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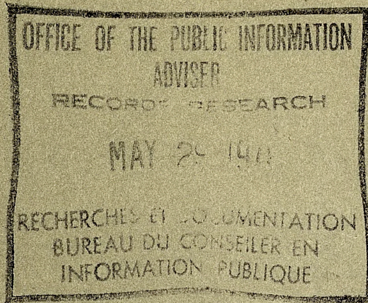
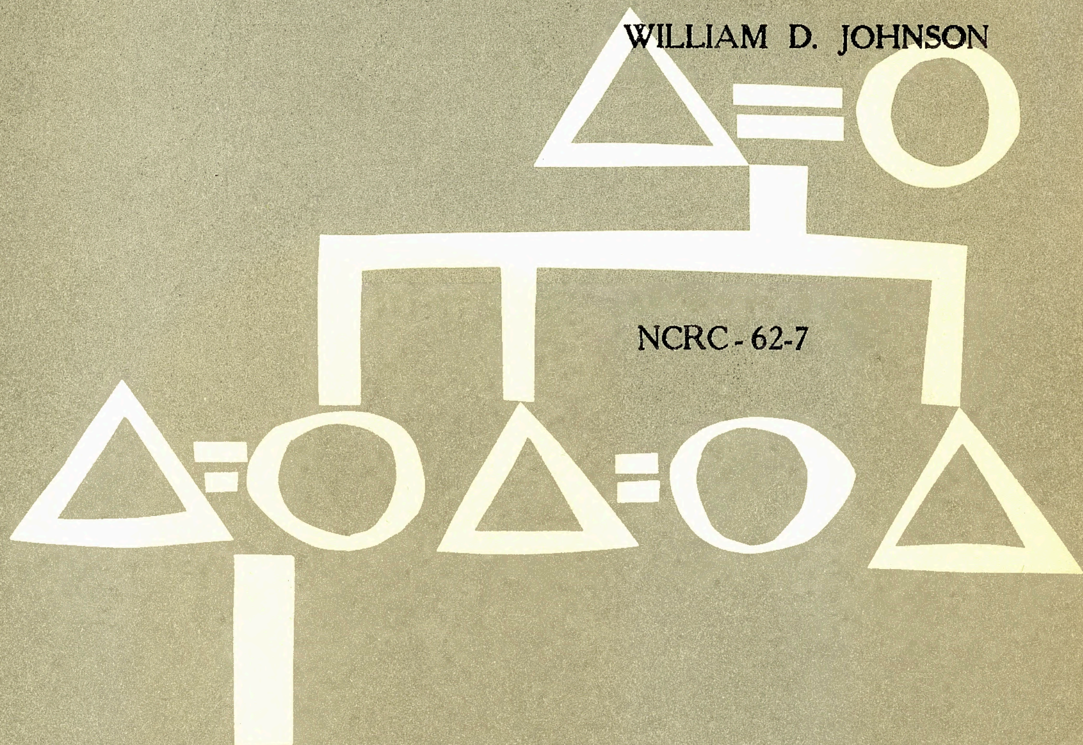


AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF ETHNIC RELATIONS AT GREAT WHALE RIVER

WILLIAM D. JOHNSON



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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF

ETHNIC RELATIONS AT GREAT WHALE RIVER

by

William D. Johnson

This report is based on research carried out by the author while under contract to the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources during the summer 1960. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

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Ottawa, Canada.

October, 1962.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1960, the writer spent two months (from July 1st to August 31st) in the field at Great Whale River, P.Q. His purpose was to make a sociological study primarily of the relations between the three ethnic groups, Indian, Eskimo and white, that make up the community.

The research was incomplete for three principal reasons. The first and foremost was the researcher's limitations: he found that his sociological experience and sophistication were unequal to the complexity of the peculiar situation at Great Whale River. Sociological methods which are commonplace when applied to white middle-class housewives or to an urban labour union were found as inappropriate when applied to the Indian and Eskimo inhabitants as would be a Ford on the sands of the settlement.

The second reason was the situation which met the researcher: a settlement where three separate groups live in close physical propinquity, but where three different languages, three systems of personal relations, three introverted cultural traditions and in-group loyalties separate each group from the other two as effectively as could Hudson Bay itself. The writer found that any progress achieved towards understanding of one group was to be begun anew when approaching another group. To study "Great Whale River" was, at a minimum, to make three separate (though interlocking) studies.

Finally, there was the shortage of time, Even a much-bewildered researcher does learn something in time. But it was found that two months sufficed for little more than forming the bare outline of a picture, for framing hypotheses which could be tested in subsequent studies.

These preliminary remarks, in some respects of greater interest to the writer than to the reader, are considered important because they define for the reader the limits of this study. What follows is not the end-product of a study; it is precisely a report on a preliminary phase of a study, and is to be read as such. The statements which are made have not, for the most part, been "established": they are the gleanings of a summer's observation, and they await the scientific treatment which is not given them in the present paper.

This report originally appeared in April, 1961 as Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre Report 61-5. It has been completely revised and partly re-written.

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF

ETHNIC RELATIONS AT GREAT WHALE RIVER[1]

The newcomer to Great Whale River is struck immediately by one topographical feature: the airstrip which runs parallel to the river towards the Bay, and divides the community into two distinct parts: the white and the native.

North of the airstrip are strung out the series of buildings which house the activities of the whites: the Northern Affairs complex,[2] including the house and office of the Northern Service Officer, the apartments of the teachers in the school run by the Department of Northern Affairs, the school house itself, the nursing station, the large storage building which on Saturday nights and on special occasions is used as a community hall.

To the far east of this complex is the camp of the Department of Hydraulic Resources; to the west, the quarters of the Department of Transport, the Inn and office of Wheeler Airlines and Nordair; and behind, fenced off from the rest of this little world, the self-contained life of the Mid-Canada Line base, where well over a hundred white individuals lead their separate existence. At night, someone standing on the air strip looks up the hill and sees the huddle of lights that mark the domain of the whites at Great Whale River.

South of the airstrip is the native village.[3] The village is neatly divided in two: to one side, the western, the tents and houses of the Eskimos; to the other, the eastern, the tents of the Indians. A stranger would not know where the Eskimo dwellings ended and the Indian dwellings began. And yet, there is no overlapping. It is as though two separate circles circumscribed the two camps; where the circles nearly touch, the Eskimo and Indian dwellings face away from each other, and towards their respective camps.

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1. Great Whale River is a community on the east shore of Hudson Bay, in the province of Quebec. In the summer of 1960, it numbered 375 Eskimos, 202 Indians; there was also a white community of 23 providing the services of a Hudson's Bay post, a Federal Day School, a nursing station, radio and air contact with the south, a Northern Service Officer, and personnel of the Department of Transport. Besides this white community, in closer contact with the native groups, there was the sectional control station of the Mid-Canada Line, fenced off from the rest of the community, but providing employment to Indians and Eskimos. The Quebec Department of Hydraulic Resources also had a camp from which its hydrographic survey of the region was supplied.
   The history of Great Whale River has been described by Asen Balikci, "Relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, Baie d'Hudson, 1957", in National Museum of Canada Bulletin no. 173:64-107, 1961.

2. Included in this complex are six "512" houses which shelter six Eskimo families. These families are those most closely associated with the lives and ways of the whites. All are employees of the Department of Northern Affairs. They (unlike all other local Eskimo families) live in houses divided into rooms. It would be of interest to a student of inter-ethnic acculturation to study these families. There was reportedly a high rate of alcohol consumption and of family discord among them. Thus, the father of one of the men living in these houses asked the Northern Service Officer to direct the man's son not to live there, for he felt that living there was "no good".

3. Outside the village, there were also two other clusterings of Eskimo tents: the "Port Harrison Camp", about a mile from the village, down the Great Whale River; and the "North Camp", two or three miles north, by the side of Hudson Bay.

The whites are represented in the native village south of the airstrip, by two establishments, both of which are central to the lives of the native. First, on the western fringe of the village is the Hudson's Bay Company post (and adjacent residence of its employees) where both Eskimos and Indians come, sometimes to purchase and sell, but mostly to browse around and spend the time of day. Secondly, the Anglican mission church (and adjacent residence of the minister) where all the natives worship.[1]

In view of the geographical proximity of the three ethnic groups, one might expect that there would be a considerable amount of fraternizing. The Indians, however, (with whom we are primarily concerned in this paper) almost never engaged in relations other than those of expediency with either Eskimos or whites.

The relations of friendship of the Indians were so structured as to take place within their ethnic group. The arrangements of dwellings reflected a familial pattern. All the Indians, in the summer of 1960, lived in tents. Of a population of 202 Indians, 95 individuals, or 42%, lived in tents which accommodated two or more families. Furthermore, of the 39 tents which sheltered the population, 35 tents were so placed that the residents of one tent were living immediately next to a first-degree relative --father, mother, brother, sister or child. Of the 4 tents that were not so placed, 2 were placed so that the occupants were only two tents away from a first-degree relative; a third tent was placed next to a second-degree relative. And so a single tent of the 39 seemed to be erected in abstraction from family ties.

Table A - Number of Individuals in each Tent

No. Persons Per Tent	No. of Tents	Total Persons	Per cent of Total
2	3	6	3
3	3	9	4.5
4	9	36	17.8
5	11	55	27.2
6	4	24	11.9
7	5	35	17.3
8	2	16	7.9
9	1	9	4.5
12	1	12	5.9
Total	39	202	100%

1. Among the Indians there was one Roman Catholic woman. This woman was something of an outcast, though whether because of her religion or for other reasons was not clear. She was a widow, lived with her two illegitimate children alone, and took no part in the village life.

	No. of Tents	No. of Persons	Per cent of Total
Nuclear family only	26	117	57.9
Two families	8	45	22.3
Three families	5	40	19.8

Social relations followed this familial pattern. Visiting from tent to tent was primarily along family lines: when the question was put "whom do you visit most often?", the answer almost invariably was a brother, a sister, a father or a mother, or the family of one's spouse. These were the people one went trapping with, and that one associated with in daily life.[1] These were also the people to whom one gave first if some game was caught, as if one had credits derived from family allowance, widow's rations, sick rations,[2] or if one had earned money from trapping or from a job. Ultimately these kinship ties extended through the whole Indian community, and knit it into an extremely cohesive and closed unit. Anyone who did not fit into the familial structure was very much a stranger indeed, and with him the Indians were ill at ease and bashful. The present writer did not find a single white person at Great Whale River who felt that he was on terms primarily of friendship with a single adult Indian.[3] The familial structure placed a great social distinction between those who were part of the Indian community and those who were not, and the latter were immediately felt as being at a great social distance. The social exclusion of the outsider was reinforced by a cultural tradition of emotional alienation from strangers, manifested in the acute discomfort in the presence of outsiders which was exhibited by all but the most acculturated Indians. We shall have occasion to remark on this unease with outsiders, manifested at the school, at the nursing station, at the Hudson's Bay post, on the job, and at the Saturday night dance.

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1. There were some exceptions to this primarily familial mode of relationship: among the "old men", contemporaneous age seemed almost as important as family ties, and the old men would associate together, particularly to play checkers. Again, among the young men (aged 16-28), contemporaneous age was more important than kinship: the young men (mostly unmarried) would gather together to strum a guitar or play a fiddle, to play cards or to talk. Two games seemed to bring together the men independently of kinship or (to some extent) of similar age: checkers--which was played by several at a time, while many others stood around and kibitzed--and football, which brought together all but the older men, the married men playing against the unmarried. Religion, of course, brought together the whole community, though the men sat on one side of the church and the women on the other.

2. During the winter of 1959-60, the principal sources of subsistence for those who remained in the settlement were family allowance, the allowances for the widows and the aged, and the rations for the sick and their dependents. It is amazing how far and thin these sources of subsistence were spread through the community.

3. This might not be true of some few of the Indian children who were on friendly terms with teachers; but it is difficult to distinguish relations of material self-interest and of friendship proper, in a situation where the whites have and the Indians need. It is certain, however, that those Indian children who had been in the hospital were less withdrawn vis-a-vis the whites than either the children who had not been hospitalized, or than their elders the adults.

The structural cohesion of the Indian community along familial lines was paralleled and reinforced by the religious organization. All the Indians but a single person [1] were Anglicans. Church services were held every day of the week but Saturday, and twice on Sundays; at any one service some half of the Indian community was to be found. Religion held a place of extremely high prestige. Prayers were said in the tents each night; each individual owned a gaily coloured bag which contained his prayer book. In common speech and in argument, the Bible was frequently quoted ("it says in the Bible that ...") and was used to explain a range of situations from why things were generally getting worse , to why a particular individual should not go to the hospital. It was cited as a factor of esteem or as a claim to leadership that a man knew his Bible, and the Chief gave as his reason for choosing the woman he married the fact that she could read the Bible: "Before, I could not read the Bible; now I can", he said.

In the summer of 1960, the religious organization coincided with the Indian community. There had been no permanent Anglican minister in the community since the previous fall, and in the summer of 1960 the church was serviced by a white divinity student who did not speak Cree, and who remained withdrawn from the lives of the natives. This student officiated at the services along with the two Indian "Preachers", but in an almost exclusively honorific capacity[2]. The effective officiants who led in the prayers and addressed the congregation were the two Indian preachers. It was clear that the latter (one of them especially) were considered as the real leaders of the Church.

These men enjoyed great prestige because of their status as preachers. They would always appear as a matter of course on any list of the most important men in the community. The prestige of at least one of them exceeded that of the chief and of the two councillors. In my opinion, one of them was by far the most influential public opinion leader in the Indian community.

As already stated, the religious organization, coinciding with the Indian community, reinforced the internal cohesion of that community by providing a second dimension of solidarity alongside the dimension of kinship. It provided, as well, a community leadership structure which extended well beyond the sphere of the strictly religious. And finally, it provided a medium alongside of informal contacts for consolidating public opinion through the addresses of the preacher to the congregation [3].

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1. cf. footnote 1, p.3.

2. The white officiant would read Cree prayers transliterated into the Latin alphabet and sing a hymn in English. On one occasion, when he tried to give a sermon with the intermediary of an interpreter, the latter was unable to understand his more intricate English sentences and so the attempt was abandoned.

3. The Indian preacher's addresses went beyond general principles, and extended to particular sins committed in the Indian village. On one occasion the preacher denounced the congregation in round terms for unloading a boat on a Sunday.

A third structure, that of the Chief and Councillors, probably did not contribute to community cohesion as much as it benefited from it. The offices of the Chief and Councillors were created by the representatives of Indian Affairs. The incumbents were elected to their offices. They interpreted their functions as preeminently to be spokesmen for the Indians vis-a-vis the whites, and within their own community to exercise a paternal vigilance over the material and to some extent, the moral well-being of the Indians. In practice, their function consisted in pleading for jobs, relief or other benefits (as for instance a Beaver Feast), and within the Indian community of exercising an admonitory capacity whenever they deemed it prudent or necessary to do so. On those occasions when the Indian Agent visited the community, they were ceremonially prominent at his side; in the summer of 1960 their status was enhanced by their having a voice in deciding who should be the beneficiaries of the new houses about to be built for the Indians by Indian Affairs.

It would be too much to say either that the offices of Chief and Councillors were merely ceremonial, or that they wielded any real power. It is beyond doubt that these individuals had a great measure of prestige in the community, and that within limits their words carried weight with their own people[1]. However, the Chief and Councillors came in for a great deal of criticism which arose from the equivocal nature of their offices: they had no real power; in the face of the scarcity of jobs and the general poverty, they were criticized for doing nothing about the situation, or slighted because there was nothing they could do. Furthermore, their status was diminished when whites by-passed them to deal directly with the Indians, or when individual Indians dealt directly with whites.

What seems most certain is that the Indian community, with its strong internal cohesion and cultural respect for authority, would (certainly to a much greater extent than the Eskimo community) prove receptive to an internal authority structure. Given that the Chief and Councillors were invested with a minumum power to "get things done" (for instance in the allocation of relief), and that white officers were careful to channel their administrative relations with the Indians through them, these officers could exert a strong directional role in the community.

Now that we have spoken of relations within the Indian community, we shall turn to the relations of the Indians with outsiders. As has already been suggested, the informal relations of the Indians with non-Indians were few and generally fraught with tension.

The church might have been expected to furnish an occasion of rencontre between Indians and Eskimos, since both were of the same religion and worshipped at the same Church. This was not the case, however, as Indians and Eskimos had their separate preachers, and their hours of service at different times. On a Sunday evening, the Indians would begin to congregate around the church door before the end of the Eskimo service. At the conclusion of this service, the

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1. Thus, on the occasion of a Beaver Feast, the Chief gave the signal for the end of the festivities, and thereupon all the Indians left. When the Chief and Councillors, however, tried repeatedly to get one individual suspected of having tuberculosis to go to the hospital, they were unsuccessful.

Eskimos would file out while the assembled Indians looked on, waiting to enter in their turn. Seldom were words of any kind exchanged between one group and the other. At most, a mischievous Eskimo might push through the center of the group of Indians and so cause general merriment. It is significant that such an action was unusual enough to provoke laughter.

On one occasion an elderly Eskimo had died, and a service was performed for him in the church, followed by the procession to the cemetery. On this occasion several Indians took part in the service and were present at the burial. But here, too, no words were spoken between the Indians and the Eskimos, and no signs of recognition were exchanged.

Perhaps the most frequent occasion for informal exchanges of conversation between Indians and Eskimos is provided by the store of the Hudson's Bay Company. Both groups spend a good deal of time loafing and passing the time of day in the store. However each group remains apart, and greetings are not exchanged between them. An employee of the store stated that frequently he had observed Eskimos walking up to the store to discover that it was mainly occupied by Indians, and turning and walking away. The reverse, of course, also happened.

On Saturday nights, a community dance was held in a large Northern Affairs building. For three hours or more, records were played while Indians and Eskimos of all ages would square dance or sit around the room watching the dancers. The Indians would always arrive later than the Eskimos; they would remain in a compact group by the door or to one side of the room, and Indians and Eskimos would not mix. On the floor, the Indians were reluctant to join the dance. They would only begin to dance after standing and watching for some time, and then only a small number would join in. These would be the younger unmarried men, or one or two married couples. Rarely would the number of Indians dancing exceed five couples. Among the younger Indian males who spoke English (aged 15 to 25) there were some five who would speak to Eskimo men and dance with Eskimo women. But the Indians as a group kept clearly apart from the Eskimos and seemed inhibited by their presence.

The Federal Day School was another area of contact between Indians and Eskimos, and the pattern of tension between them was evident in an exaggerated form. The nature of the problem is suggested by the following letter from the school principal to the superintendent of schools for the Arctic Division, from which we quote [1]:

> "There were 100 children present the first day after I personally went around the Indian village and coaxed the children to come. At a staff meeting in the afternoon we divided the pupils into six groups as near as we could determine the ability of the children. Since then the same old problem has arisen; namely that the Indian children regard this an Eskimo school. I have done all I could to prevent this idea from becoming established, nevertheless it is here and at present the Indian children are protesting vigorously when asked to attend school. One of the Councillors from the Indian village came to my apartment

1. Letter dated Sept. 15, 1959. From the files of the Department of Northern Affairs, Arctic Division.

last night requesting that all the Indian children be grouped in one classroom... It is not that the Indian children dislike school as two summer sessions attendance records prove. It is just the fact that 15 Indian children feel so badly outnumbered when mixed among 85 Eskimo children."

The attendance records for the school year 1959-60 indicate this reluctance of the Indian children to attend school. A total of 36 Indian children were enrolled, counting those who began school late in the year. They were divided into two classes, one class including 7 Indian children and 13 Eskimo children, the other class being made up of 29 Indian children.

In the class made up of the younger students, where Indians and Eskimos were mixed, there is a noticeable difference in the attendance record of each. If we exclude all reasons for non-attendance (e.g. starting late in the year, being "in the bush" for part of the year), but consider only days spent attending the school over the theoretically possible number of days, we find that the actual attendance was 72.9% for the class as a whole. If we consider separately the attendance of each group, however, we find that the attendance of the 13 Eskimo children was 77.7% of the possible attendance, while for the 7 Indian children it was 64.1%. [1]

In the all-Indian class, made up of older students, the attendance record was worse. If we exclude 6 children who joined the class in April or later, we have 23 children to consider. Their actual attendance was 48.9% of their theoretically possible attendance[2]. Out of a possible 196 days, four children attended 150 days or more; eight children attended between 100 and 150 days each; five children attended between 50 and 100 days each, and six students were present less than 50 days each.

The problem of the attitude of the Indians towards school is not a simple one which can be dismissed with an easy explanation. The present paper can only suggest some of its dimensions.

Perhaps most obvious is the fear which the Indian children have of the Eskimo children. This fear was shared by all but the oldest and biggest. The Eskimo children are generally confident, aggressive, and rough in their play [3]. The Indian children, on the other hand, are retiring, mild, and upset by any expression of violence. When the two groups were together the Indian reaction was one of fear and retreat. Teachers reported that, outside of teaching hours,

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1. Attendance record in the mixed class:

	No.School Days	Possible Attendance	Actual Attendance	Per cent
13 Eskimo children:	195	2535 days	1969 days	77.7%
7 Indian children:	195	1365 "	875 "	64.1
Total class:	195	3900 "	2844 "	72.9

2. The possible attendance of 26 children over a period of 196 days was 4508 days; the actual attendance was 2205 days.

3. John and Irma Honigmann have commented on these characteristics of the Eskimo in their "Notes on Great Whale River Eskimo Ethos", Anthropologica 1 (1 and 2):106-121, 1959.

"the Indian Children would always huddle together"; they were unwilling to be left alone unsupervised with the Eskimo children: "As soon as we left the room at noon, the Indian children would all run out, whether their lunch was finished or not. And when one went, they all went." At recess, the Indian children would run up over the hill and would not return until some minutes after classes had resumed, often only when the principal had followed after them with the bell. One teacher reported that Indian boys would not enter the lavatory if an Eskimo boy was already there.

During July and August, 1960, only Indian children were in school attending the summer session, and so it was impossible to observe the interaction of the two groups of children in the school. From interviews with parents and children, one received the impression of a constant state of bullying existing on the school premises. Undoubtedly the picture is exaggerated, but what seemed clear was that "teasing" among the children was general, and that this teasing was not taken in jest by many who were the object of it. One mother related that she often had to force her children, crying, to school, because of their fear of the Eskimos. Other parents reported that their children frequently came home from school crying.

Some such hazing, of course, goes on in all schools. But what seems characteristic of the situation at Great Whale River is the reaction of the Indian children: they showed obvious terror, and this of course only invited more teasing from the successful teaser. It would seem that a small Eskimo boy was able successfully to tease a much larger Indian boy or girl. Thus an Indian boy of 10 who came home crying was asked how old were the Eskimo boys who "teased" him; he said "six and seven"; he saw nothing unusual in his being bullied by boys smaller than himself.

The teasing was not limited to Eskimo-Indian children. Eskimos from one camp teased those of another; during the summer, when only Indians were present at the school, the teasing continued, Indians teasing Indians. But the Indians' reaction to the Eskimos generally made them an easy and favourite target.

As with the extent of the teasing, so the form it took was difficult to determine from verbal reports. Children mentioned the throwing of stones, punching and pinching, as well as verbal assaults. One mother spoke of her daughter coming home on more than one occasion with a nose bleed. Of course it is to be expected that questions about conflicts would elicit the more dramatic tales; and so one cannot form a reliable idea of how much aggressive behaviour actually did take place. What seems most likely is that the form of the teasing was less important than the subjective perception of it by the recipients. The behaviour of the Indians makes it clear that it was of serious consequence to a good number of them. This was aggravated by the fact that very little supervision was exercised in the school-yard during recreation periods.

A further aspect of the attitude of the Indian children toward school is the fact that, whereas almost all the Eskimos spent the winter at the settlement and therefore the Eskimo children found that all their friends were going to school as well as they, the situation was different for the Indian children. Some Indian families, well over a third of the Indian population, were away on the trap lines for the winter. Others would make forays of a week, two weeks or more into the bush. The traditional mode of spending the winter was inland, a tradition far from a thing of the past; and so the Indian children who remained

in the settlement could not have the same sense of the appropriateness, or at least of the inevitability, of attending school that the Eskimo children had.

On the part of the Indian parents, a divided attitude towards the school was also generally to be found. The school was disruptive of the traditional family relations in a profound way. Children were traditionally socialized on the trap lines, contributing their share to the family work, and preparing to be hunters and trappers in their turn. The family was thus a closely integrated unit, and the father's role was preeminent. The school, on the other hand, is a recent innovation (since 1958); it finds no traditional precedent. It deprives the family of the work contribution of the children. It weakens the authority of the father over the children, for the father no longer has--or has to a lesser extent--the role of transmitting to the children the skills they will require to take their future place in the community. These sentiments were reflected in the complaints of some adult Indians that the children who went to school no longer behaved or listened to their parents. One individual (an Indian preacher) said that, instead of learning a lot of nonsense at school, the children should be taught the Bible and taught to behave. The complaint was also to be heard that the present children would not know how to trap when they were adults.

White parents in Canada are motivated to send their children to school because this is defined as a condition of social acceptability and success. The Eskimos, more closely integrated with the whites at Great Whale River, more committed to acceptance of white values and of the judgement of white people, could more easily believe in the value of going to school. But the Indians, mistrustful of the whites, sceptical about future economic opportunities open to them and hence doubtful that school does lead anywhere,[1] were for the most part only weakly if at all committed to sending their children to school. There were two or three families who were exceptions, but most of the Indians were simply indifferent to whether their children went to school or not.

Finally overlapping what has just been said, is the feeling that this is an "Eskimo school". No doubt a factor in this feeling was the greater numbers of the Eskimo children in comparison with the Indian children. But more profoundly, this statement reflected the feeling, expressed in many ways, that the white community at Great Whale River was identified with the Eskimos to the neglect of the Indians. The same sentiment was expressed in the common statement--despite all attempts to correct it--that the Saturday night community dance was an "Eskimo dance". It was felt that the whole domain of the white men at Great Whale River was somewhat alien territory to the Indians[2], at least in comparison with the Eskimos.

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1. For example, one Indian woman had a daughter who was bright and who liked to work at her school books. I remarked that the girl might perhaps be a teacher when she grew up. The woman answered: "Indians do not become teachers."

2. A signal exception was the house of the school principal. The latter attempted to show especial concern for the Indians, and was considered by them to be their local champion.

In conjunction with this sentiment, the Indians felt that the white men had betrayed the prior claim which the Indians considered was theirs to the affections and bounties of the whites. They felt deeply resentful at what they considered the white man's unjust preference for the Eskimos. To illustrate this sentiment, I shall give in full a statement made to me by an Indian. This statement is given as it was received from the mouth of the interpreter and written down. No attempt has been made to improve on the clarity of expression. Words are supplied in brackets only where it was thought that the sense was otherwise not clear.

> "The white men found the Indians before (they found) the Eskimos, but they are not looking after the Indians at all, only the Eskimos. There's nobody to look after the Indians. When the white men first found the Indians, they asked them to give them their clothes, their clothes were furs. He (the white man) tells the Indians to keep bringing furs. These men here don't know about that, but their grandfathers (do). They (the white man) found the Eskimos after, and the Eskimos were given the same job to try to get fur. Nobody doesn't know how much fur the white man take. Right now the white man still wants the Indians to trap. Right now the Eskimos stop trying to get fur. When the store closed at Richmond Gulf, (they) sent the Eskimos here. This store here is the only one where Eskimos are, because the white man doesn't want Eskimos where Indians are hunting. Only Eskimos are allowed to work: about 20 houses they live in, but (the Indians) don't live in houses at all. The government put a small boat for the Eskimos to go around here for hunting. But the Indian is still allowed to trap, but when he gets fur he is supposed to put it at the Hudson's Bay Company. You don't see any houses that Indians live in, but you only see some tents all torn. The Indian is supposed to get things before the Eskimo because he was here first.
>
> "The Indian Agent, when he comes here, even if someone asks him for a small thing, he says the government doesn't have any money. When Mr. X (the Indian Agent) says the government doesn't have any money, he (the speaker) doesn't believe it. When they build the camp, and when he goes in the bush, he (the speaker) sees many (radar) sites there. The government is the one who tells the white man to be all over the place, and he (the government) is the one who pays all the food those things the white man use. That's why he doesn't believe when Mr. X says the government doesn't have any money. That's why he tells you (the writer) because he sees when the white man says he's going to help the Eskimo he does, but when he says he's going to help the Indian he doesn't, he waits long time. It's very hard when someone goes trapping if he doesn't have enough food he can't come back here. It's very hard if he's trapping inland.
>
> "When the Indians have something they try to help the other people. But the Eskimos, they (the white men) give them work all the time at the base. But the Eskimos can help themselves.

"He (the speaker) thinks that's all he can tell me right now.

(I asked the question: "Do many think like you?" The chief's wife who was present answered:)

"Everyone thinks like that. The white man doesn't satisfy the Indians."

This sense of grievance over what is considered an unfair treatment of the Indians by the whites is general throughout the Indian community. We might point out some of its aspects.

The first is the employment situation. Eight Indians were more or less permanently employed in the summer of 1960, while five times that number of Eskimos were employed. The Indians were constantly lamenting the absence of jobs, and rumours were forever passed about of boats that would be coming and would require unloading. In interviews the desire for jobs was expressed again and again.

In a settlement like Great Whale River where the available manpower far exceeds the available jobs, and where, furthermore, the jobs assigned to the natives are mostly unskilled, so that the potential workers are largely interchangeable, it is to be expected that the attitudes of employers will largely determine who will work and who will not. The nine chief employers of natives were therefore canvassed for their policies on hiring Indian or Eskimo labour.

The Canadian Marconi Company operates the sectional control station on the Mid-Canada Line. In July, 1960, this company employed 16 natives, all Eskimos. The Superintendent of the company stated that it was their policy to hire only Eskimos because a mixed group of Indian and Eskimos did not get along, and that all through the Arctic it has been found that the Eskimo was a better type of worker, quicker to learn and quicker to do a job without supervision.

The Department of Northern Affairs, a chief employer in the area, hires some Indians (four more or less permanently in the summer of 1960), but chiefly Eskimos, as might be expected of a government department jurisdictionally responsible for the well-being of the Eskimos.

The Hudson's Bay Company had an Eskimo employee in the store and an Eskimo woman doing housekeeping chores. However for stevedoring operations they hired only Indians. It was stated that the Indians were better workers and were in greater need of employment than the more numerously employed Eskimos. It could also be pointed out that the Hudson's Bay Company is more intimately involved in the lives of the Indians than of the Eskimos, as the basic economy of the Indians (if we except funds from government sources) is overwhelmingly centered on the sale of furs to the Company.

Crawley and McCracken, in charge of catering at the station, hired Indians only (three in number) because the employer found the Indians more trustworthy, more shy and reserved, and in greater need of help.

A company which operates an iron mine at some 20 miles from the settlement hired Indians only (a varying number, down to one in the summer of 1960) because their operations are inland where Indians traditonally go, but Eskimos do not.

Wheeler and Nordair airlines hired both Indians and Eskimos (permanently , one Indian and two Eskimos). The employer stated that the Eskimos were the better workers: more conscientious, harder workers, very honest.

The Department of Transport hired almost exclusively Eskimos for the reason that the work was chiefly about boats, and the Eskmos were traditionally a more sea-going people than the Indians.

The Department of Hydraulic Resources had no permanent native workers, but hired both Indians and Eskmos for the unloading of a boat. The Indians were in larger numbers, but the employer expressed some preference for Eskimo workers.

Finally, for unloading operations, Eastern Stevedoring hired four Indians and eighteen Eskimos. A preference for Eskimo workers was expressed, except for one operation where it was said that the Eskimos were less desirable because they were not sufficiently alert to their personal safety.

Whether Indians or Eskimos as such are the better workers is entirely beyond the competence of the present writer to say. However I should like to point out certain factors which structure the employment situation.

The employers who favour Eskimos are more numerous and hire larger numbers than those who favour Indians. This puts the Eskimo in a better position than the Indians with respect to jobs. This is partially off-set by the attempt of some to redress the situation by favouring the underdogs.

There is a tendency to think in terms of "Indians or Eskimos". It is believed by most people that two do not work well together, a belief going back to construction days[1] rather than arising from the experience of any present employer. Whether the belief is valid or not would bear experimentation. The foreman of the mixed Northern Affairs construction crew said that his men worked well together. The Wheeler employer concurred, except that he noted that the single Eskimo on his crew "picked up" when an Indian co-worker was replaced by an Eskimo. The numbers of workers involved in these two instances are too small to justify any conclusion. But it is clear that the belief in question does make for selection of workers along ethnic rather than individual lines.

A common hiring method is to ask those already working to bring along other good workers. This will usually turn out to be relatives or friends, with the result that a group with some of its members already working will tend to be in a privileged position with respect to employment, while the outs will tend to remain out. Similarly, those who have worked before will be known to employers and will also have acquired some experience in the kind of work demanded by whites. When more workers are needed they will again be in a preferential position over the outs.

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1. Balikci mentioned that in 1957 "the Eskimos unanimously expressed their disdain of any collaboration with the Indians within the framework of the work teams". But he also states that "in times of unemployment this negative reaction tends to weaken". Asen Balikci, op. cit., p. 28 (my translation). 1960 was definitely a time of unemployment, and no Indians were found who would express unwillingness to work with Eskimos. It remains to canvass Eskimo opinion about working with Indians.

The appraisal of potential workers at Great Whale River is in some instances affected by the "public image" of Indians or Eskimos elsewhere. Thus one employer, in appraising Indians and Eskimos as workers, spoke of his experience at Winisk. Another spoke of Eskimos "all through the Arctic". Whether these generalizations are valid or not is not the question. It would seem that some employers have formed a differential judgement on Indians and Eskimos as workers previous to actual contact with the native of the local community. This was also indicated in reverse by two individuals who preferred Indians as workers and made the qualifications: "despite the reputation of the Eskimo", and "the Eskimo here is a different man from up north". The fact that the public image of the Eskimo is at present bright among whites, while that of the Indians is not, is a contributing factor to the present balance of employment.

Furthermore, the social "personality" or ethos of the Eskimos is more generally attractive to whites than the corresponding ethos of the Indians. One employer, who found both as workers on a par, commented on the "big beaming smile" worn constantly by the Eskimos, while the Indians, he said, seemed to distrust the employer, and friendly intentions had to be proven again and again. A teacher made a similar remark saying that she found the Eskimo children more attractive, though she didn't know why.

A second aspect of the sense of grievance of the Indians is the comparison of their status in relation to the government with that of the Eskimos. We have already mentioned the expressions "Eskimo school" and Eskimo dance". This kind of sentiment exists, in the opinion of the present writer, more than for any other reason, because of the difference in the effective presence in the settlement of the Department of Northern Affairs and of the Indian Affairs Branch.

There is no permanent representative of Indian Affairs residing in the community; the Indian Agent visits the settlement periodically (once during the July-August period of this study). On the other hand, Northern Affairs has a permanent Northern Service Officer in the settlement whose status is visibly symbolized by the array of Northern Affairs buildings which dominate the hill overlooking the native villages. The official and unofficial power of this officer is enormous. A separate study would be required to trace all the ways in which he exerts an impact upon the community, ranging through such items as: to buy a Peterhead boat to be placed at the disposal of the Eskimos; to buy soapstone for the encouragement of native carvings; the issuance of relief; the resettlement of Eskimos at Great Whale from James Bay, or from Great Whale at other points of the Hudson Bay coast; the decision as to who shall occupy a rigid frame house; the visiting of the sick; the enquiring by wire as to the state of health of a patient hospitalized in the south; the serving as consultant in marital problems; etc, etc. The NSO is called "The Boss" by the Indians [1], and there is no question in anybody's mind that in this community he is _the_ boss [2]. Formal relations of authority are interwoven with minute informal relations: the NSO knows each Eskimo by name; he is aware of births, weddings, deaths, but of lesser events in individual lives as well. The acting NSO in the summer 1960 kept his house literally accessible to the natives at all hours of the day and night.

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1. The Indian Agent was also called "The Boss". Among the Indians in northern Saskatchewan and Métis according to V.F. Valentine this term is used for the store manager.

2. One Saturday night there were an unusual number of Indians present at the community dance. I enquired why, and an Indian answered "Because we want to show The Boss that we are glad he is back" (the NSO had been away on a trip).

This image of the Northern Service Officer contrasts in some crucial respect with that of the Indian Agent. Above all, the latter is not a part of the community, as is the NSO. He is an official visitor who, during his appearances, deals with the business that requires his attention; an imposing but rather distant figure. The areas of his impact on the lives of his charges are great, but not nearly so diversified nor consistently renewed in day-to-day life as are those of the NSO.[1]

Furthermore, Indians wishing to deal with the Indian Agent must ordinarily do so by letter or by wire, or through some intermediary, with the result that much contact is discouraged, that much scope is given to delays, to misunderstandings, and in general to failure of communication.

We might finally point out that (from impressionistic evidence) it would seem that the two offices of government have a different per capita budget and (perhaps as a consequence) have different definitions of the minimum at which relief is required.

These contrasts are made, not for the purpose of arguing that one system is better than the other, but to indicate that the sum of them was that the Indians felt that "The Government" discriminated against them in favour of the Eskimos. They were unable to understand why a dozen and a half houses were available to Eskimos and none yet to them[2], why two boats were placed at the disposal of Eskimos and none to them, why requests to the NSO by them were received not infrequently with the answer that these requests were not within the competence of the NSO and should be referred to the Indian Agent. If it was all "The Government", why were the Indians and Eskimos treated differently--and in a manner that the Indians felt was to the advantage of the Eskimo? In a community where both ethnic groups coexisted side by side, and were so largely dependent on the functioning of the Government for their own well-being and even survival, the differences in policy and procedure between the two government offices (which policies and procedures are formulated for the wider cross-country constituency, and can only within a limited extent be revamped to meet each local situation) could scarcely fail to result in differential treatment of the two ethnic groups, and in bitterness on the part of the group that felt itself the less favourably treated. This was glaringly the fact of the matter at Great Whale River.

A word might be in order about the relations of the NSO with the Indians. During July, the Indians were at one in contrasting the then-acting NSO with his predecessor. The predecessor, it was said, had not liked Indians.[3] The latter believed that their complaints against him were instrumental in his removal. By contrast, the Indians said that the present NSO was "trying to help the people." However, as the summer advanced and economic conditions became progressively more difficult, a number of Indians became more and more disaffected from the NSO. Their own hunger and want, the absence of jobs, were felt to be due to a failing

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1. An example of such a difference is that the NSO, unlike the Indian Agent, is himself an employer, and a channel through whom other employers sometimes pass. Thus one method of getting native employees is to apply to the NSO for men.

2. Eight houses, however, were to be built for the Indians in the fall of 1960 by Indian Affairs.

3. An instance of bad relations was that an Indian shot the dog of the provious NSO.

on his part, and some accused him of discriminating against the Indians in favour of the Eskimos. Thus the following extracts from a letter which was written to the Indian Agent, and which is quoted here with the permission of the Indian author of the letter:

> "The Indian people are not working, just Eskimos working. Mr. X (the NSO) is not here all the time, and the people want to see him. He is just all the time with the Eskimos. And the chiefs too, they do not want to find work for the people all the time. It's just like there doesn't have chiefs here. Just the people who look for the work could work. There's nobody to find work for the people. All the time the people starving here without anything to buy food with. All the time the children cry for food without any to give them. Mr. Y (the Indian Agent) says when the boat comes there will be some work here, but there are not many people working here. A man couldn't hunt for something without any shells or nets; some of them don't have any nets. That's why they couldn't hunt for the children.
>
> "Mr. X (the NSO) doesn't listen to the people who are talking to him, just the Eskimos he listens. He is always helping the Eskimos to work, that's why the Eskimos always work, but he doesn't want to find some work for the Indians. Maybe all the Eskimos are all working, but the Indians just four are working. And the people said they don't like Mr. X (NSO) here."

The personal relations with the Indians of the acting NSO were undoubtedly cordial. The latter's house was open at any time to the Indians, and he would spend hours at a time listening to those who came to speak to him (this, apparently, was in great contrast to his predecessor). Furthermore, he took steps to encourage the production of handicrafts by Indians and to sell objects produced.

However, in the role of the NSO (as opposed to the particular person who filled it, there were built-in cross-pressures that could not fail to affect his relations with the Indians. The official allegiance of the NSO is to the Eskimos. Presumably the NSO chose service with Northern Affairs because of emotional commitment to the Eskimos, or such commitment is likely to be instilled in him through the socializing process of the formal training, and through the informal "esprit de corps" of the department members. Such emotional commitment is reinforced by the interest of the officer in his own career. Both are served when the largest possible number of Eskimos have jobs, and the fewest possible have to go on relief. However, because of the scarcity of jobs and the relative interchangeability of workers, every job found for or given to an Indian means a job taken away from an Eskimo, and means probably one more Eskimo family on relief. In this situation, there is very definitely a conflict of loyalties. How it is resolved in practice by the particular NSO is a question that has not been studied in this paper. That the conflict exists in the NSO's role, independently of the attitudes and actions of the particular NSO, deserves to be pointed out.

With respect to the Indians, the NSO has received authority from Indian Affairs for the supervision of external sanitation in the Indian village, for the investigation of conditions regarding food and clothing, and the communication of these to the Indian Superintendent, for the issuance of relief

in emergency to the amount of $22, and for the supervision of a wood-cutting project. In other words, the NSO is expected to exercise some surveillance over the well-being of the Indians. But his relationship to Indian Affairs is quite different from his relationship with his own Department of Northern Affairs. The extent of the authority and discretionary power delegated to him by Northern Affairs is much greater than that delegated by Indian Affairs. Furthermore, the NSO has personal relations, both formal and informal, with his superiors in Northern Affairs. He knows from experience the policy of his Department; he has a clear image of where he "stands"; he knows what are the expectations of his department, what actions of his are likely to be approved or disapproved, what are the limits within which his discretionary powers extend. In these respects he is more favourably placed and motivated to act for the well-being of the Eskimos than for that of the Indians, particularly in the achieving of long-range goals.

As we have said, the NSO is familiar with the policies and practices of Northern Affairs. To a great extent, he is presumably in agreement with these policies and practices. However there are concrete areas of disagreement between the policies and practices of Northern Affairs and those of Indian Affairs, for instance in type of housing, in requirements against those who receive houses, in the judging of when relief is necessary, in the form in which relief is given (e.g. direct relief versus work projects). These disagreements are the subject of rather strong feelings on both parts. Where there is such opposition of policies and practices the NSO is subject to a cross-pressure: he can pursue the policies and practices of Northern Affairs, though he is applying them to Indians when he is acting in the name of Indian Affairs, and when his action must receive the backing of Indian Affairs; or he can apply the policies and practices of Indian Affairs against his own tendencies, and against his manner of dealing with his primary charges in the same community, the Eskimos.

We have mentioned two aspects of the sense of grievance of the Indians. We shall now mention a third, what we might call the inability to grasp or to accept the "rules of the game" which are set by the whites. In two respects the Indians have become more fundamentally dependent on the white way of life. The first is the increase of white impact since World War II: the greater number of whites in the community (especially since the decision in 1954 to establish at Great Whale the sectional control station of the Mid-Canada Line); the increased range of white interference in Indian life, for instance through medical care and hospitalization of tubercular patients; through supplementing of native resources by family allowance, relief, jobs, etc.; through the increasingly directional role of government, for instance in encouraging some to go trapping others to remain over the winter at the settlement. Parallel with this increasing white presence has been a progressive Indian disaffection from the traditional way of life in the form of trapping. To this result one contributing factor is undoubtedly the shrinking supply of game (for instance caribou have all but disappeared from the area). But more serious as a factor has been the changing expectations of the Indians. The Indians have begun to contrast their manner of life with that of the whites, and to find theirs hard. They have been employed in large numbers during the days of construction and earned in a month what had previously been a year's income. They have experienced relatively easy access to food and clothing from the government. As a result, the majority of Indians questioned expressed a preference for jobs over trapping, and would list the hardships of trapping, particularly the insecurity and threat of hunger. "I was hungry" is a sentence that occurs again and again.

With this greater dependence, the Indians are thrown up against the differences in standards between the whites and themselves. We have already mentioned the difficulty in accepting the distinction between different parts of the government, Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs. We have quoted, too, the Indian who could not understand how "The Government" could have a limited amount of money to spend on the Indians, when "The Government" was building and supplying radar sites.

But perhaps the most fundamental difference is that between the traditional collectivistic standards of the Indians and the individualistic standards of the whites. The whites expect that a man should only receive what he has earned (except in emergency); what one man has earned is his, and no one else has a claim to it. The Indians frequently complained about these standards, which they consider against the teaching of the Bible, and indicative of a spirit of avarice. In their own lives, what one man catches on the trap lines is shared among all. If one man receives family allowance, he will share it with his poorer relatives. If someone returns from the hospital, and so is given rations to help him through the period of convalescence, many mouths besides his own will be fed. The Indians resented the white standards in the face of the wealth which they believed was the whites', and the extreme need which they felt was their own. Furthermore, the four or five families most fully committed to jobs as opposed to trapping, who largely embraced these white individualistic standards, were bitterly criticized by the other Indians, and were not part of the central stream of Indian life.

A difference in "rules of the game" had probably also a large part to play in the very frequent accusation made by the Indians that the whites were always lying. The word "lying" might have been used in the sense common among white Canadians but it had clearly a particular sense in this situation. Rumours were forever flying in the summer of 1960. A boat was said to be coming on such a date; then, perhaps, the boat did not arrive on that date. The NSO might undertake a wood-cutting project, for which funds to pay the Indians did not arrive at the expected time, due, perhaps to administrative or interdepartmental hold-ups. Or a well-meaning teacher might say "Perhaps this fall the government will fly you into your trap lines"; then it turns out that the government has no such intention. Or an employer might say "There might be work for you when our boat comes in next month." When the anticipated event does not materialize, the Indians conclude that the white man has been lying again. From observation, I should say that the single greatest source of these "lies" is presenting as a possibility something that the speaker hopes will happen (e.g. more jobs, houses, food), but which he is not absolutely certain of. It is my experience that he will be taken literally, that his story will very quickly circulate among the whole community of Indians, and will become a basis of hope; when this hope is shattered, resentment is generated. It seems to be true that the Indians take very literally what is said to them often by way of what most Canadians would consider a pious convention. This tendency is increased by the vagaries of untrained translators (one is nonplussed, at times, to have one's full English sentence put into three brief words by the translator; undoubtedly there was a gain in directness, but one suspects at times a loss of nuance!). [1]

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1. Balikci speaks of "broken promises", and says: "Increasingly the natives formed the opinion that the Euro-Canadian were unstable, often liars, people on whom one could hardly rely" op. cit. p. 51.

Other instances where differences in standards led to tensions occurred in the nurse's relations with the Indians. The white residents of Great Whale all agreed that the nurse in sole charge of the nursing station was exceptionally dedicated to her work among the natives. Some, in fact, thought that her dedication went much beyond the call of duty and might be detrimental to her own health. In view of this concensus among the whites, it was something of a surprise to find that there was a good deal of opposition to the nurse among the Indians.

In the first place, it would seem that the opposition was to be found among the men rather than the Indian women. One Indian woman said that all the Indian women liked the nurse, while this same woman's husband said that all the men did not like her. Both statements were an exaggeration, of course, but it would seem that adverse opinion to the nurse was sex-specific. In view of this fact, one might suspect that in part opposition came from the fact, that she was a woman. In view of the subsidiary role of the woman in Indian culture, one would expect that the men would have less confidence in the competence of a woman, and would resent the authority which the nurse wielded in some areas of their lives. This hypothesis would receive some support from the fact that, among the Eskimos, where the women have a much more prominent social position, the nurse's relations with the men were harmonious.

A second source of opposition was clearly the attempt of the nurse to formalize her professional relationships with her patients. She attempted to implement visiting hours, and berated individuals who came without a more serious reason outside of visiting hours. A number of Indians did not take easily to seeing the nurse within fixed hours. They would come at different hours during day or in the evening, and were resentful when the nurse expressed displeasure at this fact. They contrasted her behaviour with that of her predecessor (a male) who, some said, could be visited at any time. Several Indians said that the nurse was "always getting mad".

A related friction was the nurse's sense that Indians often came to the nursing station with a trifling ailment, or else failed to come in cases of serious sickness until it was too late. She would reprove parents, for instance, for not bringing their sick child earlier for treatment, and this would be resented by the Indians as another instance of her "bad temper".

Again, there were undoubted difficulties of communication between the nurse and the Indians. The nurse's native language was not English, and she expressed herself with some difficulty in this language. Her interpreter was an Eskimo who spoke some English and some Cree, but there were complaints by Indians that they could not understand him. It would appear that these complaints of semantic difficulties were often well-founded.

Communication in another sense was more difficult with the Indians than with the Eskimos. Once a week the nurse through her Eskimo interpreter would broadcast information or instructions over the local radio transmitter. The Eskimos had radios in great numbers, and could be reached through these broadcasts that gave prestige and importance to her messages. For instance, Eskimos could in this way be summoned for X-Rays. The Indians, on the other hand, had only two radios in operation in 1960, so that this means of communication with them was not available. The prestige of the nursing station failed to be enhanced in their regard by the messages of the nurse coming over the air-waves.

Another factor tending to promote friction was the greater cultural distance of the Indians as opposed to the Eskimos. The canons of cleanliness urged and, where possible, enforced by the nurse met greater opposition from the Indians than from the Eskimos. For instance, all the Indian children had lice at one time or another, as contrasted with some 10 or 15 Eskimo children. More frequent washing, more frequent changing of children's diaper moss, removal of head-dress; such precepts of the nurse encountered the opposition of traditional practices.

Again, the nurse reported that a good number of the Indians were helpless when dealing with disease, and seemed unable or unwilling to do anything to help themselves. When the nurse attended one of their children, she said, they stood about staring, and would do nothing to help. The Eskimos, on the contrary, seemed to have much more initiative. An instance in point: one day the writer helped into her office an Eskimo who had been severely cut by a grappling hook; within minutes of the accident, the Eskimo had been rather well bandaged up by members of his family. The nurse, commenting with approval on the bandage, said that the Indians could never have done the like.

The friction, which generally remained latent, came to a head when there was question of a patient's being evacuated to the hospital. Of the great number of Indians who had been to the hospital, none had good things to say about it, at least publicly. Going to the hospital meant going into exile in Moose Factory, Hamilton, Gravenhurst, or elsewhere. Whatever the reason for the fear of the hospital, the fact was that opposition to going to the hospital was in several cases violent. One father whose child required hospitalization raised the strongest objections, and another, a man suspected of tuberculosis, refused to go despite all the nurse's urging and persuasion, the intervention of the NSO and even the threat of bringing in the Mounties. Finally only violent language from the Indian Agent extracted the promise to go.

One could see several reasons why the hospital would be considered an ordeal by the Indians, especially the aspect of leaving everything with which they were familiar to put themselves into the hands of strangers. But the chief reason given most often by the Indians themselves was a religious one: they were as a group dismayed by instances where a woman in the hospital had become pregnant: For instance, one case of a man not living with his wife may be traced back to the wife's pregnancy from another man while she was in the hospital. Another man received reports while he was in the hospital, that other Indian men were trying to seduce his wife in his absence. Undoubtedly this fear of broken family relationships had an important part in giving the hospital a sinister image. As a result, when the nurse tried to tell some individuals that they must go to the hospital, she encountered objections in the form: "The Bible says that a man must love his wife", or "when I got married I promised that I would never leave my wife".

CONCLUSION. A study as purely exploratory as this has been cannot pretend to offer true conclusions. By way of summary, I might say that the informal relations of the Indians were almost entirely confined to their own group, whereas their relations with the Eskimos and whites were characterized by social distance and distrust. With the Eskimos, adult Indians maintained distance and reserve; Indian children, however, manifested fear and withdrawal.

The relations of Indians to whites are far more complex than their relations to the Eskimos, because the institutional structure has brought the Indians into a state of economic and political dependence upon whites for well-being and even for physical survival. In the unequal relationship where whites control power and money, and the Indians are affected by decisions of white private individuals, business officers and government officials, the Indians have had to adapt their cultural norms and values to those of the whites--with several areas of strain, of misunderstanding and resentment.

In particular, Indians resented the position of inferiority which they felt was theirs compared to the Eskimos. The basis for this inequality of treatment was seen to reside above all in the separation of jurisdiction between two government departments with different policies and practices, and the massive presence of one of these departments in the locality, and the relatively weaker presence of the other. This political factor was compounded by the structuring of the employment situation--in particular by the factors making for hiring of labor along ethnic rather than individual lines--to produce a state of striking economic inequality between the two native groups. There is no supposition made here that only these factors operate to produce inequality, but certainly these are major ones.

Finally, some attention was given to the internal cohesion and solidarity of the Indian community. This was investigated less for its actual bearing on ethnic relations than for its potential bearing. Sociological students of "underdeveloped" or "developing" or "emerging" nations have been aware for some time of the crucial importance of solidarity for these nations. Nations that pass rapidly from a non-industrialized to an industrializing state undergo severe strains, with characteristic manifestations of strain. The old cultural synthesis, adapted to a non-industrialized way of life, has to be broken, with the elimination of some cultural components, and the redefinition and adaptation of others. The old social organization is also broken or modified: traditional status criteria are replaced by new criteria; the old upper classes, attached to the ways of the past, must adopt the new techniques and the new norms, or they are themselves displaced by new classes that will. A considerable portion of the population suffers from dislocation, what Durkheim called "anomie": confusion over life-goals, over standards of the "good", apathy, resentment in search of a scapegoat, the search for a simplified mental scheme which will interpret what is happening and will give it meaning, the search for a charismatic leader who will provide the scheme, will declare who are the good and the bad, and what is the way out of the present dislocation.[1]

In respect of the manifestations of strain, Indians in Canada being drawn into an industrialized economy are not different from the populations of Ghana, or Iraq, or Cuba. A crucial difference, however, is that nation-states undergoing the dislocations of industrialization have a large measure of political autonomy, and leadership from within the nation itself. In the process of industrialization, the solidarity of the nation is not broken, but on the contrary is heightened

1. A movement of this kind occurred in an extreme form on the Belcher Islands off Great Whale River, in the 1940's. The movement had its messiah, an Eskimo who preached the imminent end of the world, when the whites would be damned and the Eskimos led to paradise. In the course of the movement, several religious murders occurred. The Eskimo with whom I stayed at Great Whale River had been the Archangel Gabriel, and had personally murdered his brother-in-law and two others.

as political unification is achieved and charismatic leaders emerge--a Saviour of the People like Nasser, Nkrumah, Kassem, Gursel, Ayub, Sukarno or Castro. The autonomous leadership and self-responsibility give the political power and the motivation to ensure adaptive change--in a situation where the alternatives are to change adaptively or to perish. The leader provides the possibility of decisions made for the group, but at the same time provides a flow of words which give the people symbols as rallying-points for motivation--a higher cause, such as the nation, or pan-Arabism or the socialist state, or whatever--and the group as a whole is given hope for the future, objectives which justify present sacrifices and deflect resentment over the dislocation and poverty of the present. As a result, change tends to follow functional lines: the motivation of the people is channelled into creating and accepting new cultural forms and values that will ensure survival and economic growth; at the same time, political and social pressures are little by little brought to bear against purely "expressive" (i.e. hedonistic) life-orientations of individual members.

With the Indians at present the situation is different. Direct economic dependence of individuals upon white authorities tends to break down the solidarity of the group, because that group can do relatively little for the individual. Survival and well-being tends to take an individual, not a group character. Leadership of the Indian community is progressively lost by the Indians to the whites as more crucial decisions are made by whites, and not Indians. Indian leadership either does not develop, or else develops the individual leader up and out of the Indian community into the white world, as there is no scope for the leader's abilities within the Indian community. The institutional structuring of motivation fosters, not adaptive-functional cultural forms, but expressive and parasitic forms. The community becomes eventually incapable of controlling cultural change within itself, and can survive only by infusions of white leadership and money. Both culturally and (as a consequence) economically, the Indian community becomes parasitical.

Of course one cannot change the political fact that Indians are citizens of Canada, and not of a state of their own. There is no intention here of putting the Cree Indians of Great Whale River on a par with the peoples of Ghana. However the evidence surely is strong that community solidarity and autonomous leadership, to the extent politically or economically feasible, can become a chief instrument of controlled cultural and social changes towards adaptive-functional forms, rather than towards purely expressive and parasitical forms. In this belief, I have stressed in this study the basis of solidarity in the Indian community to be found in family, religion, and, to some extent, in the structure of Chief and Councillors.