinuities in the socialization process. In the regimented work routine, Eskimo men no longer have the time nor the situations in which to teach their sons the old ways. Thus the younger male generations know little of the land or the means by which one can gain a livlihood from it.

Young girls on the other hand, for the most part remain under the tutelage of their mothers. They learn the art of home-making and the role of women in society. In this way they are exposed to a dimension of traditional Eskimo culture that is denied boys of comparable age.

A second consequence of this change in economy is reflected in the fact that contrary to the traditional pattern, a man no longer needs a wife to "survive." In effect, he can "purchase" all his needs mostly from the Hudson's Bay Company store, and if he so desires, he can move into the mine staff house and "live as a white man." Indeed the mine encourages this and already two young men have done so. One is unmarried, but betrothed to a girl not in the community, the other is married (apparently unhappily). The latter's wife also is not in the community. It may be significant that both are from Eskimo Point.

These young men are strongly motivated to identify with the white community. There are indications however that this identification has not been achieved without a loss in status. Not only are these two Eskimo living as "bachelors," but in addition, and this is even more crucial, they have removed themselves from residence with their kin. It is the fact of removal that is the important distinction we wish to convey in our use of the term "bachelor."

The point is that without residing with relatives, the Eskimo find it difficult to "place" these "bachelors" in the community. This occurs because the rights and obligations which hold between kinsmen are reinforced through the residence pattern. Residence is thus the pivot of the whole system of social relations. It would perhaps be more meaningful to characterize the status of these "bachelors" not as being ill-defined, but as non-defined with respect to the organization of society.

As a social practice, bachelorhood as we have described it is just beginning to appear. Chances are it will become more and more prevalent in this wage economy. As a last word it should be emphasized that again there is nothing comparable of this kind for a female. There are unmarried girls and widows, but there are no "spinsters." There may be one day, but not for the present.

## Forms of Marriage

At present, marriages are either primary or secondary. If we take these terms in order, "marriage" we have already defined as both an economic and sexual union which is known and accepted by the community of which the couple are members. A "primary marriage" then is the first union contracted for an individual, and "secondary marriage" is any subsequent union. Betrothals are contracted only in "primary" ones. All secondary marriages are purely voluntary.

Plural marriage of the polygynous type is no longer practiced, nor as indicated above is wife exchange or wife lending. It must be admitted, however, that the latter would be especially difficult to detect, particularly since it is actively discouraged by the Church with the support of other secular institutions. Also as noted in Chapter 4, there are no affinal forms of marriage. Neither the levirate nor the sororate are practiced today, although Birket-Smith states that at one time the levirate may have been a regular custom.[1]

Cousin marriage involving both cross and parallel cousins are known but the frequency is low, not more than 2 cases by our count. These marriages are all primary and originate when siblings mutually promise their children. Again from the Eskimo's point of view these marriages are not desirable. Aside from the common attitude that betrothals are to be avoided, the marriage of close kin is particularly frowned upon. Nonetheless, promises between siblings are stronger than this more general community attitude. Examples of this kind again point up the absolutely central position which the family occupies in Eskimo society and that nothing from outside can contravene the strength of the bonds between elementary consanguineal kin.

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1. Ibid., p. 293.

There is one instance in which a man is engaging in what amounts to a "trial marriage." When his first wife died, he arranged to marry a woman from Eskimo Point who was living in Churchill, Manitoba. Although this man is from Chesterfield Inlet he has always maintained strong ties with the settlement at Eskimo Point. His first wife was from there also. This second "wife" did not "work out." She was quarrelsome and addicted to committing physical violence. Earlier this year he arranged to send her back to Churchill, Manitoba. Now he has taken a third "wife". This woman is a widow as was the second, and again is from Eskimo Point. These so-called "marriages" amount to trials on his part. Whether this is a fairly common practice in secondary marriages remains open for further study. In any event, this third wife is "working out." This is indicated by companionship, his willingness to support her, and a recognition by the community that they are living and working together. As far as the Christian Church is concerned marriage has not been solemnized. Both parties are Anglican, and since the Continental Interior Mission is staffed by lay leaders, there is no one who can "legally" marry them. Nonetheless, they are for sociological purposes married.

## Secondary Marriage

Secondary marriages are very common. Out of a total of 70 marriages, 25 represent secondary unions for one of both spouses. In some instances, the geneologies indicate that certain Eskimo women have produced children by at least three or four men. This brings up the question of defining marriage for statistical purposes. In the geneologies described in Appendix 2, we have adopted the rule, rightly or wrongly, that issue defines marriage. Thus we have listed as a wife (wi) any female who produces children. And that many were born under conditions that in our society would be described as "out of wedlock" or "adultrous," is indicated by the extent to which wife lending and wife exchange has been reported by earlier observers.

In any case, there was no problem of legitimacy for a child. Marriage viewed either sociologically as we have indicated in the introduction to this chapter or as we have defined it for statistical purposes, does not legitimize the issue. Rather residence does. It is who the child lives with that ultimately establishes his place in society. For example, if a woman were married, but had a child by a man other than her recognized husband, it was still the child of the family into which it was born. If, on the other hand, the woman was unmarried, the child belonged to the woman and was a part of the family unit of which she was a part. And while there might not be a father at the time, there would be when the woman married. Paternity is almost impossible to prove even in our society. However, the variation among family members in an otherwise homogeneous population leads one to suspect that any interest the Eskimo

has in biological paternity is purely academic.

## Regulation of Marriage

Marriage does not take place between members of the nuclear family, that is, between father and daughter, mother and son, or consanguineal brothers and sisters. This rule also holds for any adopted children in the nuclear family and it has been claimed to apply to the children of exchange marriages as well. It is necessary to distinguish between consanguineal and collateral brothers and sisters, because cousins (classificatory brothers and sisters) do marry; though as we have seen the frequency of such marriages is not large. Furthermore as we have indicated, in each instance these are primary marriages involving betrothal as a prior condition.

It is interesting to note what happens to kinship terminology when cousins marry. As we have seen cousin terminology is basically Hawaiian. Under these circumstances, the married couple and affined relatives are placed in dual kinship categories one to another. Thus a man's wife's mother is both an aunt and a mother-in-law. And to her he is both a nephew and a son-in-law. In one instance we had occasion to carefully observe kinship usage between husband and wife, while the latter was a patient in the mine infirmary. While it is tempting to generalize from these we will maintain their particularlistic character. When addressing one another, this couple used the terms for brother and sister, ani and naya, but when they referred to one another in conversation with third persons they employed the terms for husband and wife, uia and nullia. Kinship relations with members of the first ascending generation are governed by several considerations. Members of the first ascending generations opposite Ego are at once both in-laws as well as uncles and aunts. By custom relationships with these categories are different. The in-law relationship is one of great respect. There is a prohibition against the use of personal names when addressing these individuals. Behaviour toward uncles and aunts is freer, and while the age differential carries the expectation of respect, relationships are nonetheless much friendlier. In inquiring of the wife about these relationships she indicated the following manner of behaving. If she were on good terms with her mother-in-law she observed the respect relationship, if she were mildly annoyed she emphasized this by addressing her mother-in-law as "aunt" achuga,[1] and if she were really angry about something she called

1. This mother-in-law had been married at least twice before. Her third husband was considerably younger than her and a contemporary of the married couple. It always appeared to us that they behaved toward him more as an equal than as a "father" or "father-in-law." Indeed, it is doubtful if the son recognized him as other than his mother's husband. She was a very domineering woman. It was obvious to all that she was the head of this household.

her mother-in-law by her personal name. The mother-in-law observed the same qualified behaviour towards her daughter-in-law.

No cases of incest (in the elementary family) were noted at Rankin Inlet. It seems highly unlikely that these occur. Generally we found that the Eskimo are somewhat vague about this relationship, except with respect to the nuclear family. As indicated above, there is some feeling among the Eskimo that close relatives such as cousins should not marry but we have also seen that though these sentiments exist they are set aside where more fundamental values prevail.

Even the Christian Church has been forced to recognize the betrothal system. Where first cousins are promised the Church obtains a dispensation or otherwise overlooks this breach in ecclesiastical law. As far as civil law is concerned, no one has as yet seen fit to question the legality of these unions.

## Residence

According to Murdock, the residential pattern of the Eskimo is neolocal. This he says is the practice whereby

> "a newly wedded couple," as in our society, "establishes a domicile independent of the location of the parental home of either partner, and perhaps even at a considerable distance from both." [1]

In many ways this definition is difficult to apply to the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet. Several factors need to be considered. In the first place, season has a great deal to do with residence. The early summer pattern, the one prevailing in June, is described in Chapter 2. But under no circumstances would this apply for the full year. During the month of July, many of the Eskimo residing in the new settlement move over into the old. Here they either set up tents or live in an unoccupied dwelling with the permission of its owner.[2]

A second factor is the mine's policy toward residence. They pay no attention whatever to the residential arrangement in the old settlement, but rigidly control the families who are "permitted" to live in the new. Living in the new settlement is viewed by the mine administration as a reward for "good work." This, of course, disturbs what otherwise might be the "normal" pattern, and furthermore, places the Eskimo in a

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1. Murdock, op. cit., p. 16.
2. Although we were unable to investigate this in detail it appears that former residents of the old Eskimo settlement who are now living in the new, view the houses they built in the old settlement as "theirs." Presumably a house of this kind while more or less permanent belongs in that category of Eskimo property that would be considered equipment, hence a chattel.

conflict of interests.[1]

As an example of what can happen under this system, we cite the following case. Two brothers, both of whom were married, but it was rumoured of different fathers, were moved along with their families and the family of their mother (this included her husband and a child by him as well as another husband) into the new settlement. These three family units were no more than settled when one of the brothers walled up the communication between the room he and his wife and children occupied and the remainder of the house. Neither of these brothers speak to one another nor have they for some time. The other members of the three families speak and get along together quite well. Among the other residents of the new settlement, this house is known as the "one with two chimneys."

As would be expected in a deme, married couples usually live with or in close proximity to their kin. But which kin they live with is governed both by circumstance and inclination. Thus when a man and his wife and children moved to Rankin Inlet from Repulse Bay in the winter of 1957, he moved in with his sister and her husband and children. However, this man and his sister's husband did not get along very well, so when the opportunity presented itself and the weather was good, he moved over into the old settlement. Here he placed his tent along with the three other families from Repulse Bay. We do not know where he ultimately established his winter quarters in 1958-59.

In the following table we have organized the residential pattern according to the rule of residence which families observe: neolocal and bilocal. As far as we are concerned, neither rule adequately describes the residential pattern, because in these northern economies flexibility is of foremost importance. Thus residence is never rigidly defined. Nonetheless, the terms are perhaps useful in conveying a rough picture of the residential pattern at a given time. Neolocal residence is defined above, and predominates as the preferred pattern. Bilocal residence includes those instances in which a married couple lives with the parents of either spouse, personal preference and again circumstance representing the crucial factors in their decision.

Neolocal .....73[2]
Bilocal .....14

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1. Had there been time, we should have developed a gradiant of acculturation with respect to residence in these two settlements.
2. In this report single men in tents and staff houses are considered neolocal residents.

## Adoption

Adoption continues to be practiced among the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet. By our count there are approximately 14 adopted children under the age of 18 years. Thus of the total only a small percentage are "adopted out." It should be noted that adoptions are not necessarily permanent. Sometimes adopted children are returned to their "real" parents. In one instance for example, the parent who had adopted was sent out to the sanatorium. Apparently, there was no one else who would take care of the children in her absence, so they were returned. See the family of Innukshuk (E3-66), Appendix 2.

It is very difficult to generalize about the practice of adoption itself or for that matter the treatment that adopted children receive. As to the latter, there are instances where adopted children seem to be treated with as much affection as "real" children. There are others, where the difference is very obvious, the child having a decidely "lower" status in the family. This is expressed not only in a lack of warmth in interpersonal relations within the family but also in such things as food and clothing, where the adopted child gets what's left over.

Obviously the rationale underlying the practice of adoption is a very subtle one and is subject to a number of sociological as well as practical considerations. In some instances there is little doubt that kinship plays a part, but in others factors quite outside rights and obligations might be involved. At any rate, documentation of these cases is extremely difficult to secure.

We have completely left out of this discussion a description of the Eskimo's concept of "adoption." Indeed we have no idea of what that might be. It is a form of behaviour that cannot be approached directly. What bothers us most is that in some instances where a child is said to be "adopted," he or she also turns out to be a niece or a nephew, real or classificatory. Again part of the distinction must rest upon residence as a factor, but there is much more to it than that. It is the matter at concensus and community recognition that we are completely uninformed about. It goes without saying that the whole practice needs much further study, but without an intimate knowledge of the language investigation is almost impossible.

## Family Relationships

Within the family, respect relationships are based upon generation differences, but specified between elder and younger siblings. On the other hand, individuals in the same generation usually employ personal names unless their relationship to one another is one requiring

that respect be observed. Individuals in the 1st and 2nd ascending generation to Ego call him by his personal name, but he reciprocates only in formal terms.

There is a very strong attachment between parents and children. The Eskimo greatly indulge their children, boys receiving the preferential care. This was very clearly brought to our attention in the case of a woman with year old twins, a boy and a girl. In observing nursing behaviour, for example, the boy was always fed the breast first and longest.

# CHAPTER 6

## STANDARD OF LIVING

Outwardly the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet have largely adjusted their daily routine to the demands of wage employment. Each employee has learned to "live by the clock," however, neither tardiness nor absenteeism have by any means been eliminated. As will be seen further on in this chapter, hourly employment varies greatly within any one work category.

For the men the weekday is the same. The mine operates in two shifts, five or six days a week, the mill in three shifts, seven days a week. Each man has to know his hours and he adjusts his life accordingly. For the women, however, the week is by no means so regimented. While there are household tasks to perform, these are not so time consuming as they used to be. Now that most items of food and clothing are purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store, the women have less to do at home. But in the new milieu nothing has replaced this loss of economic function. The women seem bored. They spend much of their time loitering and gossiping at the Hudson's Bay Company store. Indeed this has become something of a social center. Every afternoon the store is full of women and children who meet there, midway between the two settlements, to exchange the latest news. Often the children bring their toys or a bat and ball, and play in the levelled approach to the store, while mothers sit on the steps.

It is worth mentioning here that this store with its large volume of merchandise (see Plate 9, page 62), has become one of the major acculturative agents in this community. As an educational instrument it's impact is much more intense and immediate than the more abstract curricula of the Federal Day School.[1] Indeed, in our opinion no one has attempted to assess the educational potential of a store of this magnitude. To date the Eskimo has developed little discrimination in his buying habits. Almost everything the store handles is "desirable". We shall return to some of the implications of this in the final chapter. One final word here. At one time the Hudson's Bay Company store opened at 1 PM and closed at 5 PM, as well as maintaining evening hours from 6 PM to 8 PM. Tardiness on the part of the Eskimo following the 12 AM - 1 PM lunch hours was so flagrant, the mine was forced to request that the store not open until 1:30 PM.

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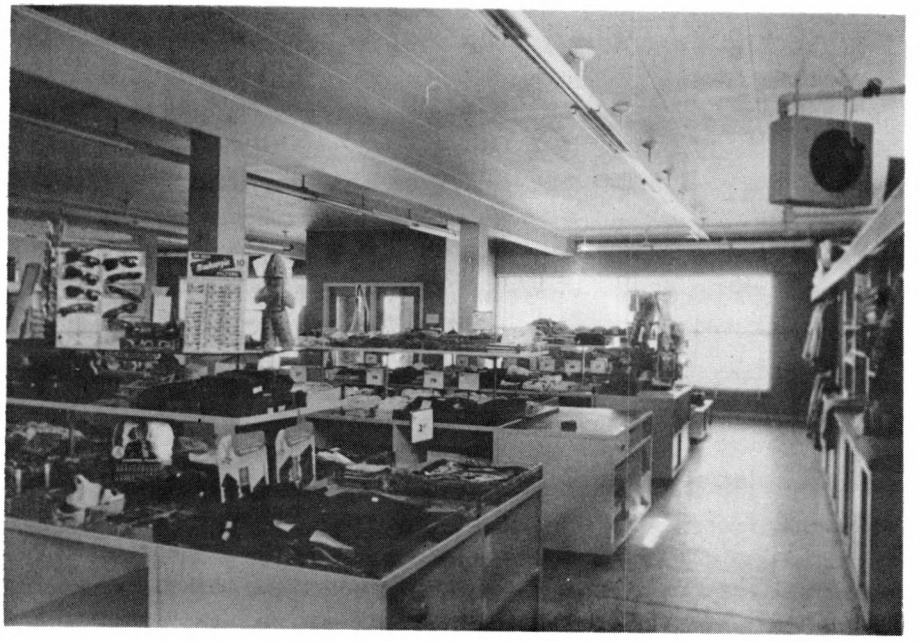
1. No school was held during the summer of 1958 because the teacher had resigned in May and had not been replaced. A new and larger school building was built later in the year. There are now two teachers.

PLATE 9



a. Dry goods counter of Hudson's Bay Company store.

b. Hardware counter of Hudson's Bay Company store.

## Annual Cycle

Despite the dependence upon wages to purchase food and clothing, there are still remnants of the old hunting and fishing cycle remaining. For one thing, some of the older men like to keep their "hand in" so-to-speak. No doubt many would like to go back to the land and give it one more try. It would be our prediction that if a resettlement project is established later this year at Term Point near Whale Cove, 80 miles south of Rankin Inlet, (see Map 2 page ix a number of Eskimo will voluntarily leave, perhaps as many as 25% of the working force.

Secondly, the men continue to hunt and fish to provide food for their families and food for those dog teams that are left. As time permits, sealing is done in the fall and winter, but intensified in the spring. It is at this time when seal are plentiful along the floe ice. See Plat 10a, page 64. Spring is an important time psychologically for the Eskimo. With the lengthening of the day and the general warming up of the environment, after the long dark winter this is a "good" time of the year. People begin to look outward again. In the old days this was the time to abandon winter quarters which no doubt became increasingly disagreeable to occupy as spring approached. Nowadays the men get out whenever they can between shifts or on weekends. Absenteeism is particularly high on Monday morning. And sometimes men will be gone for two or three days without permission. Sealing usually continues into the early summer after break-up, but is ultimately put aside for netting fish in late July and August. Also it should be noted that the chances of retrieving a seal in summer are not very good, because at this time of the year they lack fat, hence when shot do not float as easily as in spring.

Arctic char, a fish resembling the salmon, is caught in gill nets placed in Fjord, during the middle of summer and in weirs constructed at the mouths of rivers in late August and early September. Gill nets are set in shallow water from canoes or placed on tide lands from the shore. They are tended at least once a day, but preferably after each tide. We noted some division of labour between the sexes with respect to this activity depending upon which method of securing fish is used. Women never tend the weirs. This is a man's activity requiring ability to use the leister (three pronged fish spear). Nor do women ever use a canoe unaccompanied by a man, nor have we ever seen a woman operating an outboard engine. Both adults and children however, tend nets set in the tideland, husband or wife perform this duty as well as older children as convenience dictates.

As to fishing, this is only done through the ice on inland lakes. An ivory lure is used. While a few men sometimes "jig" for fish, this is

PLATE 10

a. View of Nukudlak and some of his relatives at their sealing camp.

b. Towtuniq and her husband, Kabluitoq, with doll she made for sale to local whites.

primarily a woman's occupation.[1] All ages may participate, but is seemed to us that it was usually younger girls in their teens or older women, grandmother's particularly, who engaged in this activity the most. Young girls do not go out alone to fish, but the very old women do.

Fowling is actively pursued in the spring. With the arrival of many species of migratory wildfowl, there is considerable hunting of ducks and geese. The latter are preferred because they are the larger and some say the better eating. Eggs are collected once the birds start nesting. The eggs of the Eider duck are considered a delicacy, but again goose eggs are also sought because of their size.

The odd whale is seen now and then, but few are taken. It is doubtful whether more than five were brought in during the summer. Similarly, although the caribou has not completely disappeared his numbers in the vicinity have been drastically reduced. Four or five were shot at the mouth of the Diana River early in the summer, and several more were reported taken in the back country. The largest number (probably not exceeding fifty) were shot by several parties of hunters on the Pangertot Peninsula just to the south of Rankin Fjord.

Trapping has been practically eliminated at Rankin Inlet. Only one man trapped last winter, and despite his full-time attention he caught only some 30 Arctic Fox. The Northern Service Officer outfitted several men from Eskimo Point with traps and several others formerly from Chesterfield Inlet also trapped occasionally. All in all, however, only about 100 animals were caught. Of these the better pelts were sold to mine personnel. The Hudson's Bay Company purchased the remainder for about $15.00 apiece.

## Nutrition

As suggested in Chapter 3, lowered levels of resistence to infection may be an indication of a dietary deficiency. Certainly there is a difference between the food intake of males working at the mine and their families. For the latter, the staple is bannock (flour, baking powder and water). When available this is supplemented with seal or caribou meat and such other proteins as fish, birds and bird's eggs. No wild plants are

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1. A few men have purchased casting rods and artificial lures from the Hudson's Bay Company store. Though they try to cast, imitating the white men they have seen fishing in this way, only one or two have learned how to retrieve the lure properly. Most cast only a few feet, allow the lure to drop to the bottom and then "jig" the line. We have yet to see an Eskimo catch a fish using this equipment. Again no women were seen fishing in this way.

consumed. Otherwise, whatever women and children get in the home has to be purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store. The store did stock some frozen beef (commercial steer), but it did not sell well, probably because the Eskimo could not afford it.[1] Most of the foods that supplement the bannock staple are also carbohydrates. Canned meats, because they usually contain pork products are not very popular. Further on we have included a list of the foods sold by the Hudson's Bay Company and their relative popularity.

For the mine worker, while bannock remains his home staple, he is entitled to eat his noon meal in the Eskimo cookery. See plate 11a, page 67. This is a separate building set against the mine garage. It consists of two tables and benches. It has its own kitchen where Eskimo women employed by the mine prepare the noon meal. The meal consists of meat (beef) Monday through Thursday, fish on Friday, bannock, and tea or coffee. Each man gets the equivalent of 1 1/4 lbs. of meat per day. Eskimo men on shift make lunchmeat sandwiches for themselves. The ingrediants for these are provided on a table at the back of the white dining room during the evening meal. For a view of this dining room see Plate 11b, page 67.

Families usually eat when they are hungry, although now there is a tendency to adjust the time of meals to the routine of the mine worker. Usually a wife makes a fresh pan of bannock each morning. That which is not consumed is either eaten cold later in the day or warmed over. To repeat this will be supplemented by whatever else they can secure to eat. Also "hot" tea or coffee will also be served.

Water is consumed whenever the need arises, however, very little is consumed in the raw form. Usually it is prepared as tea or coffee. Water supplies are adequate. Each settlement is situated near several fresh-water ponds.

No alcoholic beverages are used by the Eskimo, although doubtless some who have been south, to Churchill, Manitoba for example, have come in contact with it. Whether it would become popular is open to question. However, experience elsewhere in North America strongly suggests that if permitted it would be quickly embraced. At the present

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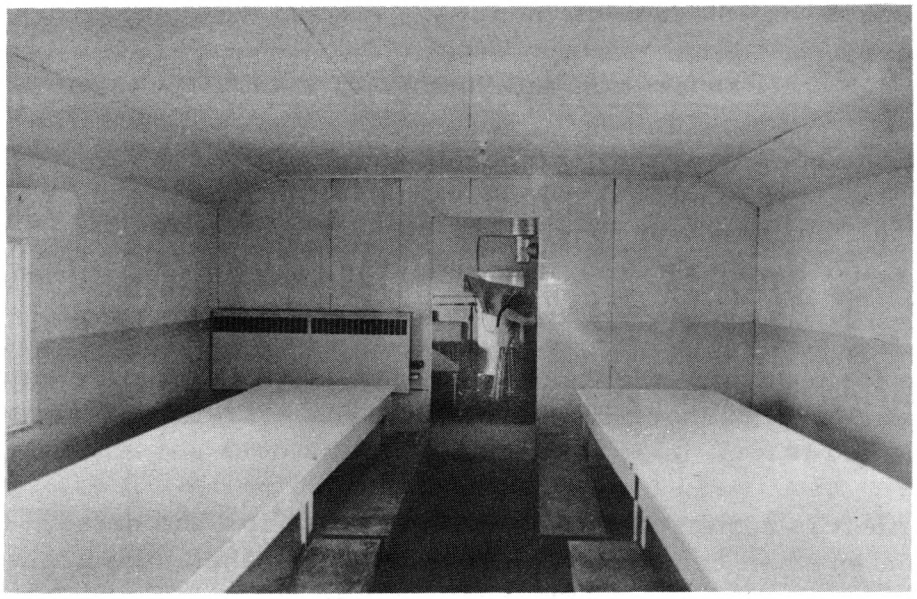
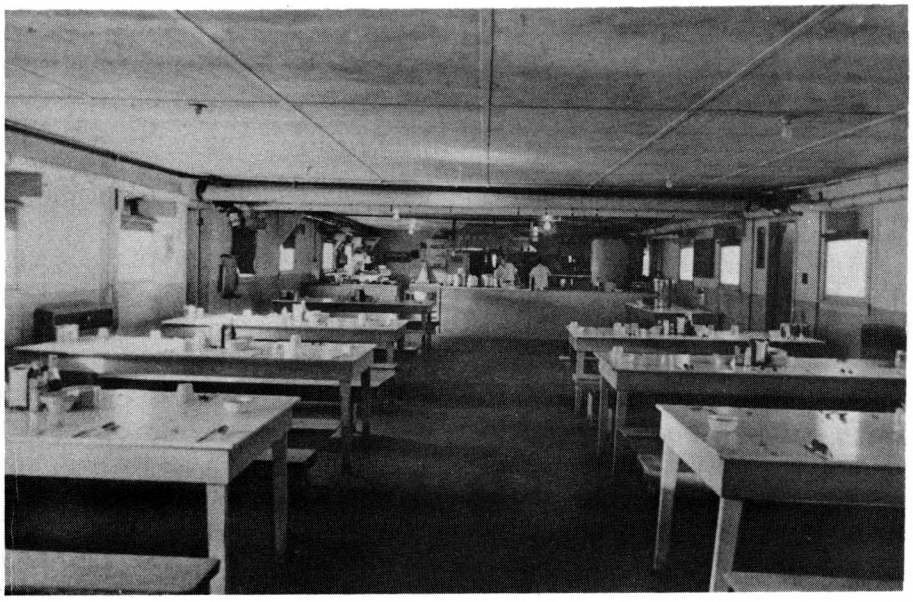
1. The Hudson's Bay Company had 5000 pounds of frozen beef flown in to Rankin Inlet during the month of January 1958. Sales were good in the balance of January, February, and March, but in April they fell off sharply. The store manager attributed the drop to the fact in April many of the local families began securing seal meat. At the time of this study, the store still had 1800 pounds on hand. It sold for 79¢ a pound.

PLATE 11



a. View of the Eskimo dining hall with tables cleared after noon meal.



b. View of white dining room with tables set for noon meal.

time, however no alcoholic beverages are made available to the Eskimo. This is not so of soft drinks. And sweets generally, have become very desirable from the Eskimo's point of view.[1] Between October, 1957 and May, 1958, the Eskimo completely exhausted the Hudson's Bay Company supply, 350 cases, 8,400 cans of "pop".

## Preparation and Storage of Food

When one considers the food purchasing habits of the Eskimo, it becomes increasingly evident that he buys those items that can be consumed immediately and entirely and requiring a minimum of preparation. As yet aside from Bannock, the Eskimo has not learned how to prepare the bulk of the whiteman's foods that are available to him.

Aside from drying, the Eskimo has few facilities for the storage of food once prepared. Bannock does not spoil, and everything else is boiled. Meat once cooked is kept in a closed pan, but this does not last indefinitely.

Raw meat is either cached or cut up into strips and dried. Fish are seldom eaten when caught. Usually they are cleaned, the heads cut off, the backbone removed to within a few inches of the tail and then turned inside out, and hung on lines to dry in the sun. The fillets are cut crosswise to prevent curling. It takes about 10 days to cure the Char. These dried fillets are very good, especially with butter on them. Wildfowl is usually skinned and boiled. Although roasting has been reported, we never witnessed any method of preparing meat save boiling. Even in the Eskimo cookery where ranges of sufficient size are available, the large cuts of beef are prepared only by boiling.

## Food Preferences, Hudson's Bay Company Store

As indicated above in the new economy, the Eskimo is become more and more dependent upon food purchases. The following table indicates their food preferences based upon stock handled and quantity of sales of the store at Rankin Inlet:

(1) Pilot biscuits - these are preferred. Vitaminized biscuits (sold only in bulk) are purchased as second choice usually when store has nothing left to substitute.

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1. The Hudson's Bay Company store sells on the average 36 candy bars (10¢ size) and about 12 packages of candy (25¢ size) a day. Average sale of gum is about 40 packages a day. In expectation of this demand, the store is stocking 14,000 candy bars for the period August 1958-1959.

(2) Newfoundland Sweetbreads - these are a fairly soft sweet rolled cookie preferred by the older people.

(3) Soda crackers - purchased only when Pilot biscuits are out of stock or at the end of the month when cash money is short.

(4) Ritz crackers - quite popular.

(5) Sweet biscuits - very popular, chocolate lines being most in demand.

(6) Raisins, prunes and dates - these are the most popular of the dehydrated fruits. They are eaten dry as a confectionary or put in bannock.

(7) White cane sugar - used almost exclusively. Very little yellow is sold and almost no icing sugar.

(8) Cheese products - rolled cheese in package is very popular. Cheese Whiz is purchased as a second choice.

(9) Eggs - popular when available.

(10) Fresh fruit - oranges are very much in demand. The Eskimo does not care for fresh apples, pears and other fruit.

(11) Fresh vegetables - these do not sell. The Eskimo is not partial to any vegetable that is not already prepared, and then only a few.

(12) Canned juices - great preference for orange juice. Apple juice is also purchased as are other blended varieties, but only so long as they are sweetened. Conversely the Eskimo does not like grapefruit juice.

(13) Lard - this is one of the basic necessities. It is employed for frying bannock.

(14) Butter - very popular when cash is plentiful. It is usually mixed with lard in frying bannock.

(15) Rolled oats - used as a breakfast food on occasion. Most of what is sold is mixed with seal oil and used as a dehydrated dog food.

(16) Dry cereals (boxed) - very popular, particularly the small variety packs. The Eskimo shows a decided preference for the roasted types of cereal. Rice Crispies are most desired. Also this is the most inexpensive type of cereal sold.

(17) Corn starch - hardly ever sold.

(18) Cake mixes - sold fairly regularly. Probably fried in a manner similar to the preparation of bannock.

(19) Rice - very little sold.

(20) Coconut - not very popular.

(21) Condiments - not greatly desired, however, H. P. Sauce, catsup, pepper and salt are sold periodically. Of these salt would be used the most.

(22) Pickles - sweet-mixed are desired, dill are not.

(23) Olives - very little demand.

(24) Flour - the one great staple - used in every household.

(25) Baking powder - also a necessity. It is mixed with flour to make bannock.

(26) Milk products - Klim is the popular brand. Very little Milko is sold. Of the fluid types, Carnation evaporated is used much more than Borden's condensed.

(27) Onions - an exception to the general dislike of vegetables. These are desired either fresh or in dehydrated form.

(28) Pablum - provided on the family allowance but usually not purchased.

(29) Kraft Dinner - very popular among Eskimo.

(30) Cocoa - despite preference for chocolate, very little is sold.

(31) Tea and coffee - both are popular. Purchases now are about equal.

(32) Instant coffee - purchased only as a second choice.

(33) Syrups - molasses is most popular. Put in bannock as a flavouring. Cane syrup and golden syrup are also popular. Honey is very popular when in stock.

(34) Peanut butter - very much in demand.

(35) Canned fruits - sliced oranges, plums, pears and fruit cocktail are very popular. Cherries, apricots, blueberries, strawberries and raspberries are not.

(36) Canned vegetables - tomatoes are most desired. Beets, mixed vegetables, creamed corn, green and yellow beans, and peas and carrots are usually not purchased.

(37) Canned fish - chicken haddie and sockeye salmon are most desired. Pink salmon is not popular, nor is shrimp and lobster. The latter two are extremely expensive.

(38) Canned meats - corned beef is very popular. Also desired are hamburger, meat balls, beef stew, and pork and beans. The Eskimo does not seem to prefer boneless chicken, however, he does like canned whole chickens. Pork products such as Klik, Spork, Prem, weiners, and sausages are not popular.

(39) Prepared soups - Lipton's dry soups are popular as are Campbell's liquid variety.

(40) Candy - very popular.

(41) Soft drinks - very popular. Orange flavour is the most desired. Root beer and cola are good second choices.

## Birth Practices

The following account of an Eskimo delivery indicates something of the nature of birth practices. In describing this delivery, we are not claiming that all Eskimo births are alike, but on the other hand certainly some aspects of the procedure, aside from the biological limitations of birth itself, would be more or less universal throughout the District of Keewatin. Furthermore, the social setting in which this event takes place and the individuals involved must have many characteristics in common.

Although midwifery as an occupational specialization has been reported for the Eskimo, our evidence indicates that there are no individuals acting in this capacity at the present time. In the several births of which we have knowledge the woman who acted as midwife was a close kin. Neighbours also stood by to assist if necessary.

The expectant mother had been examined by a physician several weeks before the onset of labour. Although her husband wanted her removed to Churchill, Manitoba (she had difficulties delivering her other two children) the doctor declined, predicting that this pregnancy was normal and parturition would follow without incident.

The junior author, a nurse, was called about 7:15 in the evening. The essentials are narrated in the first person. I had visited the patient several times during the later stages of her pregnancy. When she went into labour her husband requested my presence. Actually I consented more to observe than to assist.

When I arrived at his tent, their two children were there, the little girl munching on the contents of a small package of corn flakes, the little boy playing with a balloon the box contained. The expectant mother was on the sleeping platform sitting on her heels. She was supported in this position with the aid of two wooden ammunition cases. The mattress had been removed but the platform and supports were protected by a plastic tablecloth covered with a flannelette sheet.

At the time of my arrival, the labour pains were about 15 minutes apart. When the pains occured the patient would raise herself slightly, supporting most of the body weight at the wrists. After a few minutes, several neighbour women entered the tent and left at once taking the two children with them. I then began to arrange things for the delivery. To my surprise there was nothing provided for the new baby except half a can of Johnson's Baby Powder and a soiled blanket belonging to a younger child. I sent the husband to the Hudson's Bay Company store to secure some diapers and receiving blankets. Also I heated a pan of water on the primus stove to take the chill out of the tent. The husband returned and informed me that the midwife was at the motion picture show, but would be along shortly.

When the midwife appeared, it turned out to be his sister. During this time the expectant mother continued to kneel between the two boxes. About 10 PM the pains began coming more frequently, whereupon the patient assumed a partial knee-chest position. In this posture, she grunted and pushed down for about 20 minutes. She then resumed the kneeling position sitting on her heels, close to the edge of the sleeping platform. In this position the midwife, kneeling in front of her could assist by pushing on the patient's shoulders whenever she felt the urge to bear down. Meanwhile the husband, who had left to care for his children, returned and began pushing on his wife's shoulders. The midwife then assumed a sitting posture behind the primipara, clasped her arms around the patient and exerted a downward pressure with each pain. In this position the bag of water broke at 10:40 PM and the baby arrived with a thud on the sleeping platform at 11 PM, its body steaming in the cool night air.

The midwife did not want to use the 1/2" gauze packing I had brought with me for tying the cord. Rather she went to a nearby tent to get some sewing cotton for the purpose. When she returned she brought an assistant with her who after waiting for at least five more minutes tied off the cord, and cut it. She then tied it a second time with heavier linen line probably used for making nets. The cord bled slightly after only one ligature, and I wondered if the second was customary as a safety measure or employed only if the first did not seem to be sufficient.

The baby, a girl, was wiped free of blood and unhurriedly wrapped in a diaper and two blankets. I placed a hot water bottle behind its back and suctioned some of the mucous from its throat. The midwife and her assistant did not give the baby any other special attention. Employing a second piece of linen line, the cord which was attached to the placenta was tied off and the end fastened to the mother's leg.

For another 45 minutes the primipara sat on her heels waiting for the placenta to be expelled. It did not appear; during this time no attempt was made by the midwife to express the placenta. Finally I suggested that the patient lie down as she was obviously exhausted. In this position I began to gently squeeze the fundus but without results.

Immediately after the infant arrived, the tent was filled with well-wishers. When it became apparent that the after-birth was not going to come, the visitors departed. One of the old women took the new infant with her. This I was told was customary. Some of the women teased the little sister, who had returned to the tent with the family that was looking after her, they told her she would now have to give her bottle to her new little sister.

When the tent was quiet again, I asked the husband what the child's name was to be? Brother and sister presumably with the patient's acquisence, (she was too weak to take part in the discussion) decided it was to be the name of their mother's sister.

Although I worked for the remainder of the night and early morning, the after-birth was not delivered. Later that day, the patient was flown out to Churchill, Manitoba where she was treated for retained placenta.

It is worth mentioning here, that during the period of labour, interested females in the community entered the tent, visited with the patient and each other, smoked and drank tea if they desired. Throughout the labour and delivery, the midwife's two-year-old youngster slept contentedly in the pouch of its mother's garment.

## Personal Hygiene

By white standards, these people would be thought to be dirty. Most have never actually bathed. Indeed there are no facilities (except at the mine) for completely immersing the body in water. A few of the Eskimo men, both at the mine and the mill, take showers, but the majority do not. Eskimo may be seen now and then washing hands and face in the cold water of run-off streams. Just how much of the body is sponged off periodically is not known, however, if those appearing at the first-aid room, are representative, it is doubtful that much attention is given the unexposed parts of the body. Toe nails are rarely clipped, hair is usually very dirty (quite a number have lice), and all articles of clothing are badly in need of laundering. Almost every house has a clothes line, but facilities are inadequate to launder clothing properly. One gets the impression that many items of clothing are worn until they rot and then are thrown away and more purchased. The first aid attendant has arranged to have a washing machine in the infirmary. Normally he washes all the articles of clothing of hospitalized patients.

Head hair is clipped periodically. The style reveals the use of a bowl or other article as a form. Most men shave now and then, but since facial hair is inclined to be sparse, this is not usually a daily routine.

There appears to be a good deal of tooth brushing, considering the sale of tooth paste at the Hudson's Bay Company. However, tooth condition appears to be poor. This is probably because of the high carbohydrate diet and the extensive use of sugar.

The lack of proper washing procedures results in a fairly high incidence of boils. Soiled clothing is a very good medium for staphylococcus bacteria.

Owing to the high incidence of upper respiratory diseases, there is an almost continual nose snuffing. Noses are blown by holding the thumb and forefinger at the bridge, blowing hard, and then wiping the excess away with the fingers. Sleeves also work well. Because of almost continuous "running" noses, children develop a great deal of impetigo about the philtrum.

Very few women use commercial sanitary pads during menstruation. In the old days long haired caribou skin was usually employed, but of the women who have appeared in the first aid room most demonstrate no real concern for this periodic problem. A few merely place an old piece of blanket in the underwear, but most merely allow the underwear to become soiled.

In general people are extremely modest about exposing parts of the body. It is seldom you will see a shirt unbuttoned more than at the collar. Sleeves are never rolled up. This modesty can cause some difficulty in Eskimo adjustment to certain mining operations. One of the most difficult areas to find Eskimo employees for is the drier room in the Mill. The pay is low, and it is considered to be the breaking-in task. The men come to work in this hot milieu with all their clothes on and don't shed them. As a result they are very uncomfortable - complain of the heat and the task, and don't stay long.

Rules regarding elimination are governed by age and sex. Men urinate with little attention to modesty. Most merely turn their back to the closest person. Women are inclined to be more careful, although they are not averse to relieve themselves if the urge is great enough. Children are not cautioned about this at all. Defecation is another matter. Usually elimination of faeces takes place indoors, or if outdoors, well concealed. Both urine and faeces are disposed with the garbage each day.

## Narcotics and Stimulants

The only narcotic that is used is tobacco. It is employed by both sexes in fairly large quantities. Both men and women smoke pipes. Young people of both sexes begin smoking in their late teens.

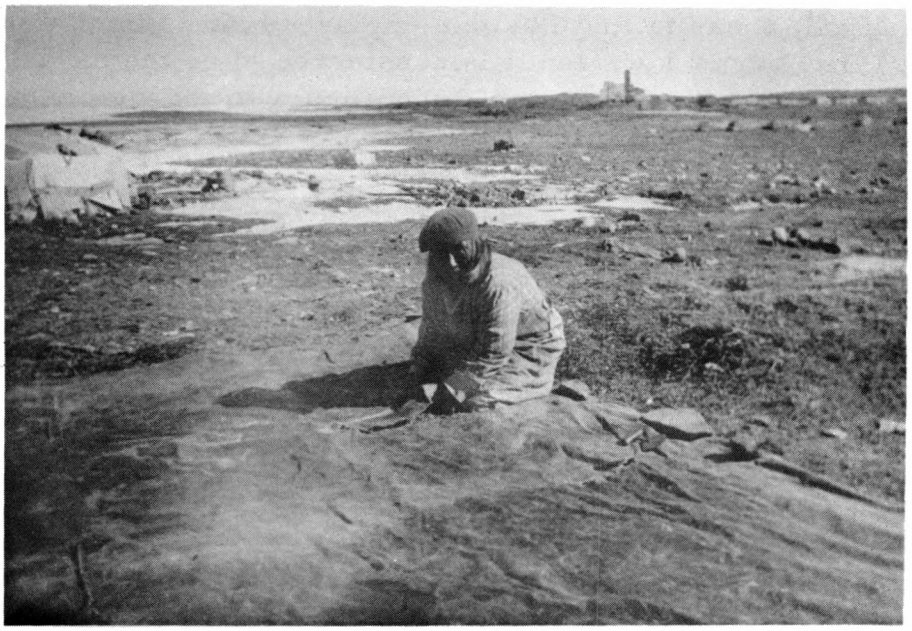
Cigarettes are by far the most popular. When money is plentiful, the Eskimo purchase the ready made popular brands. Otherwise they roll their own. On the other hand cigars are seldom smoked. Snuff is chewed. This seems unusual, and probably is a case of pure imitation because the mine superintendent chews snuff. No other tobacco products are chewed.

## Normal Garb

As to clothing, the normal garb consists of almost all white men's clothing. The whole body is covered, save for the head. Young children wear dresses and small trousers, usually with rubber boots. A small jacket may also be worn for additional warmth. In colder weather a stocking cap may be added, or a parka worn, and underneath long woolen underwear and several pairs of stockings.

Women usually wear several dresses, one over the other, long underwear (usually men's), and several pairs of stockings. They may wear a jacket or parka with this, but if they have a young child or toddler, they normally wear the woman's garment, which has a built-in pouch to carry the youngster. This is worn over the dress. A few women wear brassieres but none if they are nursing. Most women wear seal skin

PLATE 12



a. View of Kralalaq, the oldest Eskimo inhabitant. Dress is typical of Eskimo women at Rankin Inlet.

boots for foot gear in lieu of shoes. Only one or two wear store shoes at the present time. Berets are worn by young and old alike. See Plate 12a, page 76.

Men wear almost everything the white man wears. See Plate 12b, page 76. The only difference is that he may wear double of everything. Heavy underwear, and probably two pairs of trousers. His "good" clothing is often worn under the working pair. Boots (rubber or leather) are worn for foot gear. Caps purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store complete the outfit.

Women like some of the ornaments that may be purchased at the store. One of the more popular is a silver or gold headband to hold the hair in place.

For festive occasions, such as the monthly square dance, the women either braid the hair or comb it straight back with an intricate weaving of strands somewhat resembling a flower. These strands are held together and the weave secured with brightly coloured satin ribbons. Some lipstick and rouge is worn by the younger women.

# CHAPTER 7

## Labour and Wages

The concepts of "work" as a regimented activity and of labour as a commodity are largely foreign to the Eskimo. He has never organized his life according to sharply defined time periods, nor to the idea that every day must of necessity be like the previous one.

In terms of Eskimo-white relations, the Eskimo's difficulty to adjust to work routines is the chief complaint of white supervisors. When the Eskimo fails to "show up" for work it throws the highly integrated mine schedule completely out of cycle. This results in loss of production and a consequent loss of pay, particularly for the whites who are dependent upon the success of the mine. As yet the Eskimo has not completely identified himself with these objectives.

When the Eskimo does not appear for work he probably did not intend to remain away, rather it is that something more pressing intervened. This something may be relatives leaving or arriving from Chesterfield Inlet, nets to tend, seal to hunt, or a report that Caribou have been seen in the vicinity. It is doubtful that this is calculated absenteeism. Rather it is simply that the Eskimo does not as yet conceive of himself as a necessary part of this enterprise nor does he recognize the need for regimentation. In many ways, it seemed to us that most of the Eskimo at Rankin Inlet are merely putting in time, passively and disinterestedly.

As to occupational specialization, there are few activities performed that can be considered remnants of the old culture. A few men still make their own gill nets, but they secure the raw materials for these from the Hudson's Bay Company. Also some women engage in a small manufacture of sealskin items such as pin cushions, hats, and so forth which they sell to white mine personnel. One woman had made a doll which she tried unsuccessfully to sell on several occasions. See Plate 10b, page 64.

A few men carve employing both ivory and steatite. Almost all of this is done to order. Thus if a white is able to secure a walrus tusk he contracts with a carver to make a cribbage board or some other item. Steatite carvings are usually restricted to ash trays and bookends. No doubt a larger carving industry would develop were it not for the fact that local sources of steatite are of very poor quality, hence restricting the range of expression to geometric figures.

There are roughly two categories of labour, skilled and unskilled. Most of the latter are included in the surface labour crew which numbers some 30 men. The average wage as indicated on page 82 is 75¢ per hour. Also it should be noted that when a man is placed in another position where ultimately he may increase his hourly wage, his on-th-job training rate remains 75¢ until in the opinion of mine administration his proficiency has

increased to warrant an increase.

In the history of this operation the first Eskimo hired were placed on the surface labour crew. Most of these have advanced to better jobs, but it is this crew that contains those Eskimo who either cannot or do not wish to achieve skilled employment. It is our impression that most of the surface labour crew are not motivated to "do better," from the point of view of the mine. None of this group live in the new Eskimo settlement and on the whole there is not much doubt that they identify themselves least with the mining project. Many of them would leave if they had some other place to go.

Of skilled labour, there are several categories. Once the Eskimo had "proved" himself on the surface the mine sought to utilize this local labour supply in more skilled tasks. Eskimo were asked if they wished to make more money and work in the mine. Several volunteered and they began underground work. Nowadays, Eskimo perform three specific jobs, mucker, cage tender, and deckman. These tasks may be described as follows: Muckers are men who have been trained how to operate the air driven mucking machines which load the loose ore into steel cars. These cars are then taken to the lift and hoisted to the crusher house. While the hoist is operated by a white employee the two cages that take the miners and ore cars to and from the surface are tended by Eskimo. This is a complicated operation because the hoist is controlled by a series of signals (bells) which indicate to the operator whether the cage is to be raised or lowered and where it is to stop. The deckman takes the loaded cars from the cage and empties their contents into a bin above the crusher.

The mine are anxious to train Eskimo in a fourth task in the mine that of drilling. To date only white drillers have been employed. This is because this occupation requires considerable experience. Not only does it entail a knowledge of powder and its use but also how to operate drifting equipment in such a way that among other things they avoid touching drill holes which may have unexploded powder charges in them. No doubt in several years some muckers will have acquired enough experience to act as drillers. Already, in fact, one sometimes acts as a driller's helper.

The last phase of the mine operator which Eskimo were employed was in the mill. Here again there are a number of skilled tasks to perform. The breaking-in position is in the drier room, and if a man "survives" this he is usually promoted to a more desirable task as opportunity permits.

In addition to these large areas of Eskimo employment, Eskimo have learned carpentry, steam fitting, and plumbing. None work in the assay office, the storeroom, the administrative office, the engineering department, the power house, or the machine shop.

## Wages and Salaries

By northern standards the wages paid the Eskimo are low. During the construction of the DEW Line, some companies paid as high as $12.00 per day minimum, the lowest $7.00. The mine pays $6.00. The mine's justification for this low wage has been fringe benefits, but these are more apparent than real. About the only real fringe they get is free medical care, and while this is good intentioned it does not amount to much. Aside from penicillin shots which are dispensed altogether too freely there are no adequate medical services available. True there is an infirmary with several beds. If a patient is hospitalized they get free meals, but again this is not much. The first-aid room has no x-ray equipment, no blood plasma, no drugs to speak of, and no competent medical personnel. No one at Rankin Inlet is presently qualified to diagnose and treat the range of illnesses which are listed in Chapter 3.

There is little else that is "free" in this wage structure. Residents of the new settlement pay the equivalent of $30.00 per month rent on each house. This is apportioned somehow between the families which the mine lists in each house. As residence sometimes change without notice it is difficult to understand how these charges are apportioned equitably. While rent on these houses includes power, each family has to buy oil from the mine for the stoves, and furthermore the mine is deducting back-payments due on the stoves which they installed when these houses were built.

Something of a "fringe" applies to the matter of charges for eating in the Eskimo cookery. To defray these costs the mine have established the following policy. All Eskimo personnel who earn less than $1.00 per hour do not pay board for their noon meal. However, the company does not pay it either. Rather they charge "what the traffic will bear." That is they charge those Eskimo employees making good monthly wages a larger amount than they would pay if the board bill was evenly distributed among those who eat regularly at noon. There is this to be said in the company's favour. In no instance does the board bill compare in cost to that paid by the white personnel. As will be seen if one examines the tables included in this chapter, showing the wage structure for the months of March, May, June and July, Eskimo board deductions rarely exceed $25.00 per month. White personnel on the other hand, though not shown in these tables pay an average of $75.00 per month. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Eskimo's meals are by no means as elaborate as those served in the white dining room.

Recently the mine has established a health plan. The provisions of which are outlined in "Canada's Health and Welfare." According to the article:

"The plan will take care of all residents within a radius of 10 miles from the mine. This enables all dependents of mine employees, local Eskimos, Government employees and other residents to benefit. The plan operates on a monthly subscription basis. Subscribers, after a medical examination to determine any pre-existing conditions (which are covered by the plan if treated at Rankin Inlet), are eligible by payment to the company of the first month's premium in advance. Monthly premium rates are as follows: company employees $3.50 for each person; other adults, including wives and dependents over 18 years of age or other single persons - $3.50 each; and dependent children (18 years of age or under) $1.00 each".[1]

This is an expensive plan, particularly since with the present ratio of approximately 5 Eskimo for every white, the Eskimo contributions will doubtless carry the expense of the program. In some instances the cost per Eskimo family could be approximately $16.00 per month. In others, where there are no children (which is rare) it might be only $8.00. Every effort should be made by personnel of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to ascertain and insure that the wage scale at Rankin Inlet has been substantially increased now that these so-called "fringes" have been eliminated. It might be added that under the Plan the Indian and Northern Health Services have agreed to pay the premiums of indigent Eskimo.[2]

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1. "Rankin Inlet Health Insurance Plan, "Canada's Health and Welfare, Vol. 15, No. 3, March, 1960, p.4.

2. Although hypothetical, let us see what the limits of this plan would have been had it been in force during the summer of 1958. Let us assume that the total population was enrolled in the plan. This was found to be roughly 427 individuals. (See Chapter 3.) Of this total, 332 are Eskimo and 95 are white. Of the Eskimo population we have calculated that 179 would have been 18 years of age or less, hence "children" and 153 would by definition be "adult." In the white population there are 91 adults and 4 children. If then we multiply the number of adult Eskimo times $3.50 (the cost per adult per month), we get a figure of $535.50. If we add to this the number of Eskimo children times $1.00 we get a figure of $179.00. Thus the Eskimo's total contribution per month would be $614.50.

   If next we calculate the same figures for the white population we get $31.85 as the adult monthly premiums and an additional $4.00 for children. The total white contribution per month would be only $35.85. We would hope considering that the Eskimo's wage is low to begin with that the relative contribution of the two groups would be more equitable than these limits suggest they might be.

Wages paid at the mine range from a minimum of 75¢ an hour for unskilled labour to $1.90 in the mine and $2.00 in the mill for skilled labour. The following table will aid in showing the distribution of skilled and unskilled labour and the wage differential:

| Occupation | Number | Wage |
|---|---|---|
| Surface: | | |
| Labourer | 18 | .75 |
| Labourer | 11 | 1.00 |
| Labourer | 1 | 1.25 |
| Equipment Operator | 3 | 1.50/1.75[1] |
| Plumber's Helper | 1 | 1.00 |
| Plumber | 1 | 1.50 |
| Carpenter's Helper | 3 | 1.25 |
| Mill: | | |
| Crusher Helper | 3 | .75 |
| Crusher Helper | 2 | 1.25 |
| Crusher Operator | 1 | 2.00 |
| Pebble Mill Helper | 1 | .75 |
| Rod Mill Helper | 1 | 1.00 |
| Filter Operator | 4 | 1.50 |
| Drier Helper | 1 | .75 |
| Mill Helper | 1 | 1.00 |
| Oiler and Greaser | 1 | 1.35 |
| Mine: | | |
| Deck man | 1 | .75 |
| Deck man | 4 | 1.00 |
| Cage Tender | 4 | 1.00 |
| Cage Tender | 1 | 1.25 |
| Cage Tender | 2 | 1.75 |
| Mucker | 1 | 1.00 |
| Mucker | 1 | 1.50 |
| Mucker | 5 | 1.90 |

1. Wage varies in some cases depending upon what piece of equipment they are operating.

Other work categories are as follows. The Eskimo labour foreman is salaried. He makes $300.00 per month. Also salaried are the staff house attendant who makes $175.00 and the watchman who receives $250.00 per month. Four Eskimo women are employed in the kitchen of the Eskimo cookery. They receive a wage of $4.00 per day. A young Eskimo lad who is a helper in the white dining room is paid 75¢ per hour.

Deductions from wages earned consist of taxes, rent (if living in the new settlement), board (only if your wage is $1.00 or more [1]), stores (charges for oil for cooking and heating stoves), accounts receivable (for unpaid debts to the mine), and air freight charges (for items larger than letters such as Eaton's packages, etc.).

## Average Income

The gross and net incomes for all Eskimo employees for the months of March, May, June and July, 1958 are shown in Appendix 1. These should be examined carefully as they contain much more information than can possibly be summarized here. We can, however, easily breakdown the average net income per month per occupational specialization. This will serve to indicate for comparative purposes the differences between income earned by skilled trades, the relative wage differential of each category, mine and mill.

The monthly net income for the unskilled Eskimo workers at Rankin Inlet is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: Highest net income | $210.53 |
| | | Lowest net income | $ 31.38 |
| | | Mean | $134.79 |
| | | Standard deviation | $ 45.44 |
| May | - | Range: Highest net income | $235.59 |
| | | Lowest net income | $ 19.13 |
| | | Mean | $119.69 |
| | | Standard deviation | $ 56.52 |
| June | - | Range: Highest net income | $257.54 |
| | | Lowest net income | $ 9.50 |
| | | Mean | $108.28 |
| | | Standard deviation | $ 55.93 |

1. During the month of March, 1958 even men earning 75¢ per hour were charged board if they ate in the Eskimo cookery.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $167.23 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 24.75 |
| | | Mean | | $112.31 |
| | | Standard deviation | | $ 45.80 |

The monthly net income for skilled Eskimo labourers is as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: | Highest net income | $592.08 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $114.98 |
| | | Mean | | $227.58 |
| | | Standard deviation | | $ 97.41 |
| May | - | Range: | Highest net income | $453.68 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $132.56 |
| | | Mean | | $246.36 |
| | | Standard deviation | | $ 90.14 |
| June | - | Range: | Highest net income | $556.83 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 54.86 |
| | | Mean | | $229.51 |
| | | Standard deviation | | $123.17 |
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $484.73 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 85.93 |
| | | Mean | | $240.01 |
| | | Standard deviation | | $ 97.31 |

The following tables indicate the net incomes for Eskimo in the skilled trades:

Muckers:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: | Highest net income | $592.08 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $175.60 |
| | | Mean | | $294.43 |
| May | - | Range: | Highest net income | $447.35 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $175.60 |
| | | Mean | | $345.67 |
| June | - | Range: | Highest net income | $556.83 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $196.00 |
| | | Mean | | $417.95 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $484.73 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $234.02 |
| | | Mean | | $345.81 |

Cage Tenders

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: | Highest net income | $372.16 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $141.62 |
| | | Mean | | $219.06 |
| May | - | Range: | Highest net income | $357.93 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $156.93 |
| | | Mean | | $242.41 |
| June | - | Range: | Highest net income | $332.85 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $122.47 |
| | | Mean | | $206.11 |
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $404.77 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $155.58 |
| | | Mean | | $276.04 |

Deckmen

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: | Highest net income | $203.79 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $128.63 |
| | | Mean | | $171.94 |
| May | - | Range: | Highest net income | $194.53 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $179.93 |
| | | Mean | | $185.39 |
| June | - | Range: | Highest net income | $216.21 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $108.18 |
| | | Mean | | $157.54 |
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $224.28 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 95.49 |
| | | Mean | | $178.45 |

The wages of mill workers, with the exception of one crusher operator who receives $2.00 per hour, range between 75¢ and $1.50. Because there are so many specialized trades in the mill involving sometimes only one individual in each category, it would not be meaningful to breakdown the incomes for each occupational title. Therefore, we have "lumped" all the monthly net incomes for all mill workers, except the crusher operator noted above, in the following table. If desired, his income may be ascertained by referring to the complete income tabulation sheets shown above.

Mill Workers

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | - | Range: | Highest net income | $280.08 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $105.50 |
| | | Mean | | $165.33 |
| May | - | Range: | Highest net income | $292.43 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $106.88 |
| | | Mean | | $199.47 |
| June | - | Range: | Highest net income | $251.65 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 75.38 |
| | | Mean | | $176.17 |
| July | - | Range: | Highest net income | $266.90 |
| | | | Lowest net income | $ 85.93 |
| | | Mean | | $176.91 |

## Expenditures

How is income spent by the Rankin Inlet Eskimo? In order to derive some idea, we ran something of a spot-check during the month of July. Five families were chosen. They ranged in size from 9 to 5 members. As to residence, two lived in the new Eskimo settlement, three in the old. In the event deme affiliation was an influence on buying habits, we chose one family from Eskimo Point, three from Chesterfield Inlet, and one family from Repulse Bay.

At the outset let us state that the results are far from satisfactory. At best they are only suggestive and in our opinion merely indicate the crudest kind of information. Obviously what is required is a thorough-going study of Eskimo buying habits over at least a period of a full year.

Aside from the small number of families sampled, and the limiting of the period of the investigation to one month, there are several other reasons for the inadequacy of the data. In the first place, for the entire period covered in this report, the Hudson's Bay Company store was practically sold out of its regular stock. And during the month of July, when this survey was made, the store was virtually empty of all but its dry goods. And these too were in short supply. Thus the buying records do not reflect the normal consumption habits of the Eskimo population. They bought what they could, not necessarily what they desired.

Secondly, the records kept by the Hudson's Bay Company employees, were in many instances recorded from memory. Also because detailed purchases are not recorded, and furthermore because of bookkeeping problems at the time, it was not possible for us to secure further information.

Despite these inadequacies, several patterns did emerge. In this new milieu, purchases are made every three or four days. As indicated above, the store is strategically located between the two Eskimo settlements. Also because Eskimo women are almost daily visitors to the store, they buy almost every day. Small purchases invariably indicate purchases by the women of the household, while large purchases usually reveal the husband's presence.

As to commodities purchased, without exception, every family purchased at least one 50 lb. bag of flour per month. The other ingrediants for making bannock, the Eskimo's staple, were purchased several times during each month. These include baking powder, lard, and occasionally when available, butter. In addition, each family purchased quantities of tea, coffee, canned or dry milk, whatever brand of biscuits were available, sugar and some tinned foods, especially meats. Tobacco products were also in demand, particularly cigarettes.

Aside from these "essentials" the remainder of their purchases were for clothing and equipment, the latter predominating. These include work gloves, boots, batteries, parts for stoves and lamps, ammunition, and hardware.

The estimated expenditures[1] of these five families are as follows. In order to provide some comparison of income to expenditure, we have included the net income for the month of July as well as the total estimated purchases.

| Family | Estimated Expenditures | Net Income July |
|---|---|---|
| A | $173.25 | $ 95.49 |
| B | $171.46 | $234.18 |
| C | $ 58.15 | $199.68 |
| D | $137.15 | $224.28 |
| E | $ 54.59 | $167.23 |

1. Because prices charged were not recorded along with the record of items purchased by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company store, it was necessary for us to estimate their cost for our list of store prices. It may be of interest to note that some items sell for about the same amount as those on local counters, while others, particularly foodstuffs may be as much as 50% more.

About all that these estimated expenditures indicate is that at least for the month of July, 1958, the Eskimo families sampled did not, with one exception, spend more than they received. Also if these figures can be accepted as representative, it probably means that the Eskimo at Rankin Inlet generally receives a sufficient income to permit him to purchase the essentials with little difficulty. However, the more important questions remain. What does the Eskimo do with his income if he has at his disposal an almost unlimited supply of "desirable" goods? Also, how much more does the Eskimo need to receive to bring his standard of living within reach of the whites at Rankin Inlet?

# CHAPTER 8

## SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE

There are a number of points which we wish to consider in this chapter. The most significant of these can best be stated as follows: (1) Though change is taking place at Rankin Inlet, that which has occurred to date has not been particularly destructive to the principles underlying the Eskimo's socio-cultural system, and (2) unless steps are taken to involve the Eskimo in the life of this community and thereby halt the process of social segregation which now almost completely precludes the possibility of any real Eskimo-white interaction, the Eskimo will never achieve the status of a "first-class citizen."

First, let us consider change. It is true, of course, that in a milieu such as characterizes this mining operation the material manifestations of Eskimo culture would have little chance of surviving. However, the disappearance of "material culture" had begun long before the shaft was sunk at this Arctic outpost. The nickel mine and other such ventures are merely in the process of completing a trend (no doubt irreversible) which began with concerted white contact in the nineteenth century.

At Rankin Inlet, one is immediately struck by the absence of things "Eskimo." The people no longer harpoon seals: they shoot them with rifles, if at all. In the event of illness, an angukuk no longer searches out a man's soul or grapples with a pathogenic agent. Rather nowadays, the Eskimo resorts to the use of aspirin tablets or penicillin in the hands of the first-aid attendant. Eskimo no longer use the kayak to pursue sea mammals or rescue a stolen betrothed as in "The Wedding of Palau." The canvas-covered freight canoe, powered with an outboard engine, now has completely replaced this once graceful craft. Indeed, there is not a single kayak in use on the entire west side of Hudson Bay. And we are told, only a frame can still be seen at Chesterfield Inlet.

Sledges, while still employed, are not so frequently seen as in years gone by. Hunting has become less and less crucial to survival. So too, the number of teams has been materially reduced. Not more than ten dog teams were seen during the early summer, and of these only three or four were complete or capable of making a long journey. The Eskimo is not romantic. In this new economy he finds it difficult to hunt even if game is plentiful. Under these conditions, he sees no reason to spend his wages securing food for dogs he no longer needs.

For those who still desire to exploit the land when the opportunity arises, interest has been shown in the use of a one-man snow scooter. This is a gasoline-engine powered vehicle that has a tractor tread in the rear and a ski attached to a handle bar in front. The rider sits on a seat

and steers the scooter in the desired direction. With the possibility of permanent employment, such devices are within reach of the wage-earning Eskimo. With this vehicle, a man wishing to trap could make long sorties into the back country on weekends or shift and still return to the community in time to appear for work.

The snow house and skin tent are also gone, and with them most of the accouterments that were necessary for survival when the Eskimo depended solely upon hunting and trapping. Even the traditional dress is gone save for the amau, the woman's garment, which is still eminently practical in a land where baby carriages could not be pushed even if the Hudson's Bay Company carried such items as regular stock.[1]

In religion also, a number of overt changes have taken place. Yet here the differences are not so pronounced. While the old ritual observances having to do with the concept of the immortality of game now appear to be virtually extinct, nonetheless, it is difficult to determine to what extent these and other beliefs have been revised in the mind of the Eskimo and reinterpreted in his "Christianity."

Today, the Eskimo is a nominal Christian. As noted above, he attends church regularly (much more so than whites), but it is doubtful that he has by any means embraced the substance and implications of Christian doctrine. Certainly his Christian teaching has not prepared him to consider objectively the world in which he lives. Yet in our own milieu, it is precisely Christianity which has done this -- not in a "negative" or "Malinowskian" manner,[2] but in a "positive" way through the rational development of ideas.[3] Indeed, this is the crux of the present argument between the various secular agencies, particularly the government, and the church. It is the fact that the latter chose to restrict its attention solely to conversion - and in so doing failed to expose the Eskimo to the larger cultural milieu which supports Christianity in our midst - that has invited so much criticism.

It should also be born in mind that the Eskimo does not necessarily live by the code of Christian morality. That he behaves in ways similar to Christian teaching is due in part to what Kluckhohn would call his

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1. The Hudson's Bay Company stocks tricycles and has sold a few though there are no roads upon which they can be ridden with ease.
2. Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion, and other Essays, New York, Anchor Books, 1948.
3. Charles Coulston Gillispie, The Edge of Objectivity: An Essay in the History of Scientific Ideas, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, N.J., 1960.

"common humanity,"[1] and in part to the nature of his social system and his cultural values. His rules of behaviour - the sanctions both negative and positive which govern Eskimo interpersonal behaviour - are rooted in traditional mores. Quite probably, also, even his present practice of monogamy is much more a function of economics than a desire to imitate Western morality.

In the Canadian Arctic, acculturative influences have always operated in a highly selective manner. It is quite apparent, when one considers the history of Eskimo-white contact, that the traditional agents of change - the church, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police - have each in their own unique way tried to avoid disrupting Eskimo life. For this reason, they themselves remained separate. Not only was there a complete lack of common jurisdiction, but also on many posts the several representatives of these agencies chose to avoid one another. Indeed, if some of the reports are accurate, one gets the impression that the usual situation was one of animosity rather than cordiality.

This desire to avoid disrupting the life of the Eskimo is still prominent today. Certainly, as we shall see, the policy of the mining company is a highly protective one. Also, the government seems to be under the impression that the Eskimo can be made a "first-class citizen" and remain an "Eskimo". The retention of Eskimo culture while developing the north, is one of the explicit policy objectives of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Recently as a demonstration of this point of view, this governmental department has instituted a publication called "Eskimo" which is written in syllabics by Eskimo for Eskimo. The purpose of it is to develop a literature (similar to what has emerged in Greenland), and thereby "retain" Eskimo culture. It would seem almost impossible that an oral tradition might be expressed in a medium that is totally alien to its "format", and one incidentally that is also extremely limited in its capacity for expression. Furthermore, one can seriously question how it is possible or feasible for a governmental agency to educate a people in the retention of its "culture". Surely, if a culture has to be "saved" it has ceased to have much meaning or vitality, and in any case cannot remain viable.

Readers of this report will generally be familiar with the trinity of acculturative influences which in the past have each in their own sphere of activity pulled the Eskimo now one way, now the other. The respective roles of these agencies in the District of Keewatin is well known and has been the subject of numerous studies. Some of these have been objective, others decidedly biased. While on the subject, a good example of the latter is Farley Mowat's recent book, The Desperate People.[2] This book

1. Clyde Kluckhohn, "Common Humanity and Diverse Culture," in The Meaning of the Social Sciences, ed. by Daniel Lerner, New York, Meridian Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 245-284.
2. Farley Mowat, The Desperate People, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1959.

does not merit a comment were it not for the fact that in many quarters it represents a serious piece of research, and by implication contains the solution to the problems of the Eskimo.[1] Throughout its pages, this self-styled "Eskimophile" leaves no stone unthrown at the old order. Contrariwise, he has nothing but praise for the mine and new agencies in the north. Unfortunately, his powers of objectivity are not matched by his emotional fervour. Thus in exposing the "guilty" he proceeds to use whatever brand of logic best suits his needs. This is well brought out in Frank Vallee's review of Mowat's book. Here Vallee writes:

> "To a great extent the current problems of the Eskimo are the unintended consequences of innovations - such as the rifle and trap line - which altered not only the balance of nature but also the social and economic base of Eskimo society. I find it curious, therefore, that the organization which was most responsible for introducing these changes, the Hudson's Bay Company, is let off lightly. In fact, their impulsion by the profit motive apparently absolves them of much of the blame... The case of the mission is not examined on the basis of the same logic. That they should be impelled by the desire to save souls and let this objective determine the means of dealing with the Eskimo does not absolve them. Is it fair to assume in retrospect that the missions should have been responsible for the education of the Eskimo, then assess their efforts primarily in terms of how they handled this responsibility?"[2]

Intervening in each of the spheres of influence of these traditional agencies and establishing a new administrative dimension as well are the several representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. These administrators represent a well-organized and aggressive unit of the government that is, among other things, charged with maintaining the welfare of the Eskimo. There is not much doubt that often these men find themselves in serious dilemmas, not only with respect to their ability to interpret at the local level the directives from Ottawa, but also with respect to their roles vis-a-vis those of the traditional agents with whom they are continually in contact.

Almost everyone who has been in the Canadian Arctic has reported bits and pieces - personal evaluations and anecdotes - indicating the conflicts of interests in which these whites find themselves. Recently, Dunning[3] has attempted to analyse the roles of white agents at northern

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1. A more accurate title for this book would have been "The Still Desperate People."
2. Frank Vallee, "The Art of Northmanship," The Waterloo Review, No. 5, Summer, 1960, p. 76.
3. R.W. Dunning, "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada," Human Organization, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1959, pp. 117-122.

outposts through his concept of the "marginal man." His formulation of the problem in our opinion is lacking both in rigour and objectivity. Also, one is hard pressed to conceive of how it is possible for his "man" to be "marginal" to a parent society as heterogeneous as the one which now characterizes urban Canada.

On the other hand, no one will seriously quarrel with his general thesis that in the north some whites (those in power positions) behave in ways that bear close resemblance to the behaviour of psychiatrically diagnosed "authoritarian personalities" in larger centers of population. Dunning leaves little doubt that, for him, it is the "authoritarian personality" who seeks out positions of authority and control in the northern outpost. Surely, a generalization of this kind needs empirical support, and he has none to offer. One could just as easily argue, and indeed the position seems logically the more cogent, that it is the social situation in the small northern community which "causes" the individual to behave in an "authoritarian" manner, and not the other way around. At any rate, the question needs to be explored much more fully, and in the absence of reliable data we are unable to do more here.

A new personality in the arctic is the white industrialist. At Rankin Inlet, he is the mine superintendent. This individual represents a new kind of authority. His strength is derived from the necessity of maintaining a profitable business venture. He is supported in this by a national feeling of desire to see the north developed. This is Canada's future. At Rankin Inlet, the mine operates with the knowledge that this investment "must" in so many words be a going concern. Certainly there are political implications involved--not only from the point of view of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, but also as a part of national policy and the development of the north as a campaign commitment of the Diefenbaker Government. Nor we might add, is the Northern Miner, the trade journal of Canadian mining interests, oblivious to the publicity value of this unique "experiment" in Canada's northland.

Because potentially so much seems to "ride" on the success of this venture, the mine gives the impression of exerting pressure in areas where normally private enterprise might find it difficult to do so. Whether the mining company actually possesses this power at high levels is, in many ways, quite beside the point. The fact remains that at the local level they operate as though they do -- and to date, they have been very convincing about it. No individual at Rankin Inlet is able to avoid being placed in a position of obligation to the company. Since, in the last analysis, they control everything, no one can escape and act as a completely free agent. The pressures that are employed are often extremely subtle but nonetheless ultimately clear and extremely effective. It is not surprising then, that the mine superintendent is an absolute authority. What he says goes, and often he reminds members of the community to this effect. And go it must,

for the weight of his decision, if challenged on other grounds, is the weight of the mining operation itself. And this no one dare contest.

As far as the present superintendent is concerned, the mine runs well and so does the community. But it runs the way he wants it to run -- not the way the community might desire were they given the opportunity to direct it themselves. And though the superintendent is genuinely interested in the Eskimo and their welfare, he is nonetheless not averse to making highly autocratic decisions which, while effective in the short run, involve implications that may ultimately result in serious difficulties. No doubt too, on many occasions he oversteps the limits of his legal authority -- whatever that may be.

There is no doubt that the Eskimo has made a success of this venture as far as he is concerned with it. The problem as we see it lies in the fact that the Eskimo's success is highly equivocal. Because of a policy of protectionism which the mine has adopted - and the government has not objected to - the Eskimo is being denied the capacity to participate in the life of this community. At Rankin Inlet, the Eskimo is being trained to be a labourer -- not a citizen. Those Eskimo that are frugal, hard-working, punctual, and co-operative, are in the eyes of the mine "desirable." Those who do not readily adjust or who do not pay attention to orders, or who malinger, are rejected and forced to leave the community.

An even more sinister implication of this segregation is the assumption on the part of the mine and others in business and government that, as a wage-earner, the Eskimo is automatically a "first-class citizen" and a responsible member of the community. Witness again Farley Mowat, who in describing the employment of Eskimo by the mine writes:

> "Here, and for the first time in the history of the Canadian arctic, Eskimo employees in a white enterprise were being treated as men in the full meaning of the word. Beginning with a handful of local Eskimos who asked for employment, and who were given the simplest tasks on a trial basis, the Eskimos had, in a matter of two years, almost taken over the operation of the mine, and in so doing had displayed powers of adaptation and of intelligence which once and for all have given the lie to the contention that the Innuit are an inferior and backward people who must be protected from the impact of the modern world. In two years, more than sixty families, embracing about two hundred and fifty Eskimos, who had never previously experienced any society more complex than that of seal hunters and fox trappers, had overleapt the barriers of

time and had become competent, and contented members of the society which dominates the Western world."[1]

Had Mowat remained in the community somewhat longer than his two short visits during the summer of 1958 (one in July for about fourteen hours, the other for two days in August) he might not be so prone to making unwarranted assumptions. For contrary to what Mowat says, the Eskimo is not a part "of the society which dominates the Western world." There is no real Eskimo-white social interaction of any kind. Even in the work situation, there is practically none -- if for no other reason than a language barrier.

Most whites at Rankin Inlet have absolutely no idea of how the Eskimo lives. White personnel are forbidden to enter the Eskimo settlement without the permission of the superintendent, and any Eskimo woman who seems at all "familiar" is warned by the mine. In several instances, the Northern Service Officer was forced to remove these "undesirables" from the community.

Nor is there any family interaction either. Only mission personnel are permitted to visit Eskimo in their homes, and they the missions. Aside from this kind of interaction, Eskimo never visit whites. The only Eskimo that have seen the inside of the staff houses are those women that also work as domestics.

To this should be added the fact that Eskimo and white neither eat together at the mine nor attend moving pictures in one another's company. The majority of Eskimo, except for the one or two who live in the staff house, eat in a separate dining room where the food is prepared by Eskimo women who are hired for this purpose by the mine. Whites attend movies in the recreation room on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings; Eskimo on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

There is clearly a form of caste system in operation here, and while some of its motivation is protection of the integrity of the Eskimo family (there is a fear of miscegination on the part of the whites; the Eskimo have not been asked what they think about it), the end result is a milieu in which the Eskimo has his sphere of activities and the white's theirs. Between the two, no opportunity arises to learn to live together and to share a common social existence. Thus, while the Eskimo is realizing wages (albeit in many cases wages that are too low), he is not at the same time realizing social equality. The Eskimo is kept to himself, and aside from keeping him as healthy as possible under the circumstances, there is little other interest shown in his welfare by the rank and file of the white settlement.

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1. Mowat, op. cit., pp. 284-85.

In a social milieu of this character, it is not strange then that the Eskimo has thus far failed to develop any sense of self-direction. He does what he is told to do, not necessarily what he may wish to do. In fact, his wishes are never sounded one way or the other.

No doubt there is a great need for the development of councils in which the Eskimo will be encouraged to consider matters that affect his welfare and in which, along with white men who hold positions of authority in the community, there can be a sharing of opinion. But that the exchange of ideas in settings of this kind can be effective is overshadowed by the fact that in a single-industry town site like Rankin Inlet, there is not much latitude for making decisions which would in any way alter the efficiency or effectiveness of the mining operation. For, regardless of how the Eskimo might feel about working conditions, it is highly unlikely that the mine would entertain changes in its policy or production schedule unless it were forced to under penalty of law. Already the mining company has indicated (unofficially) that they are unalterably opposed to any form of unionization of the Eskimo.

Again, there is little wonder that the Eskimo also lacks an effective leadership pattern. There are no spokesmen among the Eskimo. The labour foreman at times indicates that he conceives of himself in this role, but for the most part his lot is not a happy one. He indicated to us that when the resettlement project was built at Whale Cove he and his wife were going to move there. The position of the Eskimo labour foreman is very similar to that of a foreman in industry. The latter finds himself somewhere between "management" and "labour"; the former finds himself neither accepted by the whites nor by the Eskimo. He uses the back door of the superintendent's home. To the mine, the labour foreman is an informant. To the non-English speaking Eskimo he is an interpreter. To himself he is a lonely man.

Now that we have sketched in broad terms the kind of changes that have taken place, the acculturative agencies involved, and the state of Eskimo-white society, let us turn to a specific examination of what has not changed.

The term "change" is much too broad to be very meaningful. It needs to be modified to be specific. Here we think the work of Raymond Firth is particularly useful.[1] His approach to the study of change is from the standpoint of "society" rather than "culture", although he takes both into consideration. Hogbin, in his recent book expresses the same point of view when he inquires as follows:

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1. Firth, op. cit.

> "Anthropology must be concerned with culture; the question is, are they to stop there, or go further and deal with society? Should they be content with describing miscellaneous ways of behaving or sort them out in an attempt to discover the resulting sets of social relationships?"[1]

In his effort to "discover the resulting sets of social relationships," Firth differentiates conceptually between "organizational change" and "structural change." With respect to these, Firth writes:

> "Discussions on social change are mainly concerned with structural change, that is with alterations of the principles with which a society is operated, the framework upon which its social relations are constructed... Strictly speaking, it would seem that a change in the size of a society, in the size of the family or the domestic unit, are not in themselves changes in social structure though they will probably be of major significance as bases or as indicators of such changes. More evident examples of change in social structure are forms of social realignment - a change in the form of a kinship unit, such as the breakdown of a joint family system into a system of individual families, or a change in the authority pattern in a household from mother's brother to father of children. Such changes mean alteration in the character of the social system.
>
> There is, however, another aspect of social change, which I have termed social movement. This is an alteration not in principle but in detail, where the position of individuals or groups in the social system have altered but the character of the system as such is not affected...
>
> ...Again, the distinction between social movement of personnel and/or social change of a structural order is not easy to draw formally. (Yet) without forcing the distinction too strongly, one can for ordinary purposes conceive of some changes as being primarily <u>structural</u> in character and others as being primarily organizational."[2]

If the Eskimo social system at Rankin Inlet is examined in the light of these concepts, not many of the changes which have taken place appear to be of a structural character. Rather, they seem to constitute little more than alterations in behaviour as traditional principles are

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1. H. Ian Hogbin, <u>Social Change,</u> London, Watts, 1958, p. 21.

2. Firth, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 340-341.

applied to new social situations. On this point we think it important to stress the fact that changes in behaviour are not necessarily an indication of a change in the socio-cultural system. Surely "culture" as an articulated body of ideas is not so inflexible or its integration so perfect that alterations in the application of these "ideas" to "real" events cannot occur without completely "upsetting" the system. It is the fact of this flexibility, rooted in human physiology and manifested in personality, that accounts for why it is often possible for culture to remain covert while all semblance of the overt seems to have vanished. Anthropologists are repeatedly surprised at "how much of the old still remains," once they have gained rapport in a non-European community. It explains too how it is possible for Devereaux[1] to detect a clear-cut plains area culture pattern in the personality of his Wolf Indian, a man whose tribe has been under concerted and continuous white contact for almost one hundred years. Goodenough also warns against confusing kinds of change. In his review of Firth's, Social Change in Tikopia, he writes as follows:

> "What ever the limitations of this conceptual distinction may be (that between structural and organization change), it helps Firth avoid the trap into which some students of change have fallen. Firth does not confuse behaviour change with cultural change, nor does he interpret different applications of a people's principles of social action to changing conditions as if the different applications represented changes in the principles themselves."[2]

At the conclusion of this chapter we have included a general outline of socio-cultural change at Rankin Inlet. The subjects for this section were taken from Murdock's, "Outline of Cultural Materials.[3] We have also more or less followed his order of presentation.

As a perusal of this summary will indicate, there have been practically no structural changes as yet in the principles of the Eskimo's socio-cultural system. On the other hand, there have been a number of organizational changes.

The only major change that seems apparent, and one we think of sufficient importance to warrant separate treatment here, has to do with a fundamental alteration in division of labour and a resulting discontinuity of the soicialization process. We have used the term "major change" here because the re-alignment in roles which may result from this alteration

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1. George Devereaux, Reality and Dream, New York, International Universities Press, 1951.
2. Ward H. Goodenough, review of R. Firth's "Social Change in Tikopia," Science, Vol. 131, No. 3411, May, 1960, p. 1434.
3. G. P. Murdock, et. al. Outline of Cultural Materials, 3rd revised ed., New Haven, Conn., Human Relations Area Files, Inc. 1950.

could possibly involve a change in principle. At this juncture, however, it is too early to tell.

With the change in subsistence pattern, a new division of labour between men and women has inevitably arisen. Males are now involved in a regimented labour routine which systematically removes them from interaction with the family unit almost daily, and females, for their part, have lost or relinquished several of their former economic functions to the Hudson's Bay Company. Women no longer make clothing nor have other responsibilities which they performed when these people were hunters and trappers. These have been eliminated as their husbands and grown sons have turned to wage employment.

But this change in division of labour has had repercussions in the socialization process as well. With his involvement in industry, the male head of household no longer has the time or the opportunity to train his sons in the traditional prestige roles nor has he himself developed new role prescriptions or images of "success." Thus for the Eskimo boy there is a "lag" in the educational function of the family unit.

For the Eskimo girl, a "lag" also exists, but it is of an entirely different nature. In her case, she has ample opportunity to learn from her mother and in fact she does. But what she learns is a "ideal" role which is only partially capable of realization. Eskimo women on the whole, express in their behaviour much more that is traditional than do Eskimo men. The former's adjustment has not been as rapid as that of their husbands'. Probably the chief reason for this is that in the absence of any form of social interaction with whites they do not have either the opportunity or the incentive to change their behaviour. Their husbands, on the other hand, have been exposed to white "ways" in the work situation and consequently have more readily altered their behaviour patterns. In some instances this has been little more than pure imitation. Nor have these instances been without the incongruities which inevitably result when changes in behaviour are not accompanied by necessary changes in norms and values. Without doubt, discontinuities of this kind will increase as the Eskimo becomes "acculturated." What effect these will have on the character of Eskimo interpersonal relations and ultimately upon the principles of Eskimo social structure is impossible to determine at this time.

## Summary of Change

(1) In general the principles of Eskimo culture as a system of ideas remains relatively unchanged. True there have been behavioural changes but these seem to be organizational rather than structural.

(2) The Eskimo has as yet not established a new image of himself in this industrial milieu. While there is some evidence to indicate that his traditional goals remain strong, now these cannot be achieved. Nor have new concepts of "success" as a wage earner appeared. At present, the Eskimo is marking time. He is passively adjusting, but he is not "goal seeking."

(3) The annual cycle involving hunting and trapping has all but disappeared. These activities are now relegated to weekends or "off hours" and are no longer absolutely essential to the Eskimo's well being. Fishing is the more prevalent activity not only because nets can be tended locally, but also because the division of labour is such that women and children can also participate. Fowling also is prevalent in the early summer when men or young boys can get away.

(4) In their use of foods, the Eskimo attitudes remain largely unchanged. Foods are either boiled or eaten raw (unheated). Caching or drying continue to be the principal means of preservation. Meals themselves are simple and the popular foodstuffs are those which can be easily prepared (most are packaged) and consumed at one sitting.

(5) Aside from the woman's garment, which is worn only by those with infants to carry,and sealskin boots, all clothing for both sexes is secured from the Hudson's Bay Company store. Lipstick, rouge, and cheap jewelry is worn by the younger women. Tattooing has now practically disappeared.

(6) The skin tent, snow house and most material manifestations of traditional Eskimo culture are gone. Those Eskimo not residing in company-built houses use either canvas tents secured from the Hudson's Bay Company store or build make-shift houses from discarded lumber and sheet metal collected in the mine dump.

(7) The Eskimo's health practices remain unchanged and are totally destructive to his health standards. He is completely unprepared to live in larger social situations involving new living situations and new sources of illness and injury. He has no concept of contagion or pollution. Infant care also requires a completely new orientation. Many Eskimo mothers still do not understand why Klim will not dissolve in cold water, or why baby bottles which they have been encouraged to use need to be washed.

(8) Infant mortality remains high, particularly in the winter and spring. Nor has morbidity shown an appreciable drop, despite health measures taken by the mine. Upper respiratory illnesses predominate, but

tuberculosis seems to show signs of diminishing. Staphylococcus infections constitute a major health problem. These will probably increase in intensity before they abate and then only with drastic improvement in the Eskimo's standard of living. Industrial accidents represent a new kind of medical problem. No silicosis has been diagnosed as yet.

(9) Although the Eskimo has become a wage earner and consequently able to realize the acquisition of new commodities, few of these have enhanced his general standard of living. Most of the Eskimo's purchases are for "luxury" items rather than those necessities which would enhance his adjustment to a more Western mode of living. The Eskimo's use of money resembles in many ways the same kind of behaviour found among ethnic and racial minorities in larger urban centers of North America where, relegated to marginal zones, they value expensive items that for others are status symbols. In a similar manner, the Eskimo spends his money on things that are immediately valued and which in many ways have no relationship either to his past or for that matter to his future. Most Eskimo at Rankin Inlet have not learned to plan ahead. They buy what is available -- not what they need. And almost every commodity handled by the Hudson's Bay Company seems to be desirable. Utility is not a consideration.

(10) Stratification by age continues to be formally recognized through kinship usage. Also a class system is developing among the Eskimo in this larger community. This is a consequence of the deme and the concentration of several of these in the same place. Eskimo from Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay have intermarried for some time. They recognize one another as equals, but both "look down" on people from Eskimo Point whom the former consider to be "dirty". This social cleavage has been supported by the mine, although not by design, in that Chesterfield Inlet people were the first to be hired. Further, because of a long and somewhat concerted contact with the mission, the Chesterfield Inlet Eskimo have found adjustment easier than those people from Eskimo Point. The latter, as the most recent immigrants to Rankin Inlet, have not been able to adjust as easily nor are they in a position to seek better jobs in the mining routine. Thus they have remained remote in their identification with this project, and find themselves occupying the lower social stratum.

(11) The basis of marriage remains roughly the same. Cousin marriages while present are by no means prevalent and seem to be practiced more as a logistic necessity than out of choice. Bethrothals when made seem inviolate, but there is an active attempt to dispose of the system among the Eskimo themselves.

(12) The nuclear family remains the focal point of Eskimo social structure. Residence is basically neolocal but may be bilocal through the construction of multiple housing units. Family relationships remain very strong. Adoption continues to be a method of augmenting family composition as well as reflecting various forms of social obligations. Children are expected to care for parents in their old age. The bond of kinship supersedes all other social rules.

(13) An unexpected difference was the appearance of a Hawaiian system of cousin terminology rather than an Eskimo type. Also mother-aunt and niece-nephew terminology is bifurcate-collateral instead of generation. Regardless, the system remains basically bilateral and the differences noted do not appear to be of recent origin. Certainly they cannot be attributed to any structural changes attending the Eskimo's residence at Rankin Inlet.

(14) On the whole, the adjustment the Eskimo has made has been a successful one. The difficulty is that though his social system has not been seriously disorganized through his involvement in this wage economy, he has not been permitted full participation in it nor is he being encouraged to do so. He has proven that he can work in this industrial venture. He has not, however, indicated that he has any awareness of self-direction nor any desire to plan his future.

## CHAPTER 9

## RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Involve the Eskimo in the community life of Rankin Inlet and end the system of social segregation which characterizes white-Eskimo relations.

(2) Institute a program of public health education oriented in particular toward child care, obstetrics, and the control of pollution and infection.

(3) Take steps to return patients from hospitals and sanitoria to remove the fear of being "sent out". Also return the dead to their communities rather than providing local burial as is now the practice.

(4) Insure that the health level of the Eskimo is continually improved. Care should be taken to examine the mine's health program both as to its administration and its effectiveness.

(5) Close surveillance of wages and hours should be maintained. Every effort should be made by the responsible administrators to ascertain that the Eskimo receives an adequate wage, a wage that is commensurate with standards elsewhere, and that wages are increased as "fringe" benefits are removed.

(6) More attention should be paid to the method of recruiting Eskimo labour from distant settlements. Also close liaison should be maintained between Northern Affairs personnel at these settlements with respect to communications between family members and disposition of wages.

(7) An effort should be made to educate the Eskimo in the use and value of money. Despite his involvement in a wage economy, the Eskimo is not learning the "use" of money. A local store operated by Eskimo would probably be a very worthwhile educational device. It need not necessarily represent severe competition for the Hudson's Bay Company.

(8) Every effort should be made to develop within the Eskimo a sense of self-direction. Under the present conditions the Eskimo is not being motivated to express himself. Also he needs to be helped to evaluate his role in this industrial society and to create an image of himself that is commensurate with his new surroundings.

(9) More specific goals need to be established with respect to the education of these people. It is virtually meaningless to talk of educating the Eskimo without specifying what it is they are to be educated for and how it is to be done. Every white agency that has ever been in the Arctic

has "educated" the Eskimo. True, nowadays he can receive a formal education but until it is possible for him to actualize what he learns and until he is able to play an active part in the decisions of his community the Eskimo will never develop a dynamic concept of citizenship. And this is where the difficulty lies. At the present time the Eskimo does not know that he is a citizen nor that he has choices which should be his to make. We must be careful that in our desire to see the Eskimo achieve a place in the new milieu of the "north" that we do not unwittingly deny him the possibility of social mobility. Obviously there are agencies that do not favour education for the Eskimo beyond the vocational level.

(10) Lastly, there is a great need for the development of a more realistic expression of policy objectives which can be interpreted intelligently and decisively at the local level. There is too much that is abstract or left undefined. As one Northern Affairs representative stated, his interpretation of the policy of the government toward the Eskimo was "integration without assimilation". Such statements as these are meaningless. Furthermore, they point up a kind of "gamesmanship" which local officers find it necessary to resort to in their efforts to be "effective".

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