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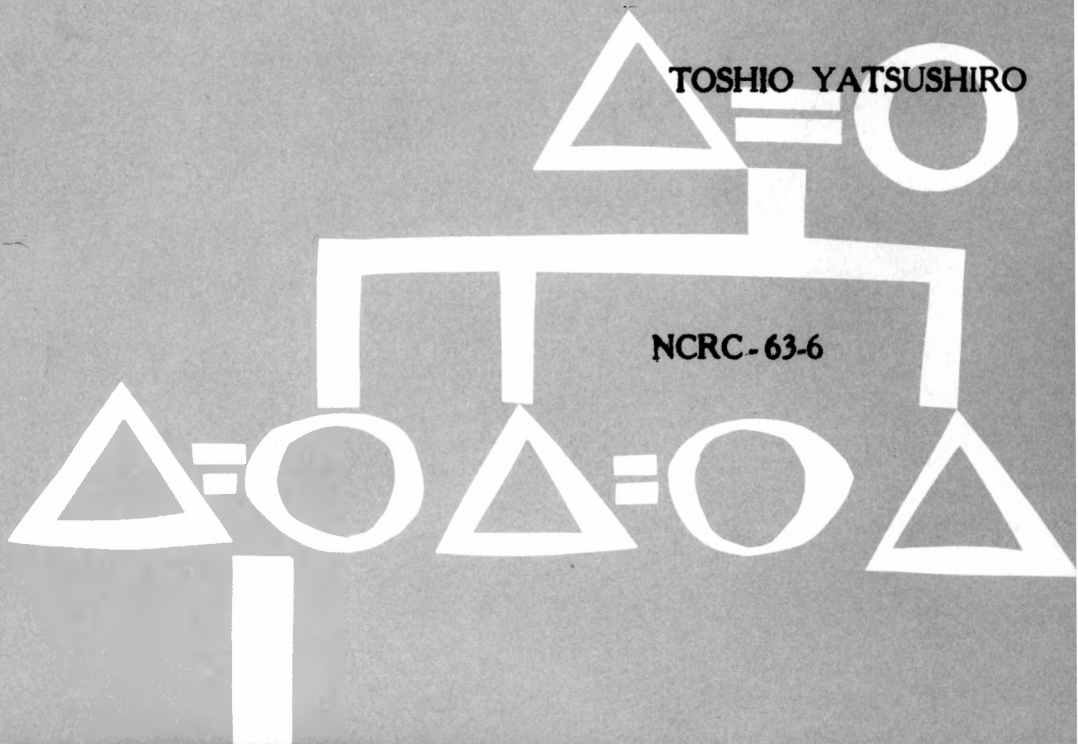
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FROBISHER BAY 1958

TOSHIO YATSUSHIRO

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by

TOSHIO YATSUSHIRO

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre during the summers of 1958 and 1959. 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.

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

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

July, 1963.

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## PREFACE

Frobisher Bay is the largest settlement in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. It lies on the bay of the same name, at 63°44'N, 68°28'W, in southern Baffin Island. The Frobisher Bay region was one of the first parts of the North American Arctic to be visited by Europeans in historical times; during the summers of 1576, 1577 and 1578 the English explorer after whom the Bay is named landed here, and made contact with the Eskimos.

In 1942, construction of a runway, which was completed in the following summer, was begun at Frobisher Bay; it was used as one of a chain built to evacuate American wounded from Europe to the United States. In 1955, Frobisher Bay served as a transportation centre during the construction of the D. E. W. (Distant Early Warning) Line. The settlement is now the regional headquarters for the administrative region that covers Baffin Island, and the Queen Elizabeth Islands (except Cornwallis Island).

The settlement of Frobisher contains three sites - the Air Base, Apex Hill and Ikhaluit. The populations of these three sites in 1961 were 512, 398 and 516 respectively.

In 1958 and 1959, Dr. Yatsushiro carried out an extensive study of the Eskimo population of Frobisher Bay for the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre (see Beaver Outfit 293 for Summer, 1962). This report contains some of the results of this study.

## INTRODUCTION

A survey of the material culture of the Frobisher Bay Eskimos provides a glimpse of one aspect of traditional Eskimo culture that is undergoing drastic change.

During the summer of 1958 an extensive detailed survey of the material culture of the Frobisher Bay Eskimo population was conducted.<sup>1</sup> Although this "Material Culture Survey" was principally directed at enumerating the various material possessions of the Eskimos, it also elicited systematic data concerning some other aspects of Eskimo community life, such as literacy in Eskimo syllabic script, incidence of hospitalization for tuberculosis, prevalence of wage employment, and birthplace of the family head.

Before proceeding to the tables, a word about the nature of the Survey is in order. The survey unit was the household, rather than the individual. The main reason for this was that in many instances certain material items belonged to the entire household rather than to any particular member of it. This applies, for example, to tents and the numerous household articles.

A "household" consisted of all those living under the same roof, whether this was a tent or a wood-frame house. Eighty-eight households comprised the total sample units in this Survey, and they in turn contained 516 individuals, representing 82% of the total Eskimo population in Frobisher Bay in 1958. Unless otherwise specified, the percentages in the various tables represent proportions of the total sample of 88 household units.

In two-thirds of the total sample, the household consisted of a nuclear family of husband and wife and their unmarried children. In the remainder, the household consisted of two or more nuclear family units. The average number of persons in a household was 5.86. (See Table 1c)

It should be noted that the Survey was largely based on visual observation alone, with little direct questioning employed. There was no alternative to this during the early stages of the study, as no Eskimo interpreter was available to the investigator. As the study progressed, however, the investigator acquired some competence in the Eskimo language, sufficient to permit him to question in Eskimo. Partly as a result of this, some new

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1. A copy of the Survey form employed may be found at the end of the report.

Eskimo possessions were uncovered--e.g. battery-charged electric shaver--and these were added to the original check list of material items of the questionnaire. In view of these considerations, the number of actual possessions in connection with the different items is without doubt greater than represented by the table figure. The relative uncertainty in this regard is mainly responsible for the category "no information" instead of "none" in many of the frequency distributions.

## HOUSING

Nearly a third of the households in this survey sample occupied Government-owned, electrified and space-heated bungalows or apartments, paying a modest rent, instead of tents, shacks, subterranean lodges or other traditional dwellings. The relatively large proportion living in canvas tents--some 59%--is due to the fact that the survey was conducted during the summer months when tent living is the common practice. With the onset of winter, beginning in late September, the tent dwellers move into their self-made woodframe huts, which are mostly crude structures made from wooden crates discarded by the different Government and private agencies operating in the vicinity. Some of the Eskimo huts are surprisingly well constructed in terms of design, durability, and the building materials used. But the fact remains that by Western housing standards, most of these huts are "shacks" or hovels. The features of these huts that impress the Westerner as being most deplorable include the following: (a) they are poorly insulated against the bitter Arctic cold, which in the winter frequently registers -40°F; (b) the severe limitation of space results in overcrowding and presents health hazards; (c) they represent "fire traps". These self-made huts are all found only in Ikhaluit, the larger of the two Eskimo communities located in this region.

The Government-owned modern bungalows, referred to as "512s" by the Government authorities, are a source of both envy and unhappiness to the tent-and shack-dwelling Eskimos in Ikhaluit. Practically all the Ikhaluit Eskimos would like to live in these modern bungalows. This is vividly illustrated in Table V. Of 48 adult males (mostly in wage employment) who were asked in a special attitude survey whether they would like to own such bungalows and live in them, 75% said "yes" and only 4% said "no", with 21% supplying answers that were not entirely clear. Nearly half of those responding affirmatively were anxious to learn what it would cost to purchase such a bungalow, or how they might proceed to acquire one. In the summer of 1958 a group of employed Eskimos living in Ikhaluit formally approached their employer, the Department of Transport, to inquire as to when they were going to be provided with modern bungalows like the ones occupied by the Eskimos living in Apex Hill, who were employed by the Department of Northern Affairs. It is quite evident that the Ikhaluit Eskimos are becoming more and more dissatisfied with their self-made dwellings. This is especially the case among those Eskimos who have been in residence in Ikhaluit for a relatively long period, and who have been in wage employment more or less continuously during this period.



The dissatisfaction of these Eskimos is aggravated by the fact that they are in constant contact with those occupying 512s. Some of these Eskimos cannot understand why they are being discriminated against, and why some of the other Eskimos are being favoured in the matter of allocation of housing. In brief, the differential in housing within the Eskimo population constitutes a major source of dissatisfaction for most Eskimos.

It is significant to point out that the dissatisfaction stems not from any inadequacy of the self-made dwellings per se, but from the invidious distinction made between the two types of housing that exist side by side. Although most of the Eskimo dwellings may be described as "shacks" by Western standards, they are no worse than the dwellings that these Eskimos have lived in traditionally. And some of these "shacks" are in certain respects superior to traditional Eskimo dwellings, such as the snow house. For example, they permit the installation of space heaters, something that is not possible in a snow house. In addition, some of these huts are much more spacious than traditional ones. A few were even electrified until 1959, when the Government authorities intervened and had the power disconnected.

Finally it should be kept in mind that the so-called "shacks" represent the Eskimos' response to a vital need (i. e. housing) in terms of their cultural background, and a culture contact situation that made no provision for any form of housing for most Eskimos nor for the provision of any proper building materials.

#### FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

Most of the households contained modern beds with mattresses purchased from the local Hudson's Bay Store, or given to them by the United States Air Force who were in the process of discarding them. (See Table XXX) Some households had self-made wooden beds without springs or mattresses. The occupants of these households usually slept in sleeping bags that were purchased from the local store. A few households had no beds whatsoever; the occupants slept on caribou skins placed on a wooden floor, in sleeping bags, or under blankets. Some of the families living in the Government bungalows possessed bedroom sets, with a dresser and a chest and a night stand to accompany the beds.

Over one-quarter of the households possessed some pieces of modern dining room furniture. Seventeen per cent--mainly those living in Government

bungalows--owned complete sets, with table and matching chairs, made of chrome frame. A few families (6%) owned a modern table without matching chairs, or a set of modern dining chairs without a matching table. Some families (13%) had self-made wooden tables with one or more factory-made chairs. Some 40% possessed various combinations of self-made wooden tables and wooden chairs, stools, or benches. Only 8% of the households were observed without any chairs or tables, modern or self-made ones. (See Table XXXI)

Only a few households (9%) possessed some combination of modern living room furniture, a couch, sofa, or stuffed easy chair. One of the main reasons for the relatively small number owning such furniture is the limited space available, even in the more spacious Government bungalows, in which the kitchen, dining room, and living room are combined in one room. The dining room furniture tends to be used in a dual capacity. (See Table XXXII)

The floors of some of the self-made huts were laid with linoleum purchased at the local store. The Government bungalows came equipped with asphalt tile flooring. (See Table XXXIV)

Some types of baby furniture and furnishings were present in 20% of the households. They included baby cribs, high chairs, play pens, and perambulators. (See Table XXXIII)

Practically all the households possessed some form of modern cooking and heating fixtures. The Government bungalows were each equipped with an automatic oil-burning stove-heater combination. A number of the Eskimo-owned dwellings were equipped with some type of modern space heater. The other self-made Eskimo dwellings, frame huts and tents, utilized primus stoves, both for heating and cooking purposes. Many households, instead or in addition, owned double-burner Coleman stoves, which are more efficient. Although Table X reveals only 16% of the households owning such Coleman stoves, it is very likely that many more households possess this item. Only one household, a small family living in a tent, was observed using the ancient soapstone lamp with seal blubber as fuel, for both heating and cooking purposes.

Adequate heating and adequate housing constitute two of the greatest problems that have confronted the Eskimos from time immemorial. In both instances, the current situation has been aggravated in the minds of most Eskimos, since some of them are living in comfort in modern

Government bungalows equipped with superior heating arrangements while most are living in inadequately heated "shacks".

In addition to the preceding items, some Eskimo households contain certain electrical appliances characteristically associated with a typical middle-class family in Western society. In 1958, 16% of the households owned an electric wringer type washing machine. In the same year only 2%, or two households, owned a refrigerator. (See Tables VII and VIII). Many households owned electric clothes irons, and approximately three-quarters of the households owned some type of sewing machines, mainly Singer models. A few were electrically powered, but most were manually operated ones.

Still in the domain of household possessions should be mentioned clocks, which were mostly non-electric. Practically every household on which the relevant information was obtained possessed at least one clock, (Eighty-eight per cent); no information was available on some 10% of the households sampled. Most of the clocks were equipped with an alarm system, an indispensable feature to the wage-employed Eskimo who is awakened in the morning by it and is able thereby to report to work on time. Many families (30%) possessed two or three clocks. Some of the clocks in these affluent households fulfilled ornamental and prestige functions, in addition to the practical function of denoting time.

#### INDIVIDUAL POSSESSIONS

Along with the clocks mentioned above, mention must be made of wrist watches. If the households on which the relevant information was not available (about 23%) were excluded, then it could be said that practically every household contained at least one member who owned a wrist watch of some make. In some 32% of the households, two members--usually the husband and wife--were each found to be in possession of this item. Like some of the clocks, the ownership of wrist watches fulfilled the dual function of denoting time and enhancing the owner's prestige and status.

Fifteen percent of the households possessed electric shavers, which were owned and used by adult males. No information was available on some 44% of the households sampled. Forty-one per cent definitely did not own this item. The shavers were in practically every instance battery-powered and Phillips make.

### LUXURY ARTICLES

The Eskimo possessions classified as "luxury" include the following: radio (usually short-wave battery-powered sets), record players, cameras, tape recorders and slide projectors.

Nearly two-thirds of the households (62%) were in possession of some type of radio. 29% of the households had none, while the relevant information was not available on some 9% of the sample. A few families had more than one radio. Moreover, some families owned combination radio-phonograph sets.

Forty-one per cent owned record players, mostly of the lower-priced or medium-priced variety. A couple of households owned hi-fi sets or near facsimiles.

Over half of the households owned one or more cameras of varying makes and price range.

Relatively few households owned tape recorders or slide projectors, the proportion being 5%. However, their mere presence in the inventory of Eskimo possessions is significant in indicating the extent to which the material culture of the Eskimos is undergoing change.

### CLOTHING

Although the survey endeavored to obtain a statistical profile of the type of clothing regularly worn by the Eskimos, many difficulties arose in gathering the relevant data that made the original objective in this respect unfeasible of realization. However, based on extensive observations and field notes, it is possible to present a summary description of this phase of the material cultural life of the Eskimos. The clothing of the Frobisher Bay Eskimos consists of a mixture of traditional items and Western ones. Traditional articles that prevail, both among males and females, include: the knee-high boots (kammik) made of seal and/or caribou skin; the parka formerly made of caribou or seal skin but today more commonly made from duffel (a thick woollen fabric); mittens, made traditionally from caribou skin and fur, and worn by some in the winter only; trousers, formerly made of seal or caribou skin and worn by some during the winter only; and knee-high stockings made of caribou skin and worn by some in the winter only.

Western-finished apparel and raw clothing materials are today rapidly displacing the traditional ones. Although a number of traditional articles persist, as mentioned above, about the only item that has fully withstood the onslaught of Western material culture is the kammik. Practically all the parkas worn today are made of duffel. With the aid of a sewing machine,

which most Eskimo households own, the Eskimo woman skilfully tailors the material into parkas for all members of her household. To add to the appearance, colourful designs are frequently sewn directly on to the duffel parka, and in many instances a separate matching garment made of poplin and containing fancy designs is worn over the parka. Recently a few Eskimos have begun to purchase Western-tailored parkas from the Bay Store or from the Eaton mail-order store in Toronto, Ontario. Many are also acquiring Western-tailored jackets of various types, the most popular being the Arctic thermo-insulated and leather jackets, which they wear interchangeably with their duffel parkas.

The garb of a typical Eskimo male in wage employment in Frobisher Bay comprises Western-made trousers of wool or cotton, home-made duffel stockings or Western-tailored woollen ones, kammik boots in most cases, although Western leather boots or knee high rubber overboots are used widely and interchangeably with the kammik, Western leather gloves, Western winter cap, parka, or some Western jacket, and Western underwear.

The everyday garb of a typical Eskimo woman, consists of Western tailored dress made of cotton or rayon, long stockings made of wool or cotton, kammik boots usually but Western low-cut leather shoes or high rubber boots frequently, parka, and Western underwear. Many younger women are taking to wearing Western slacks instead of a dress, and Western leotards are coming into use.

In addition to the above everyday wear, many adult males own a complete set of semi-formal Western wear that includes a fancy woollen suit, shirt and tie, dress shoes and socks, a felt hat, and in some instances an overcoat. Some adult females own stylish semi-formal Western dresses or suits, and dress shoes, stockings, and purses or handbags. A few own fancy full length party dresses with matching high-heel leather shoes. In addition, Eskimo women are beginning to use lipstick, powder, and other facial make-up, and are taking to waving their hair and fixing it as Western women do. The wearing of costume jewellery is also coming into vogue.

Infants and children in general are also being dressed in Western garb. It is not unusual to encounter Eskimo infants dressed entirely in Western clothes, or young boys outfitted completely in a cowboy suit and armed with cap guns and a holster.

In brief, an examination of the clothes worn by the Frobisher Eskimos today would readily lend itself to the conclusion that the traditional

material culture of the people has just about disappeared from the scene.

### HUNTING TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

One of the most significant material innovations in Eskimo culture, viewed historically, is the Western gun or rifle. The gun has been known to the Canadian Eskimos for some time, perhaps since the 16th and 17th centuries, when the New World was being explored and colonized by Europeans. But it was probably not until the mid-nineteenth century that significant numbers of Canadian Eskimos began to obtain possession of this modern firearm. It was during the 19th century especially that fur trading flourished vigorously on an expanded scale, making it possible for many more Eskimos to acquire guns from the European traders in exchange for fox and other furs.

Franz Boas, an anthropologist who visited the region of southern Baffin Island during 1883-4, reported the presence and use of guns among the Eskimos in this area.<sup>1</sup> But he provides no indication as to their prevalence. However, he indicates that the traditional hunting weapons and implements (harpoon, spear, and presumably bow and arrow) were relied on extensively and were indispensable. From this we may conclude that the gun, although in use at this time, was not extensively owned or widely used.

Some forty years later, Therkel Mathiassen, who accompanied the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, reported in one of the many reports by this Expedition that guns were in common use among the Eskimos of Baffin Island.<sup>2</sup> For example, he indicates that the caribou was always

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1. Franz Boas: The Central Eskimo. U. S. A. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Sixth Annual Report, Covering Period of 1884-1885; pp. 401-675; (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office); 1888.

Also:

Franz Boas: The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History; Vol. XV; 1901.

2. Therkel Mathiassen: Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Vol. VI, No. 1 of Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24; (Copenhagen, Denmark: Glydendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlang); 1928.

hunted with the gun,<sup>1</sup> noting that formerly "caribou hunting was pursued with the bow and arrow, and also with the spear from the kayak."<sup>2</sup> Walruses and whales apparently continued to be hunted by the traditional harpoon and the kayak, without the use of the gun.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether the gun was or was not used in hunting seal in the open water in the summer. Although Mathiassen provides us with no precise figures on the prevalence of guns among the Eskimos, he offers this revealing statement, as follows:

"The bow and arrow have been used by many of the adult men now living; several of them have only acquired guns during the past few years; but now the bow and arrow are only used as playthings for children and youths."<sup>4</sup>

We may conclude, then, that by 1924 most Eskimo households possessed at least one gun, which had replaced the bow and arrow as the principal weapon of the hunt.

By 1950, a quarter of a century after Mathiassen's field study, practically every Eskimo household in southern Baffin Island owned at least one gun. This applies especially to the Eskimos who inhabited the Frobisher Bay settlement, which was established during World War II as a major military air base of the U. S. Air Force. Many Eskimos found lucrative wage employment with the U.S. Air Force at this air base during and following World War II. Beginning in the mid-1950's the United States and Canadian joint North American air defence programme, popularly known as the DEW-line ("Distant Early Warning") system, was initiated in this and in other Arctic regions. This, with other more recent developments greatly expanded wage-employment opportunities for the Eskimos, which in turn brought unheard-of sums of money into the Eskimos' pockets. Among the many Western artifacts which the Eskimo nouveau riche quickly acquired, the gun has been one of the most desirable. This is shown by Table XX, which reveals the possession by 88 Eskimo households (comprising 516 individuals) in 1958 of a total of 245 guns. This is nearly three guns per household, or roughly 1 gun for every two persons. Nearly one-quarter of the sample households owned more than three guns; some owned as many as seven and eight. Only one household made up of an elderly couple was without a single gun.

The wage-employed Eskimo likes to have several types of firearm in his possession. Some of the firearms are equipped with powerful

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1. *ibid.*, pp. 53-61  
2. *ibid.*, p. 55  
3. *ibid.*, pp. 42-53  
4. *ibid.*, p. 55

telescopic sights. Although the gun is an indispensable hunting weapon and highly cherished by the Eskimos, its extensive distribution makes it a commonplace article. An account of a personal experience of this investigator in 1958 will illustrate this situation more vividly. One household that was visited had five guns and rifles randomly strewn on the ground inside the tent. When the male head of the household was asked about the number of guns he owned, he replied "none". When queried as to the ownership of the guns lying about in the tent, he chuckled and said, "Oh, they were mine, but now they are playthings for my children." He indicated that he was planning to purchase a new set shortly. Although a couple of the discarded guns appeared very rusty, the others appeared to be in usable or repairable condition. This episode brings to mind Mathiassen's statement quoted earlier concerning the bow and arrow, which by 1924 had become "playthings for children", having been replaced only recently by the gun as the principal weapon of the hunt.

Another widely adopted material innovation of Western origin that is indispensable in hunting sea mammals in the summer is the modern canoe equipped with an outboard motor, or the whale boat powered by an inboard motor. Table XXI reveals that two-thirds of all the households owned at least one Western canoe or boat. A number of households owned both a whale boat and a canoe. The total number of Western canoes and boats of all types numbered 78. This averages out to nearly one canoe or boat per household. One household owned a Peterhead, a relatively large boat measuring some 42 feet in length and equipped with a powerful inboard motor. It can undertake long journeys and can carry considerable amount of cargo, as well as many passengers.<sup>1</sup> One third of the sample households did not own any canoe or boat. However, the members of most of these households have access to some canoe or boat, usually that of a kinsman.

Tables XXII, XXIII and XXIV provide statistics on the number of boat motors owned, the types of motor (outboard or inboard), and their horsepower capacity. The number of boat motors, 69, totals less than the number of canoes or boats owned (78) because (a) some families possessed more than one canoe or boat but only one motor (usually an outboard type) and (b) a few families owned a canoe or boat but not a motor, which they borrowed from a kinsman or friend when necessary. Table XXIII reveals that there are many more outboard motors than inboard ones, 42 and 27 respectively. This ratio roughly corresponds to the proportion of canoes and small boats on the one hand and whale boats and other larger vessels on the other. The former are powered by outboard motors, and the latter tend to be equipped with inboard engines. Table XXIV shows that the power

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1. The manager of the Hudson's Bay store estimated that such a craft today would be sold for approximately \$8,000 to \$10,000



capacity of the motors varies from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 18 horsepower, the median being  $7\frac{1}{2}$  h. p.

It is significant to note here that not a single kayak or umiak was observed. Indeed practically no one below twenty had ever seen one in his lifetime. This applied to many Eskimos above this age group as well. Only the older Eskimos, especially those over 50, had had any experience earlier in life with a kayak or umiak, a distinctive mark of Eskimo culture. As far as the Frobisher Eskimos are concerned the whole complex, representing a body of knowledge and skill evolved over the millenia, appears to have been irretrievably lost. Along with the bow and arrow complex, it does not even survive in the form of toys for children. A more efficient and a readily available Western material innovation has displaced it completely.

The canoe or boat, modern or native, can only be used during the summer, which in the Arctic is extremely brief, at most some three months. It is used mainly for hunting sea mammals, such as seals, walruses, and whales, the first being of greatest importance as it forms the staple item in Eskimo diet. Although the gun plays a central role in this hunt, the traditional Eskimo harpoon, with its detachable barbed point (usually made of ivory), is still employed, but as an ancillary implement to haul the animal aboard after it had been shot and retrieved.

The canoe is also useful in net fishing, a traditional technique. Table XXVII shows that most of the households owned one or more nets, a total of 71 nets being counted in the sample of 88 households. At the time of the survey, however, fishing by rod and reel had become fashionable, more as a sport than a means of obtaining an important seafood. Table XXVIII reveals that about one-half of all the households owned one or two sets of this Western fishing tackle. The Arctic char, which forms an important part of the Eskimo diet during the summer, is also caught by an ancient technique employing a special type of leister that is unique to Eskimo culture. This type of spear fishing is pursued near the mouth of a river during early summer, when the char leaves its winter habitat (usually a mountain lake) and swims downstream to the sea, and also during late summer or early autumn, when they return upstream to their regular winter abode to spawn. During the long winter, however, the canoe is of no use. When travel becomes necessary in the winter, to conduct a hunt or to visit relatives or friends in distant places, the Eskimo resorts to his traditional dog sled. Table XXVI reveals that one-half of the sample households possessed at least one sled, a few possessing

two. The total number of sleds in the entire sample amounted to 51, for an average of .6 sled per household.

The total number of dogs owned by the 88 households amounted to 414, giving us an average of more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  dogs per household. The number of dogs owned by household ranged from one to twenty. Nearly one-quarter of the sample households were without dogs.

Since there are no comparable figures for the sample households for an earlier period, or for some other more typical Eskimo community in this region, it is difficult to assess the full significance of the preceding figures. For example, it is not possible to ascertain on the basis of the present statistics alone whether the ownership pattern relating to sleds and dogs is fairly typical of Eskimo populations in this region of the Arctic, or whether there has been any significant change in this connection in the group's recent history, during the past 25 to 50 years.

However, there is little question that the Eskimo continues to **attach** great importance to the dog sled complex. The present ownership pattern involving sleds and dogs would seem to support this observation. But the strongest evidence in support of this contention comes from the results of an attitude survey conducted in the summers of 1958 and 1959. Among the variety of questions put to a sample of adult male Eskimos, one related directly to the R.C.M.P. programme of exterminating any and all unleashed dogs in the vicinity. Practically every respondent expressed outright disapproval. Many were extremely provoked by this Government action. It made no sense to them, for it meant denying to them the only means they have of obtaining food for their families during the long winter. A 28-year old wage-employed and married Eskimo male, who had the reputation of being one of the best Eskimo workers, made this revealing statement:

"I had some dogs shot last year. I had 15 two years ago. I don't know why they are shooting Eskimo dogs. I need my dogs for hunting (in the winter). I may quit my job and go elsewhere where I will be allowed to have dogs. . . . Without dogs I can't provide food for my family. Eskimos used to be told to get out of Frobisher when they couldn't work well. As I need my dogs, I might leave like many others have done. All the Eskimos need dogs. If the R.C.M.P. continues to shoot Eskimo dogs, lots of Eskimos are thinking of leaving Frobisher Bay."

In this and in many other like statements, it is apparent that the Eskimos' bitter opposition to the R. C. M. P. programme under consideration stems not from any sentimental attachment to an ancient culture complex, but from the fact that it threatens the very basis of their survival.

Despite the continuing importance of the dog sled complex, Government policy, such as that of the R. C. M. P. just discussed, combined with the demands imposed by wage employment, which make it increasingly difficult for the wage-employed Eskimo to take time off from his job in order to go on an extended hunt, are steadily undermining this feature of traditional Eskimo material culture. There is, however, no evidence indicating that the dog sled will shortly disappear from the scene, and thereby share the fate of the bow and arrow, the kayak, and many other traditional items of Eskimo material culture. This might conceivably occur if a combination of factors prevailed, such as the following:

- (a) continuation of wage employment for Eskimos on an expanding scale;
- (b) continuation of the R. C. M. P. policy of exterminating unleashed dogs;
- (c) establishment of alternative and more efficient means of winter travel-- e. g. the use of airplanes or some ground vehicle specially designed for the Arctic;
- (d) a drastic change occurring in the Eskimo diet from native to Western foods; or
- (e) a drastic reorganization in the method of procuring native meat such that the wage-employed Eskimo may be able to purchase this item, which has been procured by local Eskimos not in wage employment, or by other Eskimo groups living elsewhere by hunting.

Even if all these conditions were fulfilled, there is still the matter involving the Eskimo's traditional attitude towards the winter hunt as a sport, as well as a means of procuring essential food. This itself may be sufficient in influencing the retention of the traditional dog sled complex. In addition, it is quite apparent that there is as yet no substitute for the dog sled for certain types of winter travel. Thus, it would seem that its complete disappearance from the Arctic scene is very unlikely.

Finally, mention must be made of another type of Western artifact that plays an important role in the hunting complex. It consists of binoculars and telescopes. Table XIV reveals that one-half of the households owned either or both of these items; a total of some 59 binoculars and telescopes was noted in the entire community.

### FOOD

The food of the Eskimos is essentially the same as in traditional times, and consists of the flesh of walruses, whales, and caribou supplemented by fish (Arctic char), bannock, and tea.

Seal meat is usually cooked in boiling water, usually by itself. The resulting broth is consumed with the cooked meat. Walrus and caribou meat is prepared in the same manner. As for whales, only the thick outer layer of the skin of the whale is eaten raw; the fleshy portion and the intestines are fed to the dogs. Seal is the favourite meat of the Eskimos, perhaps because it is the most available. Bear meat is also relished by the Eskimos, but bears rarely make an appearance in this area. During the summer of 1958, however, an Eskimo male did kill a polar bear that had drifted into the Bay with the early summer ice floes. The meat was shared among his relatives, and the skin was reportedly sold to the Hudson's Bay store. The flesh of the wolf and fox is generally not eaten. However, one semi-acculturated Eskimo male, a former resident of Port Harrison, reported that he and members of his former group were quite fond of fox meat.

Part of the surplus seal meat is cut into strips and dried outdoors for consumption later. The rest is stored away in oil drums that have been discarded by the U.S. Air Force or by one of the petroleum firms. The lid for these oil drum meat containers usually consists of a sturdy board that is weighted down by rocks. This prevents the prowling dogs from getting to the meat. This storage technique has, by and large, displaced the traditional system of caching whole seals under a pile of rocks, at least in Frobisher Bay. However, the old technique is still employed on a hunt, especially when more meat has been caught than can be brought home, by dog sled or by canoe.

Most Eskimo families eat two regular meals a day, one at noon and the other in the evening. This pattern of meal times has evolved as a response to the demands of wage employment. Generally the Eskimo worker does not eat breakfast, reporting directly to work upon getting up in the

morning. Eskimos traditionally do not have any rigid meal-time schedule, such as is characteristic of Western society. The usual pattern is for different families to eat when they so desire or when it is convenient.

In the summer a typical meal consists of cooked seal meat or fresh fish, sometimes supplemented by bannock or pilot biscuit (a hard cracker) and tea. Frequently the meal consists of the latter items alone. Occasionally the summer meal will include clams that can be obtained by digging in the sand at the edge of the water at low tide, and also certain sea weeds. These are eaten cooked. In addition, the Eskimo's summer diet includes certain wild berries and the roots of certain plants which they find sweet and tasty.

Lately, mainly because wage employment has severely restricted their hunting with the consequence that seal meat is available less frequently, the wage-employed Eskimo has begun to purchase a wide variety of canned, frozen, fresh, or packaged Western foods, ranging from meat, vegetables, and fruits on the one hand, to sweets (chocolate bars, etc.) and soft drinks on the other. The more common of these Western food items purchased by the Eskimos are as follows:

#### A. STAPLES

1. Flour (for bannock)
2. Sugar (for tea and coffee)
3. Baking powder (for bannock)
4. Lard (for bannock)
5. Milk--tinned and dehydrated
6. Butter and margarine
7. Cheese
8. Eggs--fresh
9. Meat (beef, chicken, etc.)--frozen and tinned
10. Fish (other than char)--tinned and frozen
11. Pilot biscuits and other crackers

#### B. BABY FOOD

12. Strained baby food-canned

#### C. FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

13. Vegetables--tinned
14. Fruit--fresh and tinned
15. Soup (vegetable and beef, etc.)--tinned
16. Fruit juice--canned

D. CONDIMENTS AND RELATED ITEMS

17. Salt, pepper, Worcestershire sauce, etc.
18. Jam, jelly, syrup

E. CANDIES AND COOKIES

19. Cookies and cakes
20. Chocolate bars and hard candies
21. Chewing gum

F. SOFT DRINKS

22. Carbonated soft drinks (coca cola, etc.)--tinned

G. OTHER LIQUIDS

23. Tea, coffee, cocoa

At first glance the above list of Western foods suggests that the diet of the Eskimo nowadays is not very different from that of an average Canadian family. However, a closer study of the consumption pattern of the average Eskimo family involving these Western food items reveals a somewhat different picture. Of the combined total wage earnings of six Eskimos covering a combined total period of 44 months amounting to \$9,843.40, less than one-quarter (22.74%) was spent on Western foods, most of which are enumerated in the list above. And more than one-quarter of this latter amount covers such "luxury" food items as candies, cookies, and soft drinks. If these "luxury" items are eliminated from consideration, then the proportion of the total earnings spent on "basic" foods comes to one-sixth (or 16.88%). Even so, these basic foods still include items, such as Worcestershire sauce, jams and jellies, which some might argue should not be included with the other "basic" food items. In any case the point for emphasis here is that comparatively less is spent on "basic" foods than is the case with the average Canadian family. Moreover, of the total amount spent on all Western foods, meat purchases claim a relatively small proportion (approximately one-sixth). This, of course, does not mean that the Eskimo is becoming a vegetarian or a non-meat-eater. On the contrary, the Eskimo continues to remain a predominantly carnivorous creature, the bulk of his meat supply being obtained through hunting.

The appearance of a wide variety of Western foods in the diet of the Frobisher Bay Eskimos is significant not only because it signifies a

radical change in Eskimo food habits, but also because it may touch off drastic changes in other spheres of Eskimo life. For example, continued wage employment and dependence on Western foods may affect the Eskimo's traditional hunting complex much more severely than it has already. It may also seriously affect the health and physical constitution of the Eskimos, for good or for worse. The introduction of whisky and other hard liquors (illicitly in 1958 and 1959 and legally from 1960), along with tobacco (discussed separately in the next section), will certainly leave their mark. On the other hand, other Western food and related items should make a favourable impact on Eskimo health. Some Western food items are making their appearance in Eskimo diet in a unique and interesting manner. For example, many Eskimos are becoming fond of Worcestershire sauce, which they use to flavour cooked or fresh seal meat. In one household alone this investigator counted some two dozen medium-sized bottles of this sauce neatly arranged on a shelf with other canned Western foods.

In summary, then, the Eskimo's diet has expanded considerably to include many Western foods. At the present, however, these Western foods are peripheral to certain traditional items which continue to persist. These staples consist principally of the flesh of seals, walruses, whales, caribou, and Arctic char. Tea, bannock and pilot biscuit, all Western foods that were introduced among the Eskimos a long time ago, round out the usual Eskimo meal.

#### TOBACCO AND SMOKING EQUIPMENT

Special mention must be made of the use of tobacco among the Eskimos, as this pursuit claims a considerable proportion of the Eskimo's wage earnings. Nearly nine per cent of the total earnings of the Eskimo worker goes towards the purchase of tobacco (mainly cigarettes) and smoking equipment (such as cigarette lighters and pipes). This 9% may be compared with the 16.88% spent for "basic" Western foods, discussed in the preceding section. Although there are no comparable figures, it would seem that this is considerably more than an average Canadian family spends on smoking. In any case, it is quite apparent from the statistics just quoted and from general observation that the Eskimos, both men and women, love to smoke. The average Eskimo smokes between one and one-half packages of cigarettes a day. Children below 15 years of age, however, do not appear to indulge in this practice on any regular basis.

#### WESTERN ITEMS OF TRANSPORTATION

The modern canoe and boat equipped with engines have already been mentioned as being widely adopted by the Eskimos.

In the summer of 1958 two bicycles and one motorcycle were owned by different Eskimos. The following year, however, many more bicycles and at least nine scooters and motorcycles were in Eskimo possession. Perhaps the most startling Eskimo acquisition of all in 1959 consisted of two automobiles, one a brand new jeep and the other a 1957 Dodge sedan, which were owned by different individuals who had been in wage employment for considerable periods of time.

These latter vehicles represent purely luxury articles, for they serve no practical purpose in any significant sense. The only extensive road, about four miles long, connects Apex Hill (the original settlement established by the Department of Northern Affairs) and the Air Base. This and all the other roads within the air base area are unpaved. Since Eskimo workers live near their regular work, they do not require any special means of transportation in commuting to their work place. The jeep was reportedly bought for nearly \$3,000.00, while the 1957 Dodge sedan cost approximately \$2,000.00.

It may be of passing interest to note that a number of motorcycle and scooter accidents occurred during the first few days of their acquisition. One Eskimo motorcyclist failed to make a proper turn around a curve in the road and plunged into a ravine. Fortunately he received relatively minor cuts and bruises only. Another Eskimo cyclist ploughed into a crowd of Eskimo spectators, injuring one of the bystanders.

In brief, these articles of travel appear to be strictly playthings for the Eskimos. However, like many other Western artifacts, they also function as objects of prestige and status for the owners.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Table XXXV reveals that more than one-half of the households owned at least one accordion, which is without question the most popular musical instrument. There were in all 49 accordions, a few households owning two. Furthermore, some households (11%) owned a guitar, which is gaining in popularity, perhaps partly as a result of the Eskimo's fondness for recorded Western numbers.

The accordion has been in use among the Eskimos for a long time, certainly for more than half a century. It is used mainly to provide the music for the so-called Eskimo folk dance. Both the music and the folk dance are definitely of European origin.



In addition to the Western articles already mentioned, there are others which are either very common (and relatively inexpensive) or owned by a few individuals only. For example, the Bible, fountain pens, pocket knives, scissors, and pots and pans and other kitchen-ware. Unique Eskimo possessions include such things as electric hair clippers, electric ice-cream freezer, and eye glasses.

Of more than passing interest is the presence of a mail order catalogue, Simpson's or Eaton's, in more than one quarter of the households. A few Eskimos have even learned to place orders for merchandise with either of the mail order stores themselves, while others seek the assistance of some white acquaintance in this regard.

The presence of such catalogues in the Eskimo home is significant in at least two or three respects. On the one hand, it provides the Eskimos with an alternative purchase outlet to the Hudson's Bay Company store. On the other hand, the pictorial representation and price listing of the various merchandise will no doubt instill in the Eskimo purchaser an appreciation of the competitive price system of Western economy. This in turn should aid in developing in him an acumen for business dealings. In addition, the order catalogue would tend to whet the Eskimo's appetite for Western goods, and this in turn should result in expediting the change occurring in the material culture of the people.

#### DIRECT CONTACT WITH OTHER FORMS OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY (NOT OWNED BY THE ESKIMOS)

In addition to the various articles of Western origin that they possess, the Eskimos are in continuous first hand contact with other items characteristic of Western material culture that they do not own outright.

Military or civilian airplanes arrive at or depart from the nearby airport practically daily. The Eskimos' experience with the airplane, however, goes beyond mere visual familiarity. Many of them have actually flown in it, being transported either to and from an outlying DEW-line site where they are employed, or to and from an hospital in southern Canada where they receive medical treatment for certain illnesses or injuries. Some Eskimos have even hitched rides on airplanes in travelling about in the Arctic. As some observers have noted, the Eskimos as a group probably have more flying experience than any other ethnic group.

Many of the Eskimo wage labourers come in daily contact with various types of complex machines and other elements of Western technology that

form an essential part of their employment. Thus, there are among the Eskimo workers, some who operate trucks, tractors, or earth moving machines, or passenger vehicles (bus or jeep). Others are mechanics, machinists or machine attendants, who work in a garage, a boiler room (e. g. at the laundry establishment), or the power plant that generates electricity. The Eskimo carpenters regularly use certain electric powered machines, such as the circular saw. The Eskimos employed at the Government-owned clothes cleaning plant operate modern machines that wash or clean clothes, and others that iron or press them.

A Government established Eskimo craftshop makes available to many Eskimos a variety of electric powered machines and complex tools. Thus, for example, the soapstone carver, who traditionally employed a few simple hand tools, is today beginning to use complex machines, such as the steel and stone-cutting electric saw, in plying his craft.

There is also a very modern bakery, established by the Government, that contains up-to-date bakery equipment, including ovens that can bake large quantities of bread and other pastry products at one time.

During the short summer many ships visit Frobisher, bringing food and other supplies in quantities sufficient to meet the needs for the entire coming year. Many Eskimos are employed as stevedores, and in this way they come in direct contact with these cargo-bearing ships.

A vigorous Government health programme has resulted in the establishment in many parts of the Arctic of medical clinics (nursing stations) that are operated by a trained medical staff. In an effort to arrest the rapid spread of tuberculosis, which had been taking a heavy toll among the Eskimos during the last decade or two, Eskimos are now given chest X-rays annually and all serious cases are sent to hospitals in southern Canada for treatment and confinement. Eskimos suffering from other serious ailments also receive appropriate medical attention. And the usual vaccination and inoculations are administered to the people. In these ways, the Eskimos are experiencing direct contact with Western medical practice and technology.

The preceding constitute some of the contacts the Eskimos are experiencing with different forms of Western technology together with the associated skills and knowledge.

## SUMMARY

In summary, then, the material culture of the Frobisher Bay Eskimos in 1958 revealed that drastic changes had occurred, this mainly as a consequence of wage employment opportunities during the last decade or two. A wide variety of Western goods have been adopted by the Eskimos. Some of these Western products have completely displaced certain traditional Eskimo artifacts. A classic case involves the motored canoe and the Eskimo kayak, the latter being not only non-existent today but also unknown to the younger generation. The displacement of the bow and arrow by the gun occurred much earlier in time, perhaps half a century ago.

Some Eskimo artifacts, however, continue to persist alongside Western ones. For example, the seal skin boots, among other articles of traditional Eskimo clothing, continue to be worn together with Western apparel. On the summer seal hunt, which is today conducted by motored canoe or boat, the traditional Eskimo harpoon, with its detachable point, continues to be employed in conjunction with the gun. Western foods are beginning to supplement the traditional Eskimo diet, which still consists principally of the flesh of various Arctic mammals.

Certain Western artifacts, on the other hand, represent completely new additions to Eskimo material culture. They include the various electrical appliances (e.g. washing machine, refrigerator, electric shaver, etc.), radios, record players, cameras, bicycles, motorcycles, and automobiles.

Although the material culture changes of the Frobisher Eskimos appear very impressive, in some respects even startling, these changes must be evaluated in proper perspective. First of all, the acquisition of many of the Western articles satisfies not the Eskimo's genuine need for material comfort so much as a basic human striving for prestige and status. This is not to say that some Western goods are not fulfilling a utilitarian function in contemporary Eskimo culture, by, for example, in enhancing physical well-being in different ways. Indeed, the Eskimos are today so dependent on certain Western goods that they would encounter great difficulty in simply surviving without them. This would apply, for instance, to guns, motored canoes and boats, certain clothing items, and certain household or housekeeping articles (e.g. the gas stove for cooking and heating purposes). But most of the other Western merchandise acquired by the Eskimos cannot be regarded as being equally indispensable; indeed they may be described as "luxury" items. This would include items such as the refrigerator, washing machine, electric shaver, radio, record player (especially hi-fi set), tape recorder, camera, automobile, and so on. One Eskimo household that owned a washing machine in 1958 occupied a tent with no electric outlet. Hence, the machine remained unused

and at best functioned as a symbol of the family's aspiration, that is, of a future time when they might occupy an electrified house that would permit its use. At the latent functional level, however, it is more likely that the possession of this Western article served to enhance the family's prestige and status and thereby provided immense psychological satisfaction to the family members. But it should be noted quickly that the Eskimos are not unique in this respect, for this phenomenon also prevails among many other peoples living in areas that are undergoing rapid economic development. Moreover, the prestige and the resulting satisfaction derived from the ownership of certain articles--e. g. television or hi-fi set--even obtains in Western society.

It would be a serious error to conclude that because the Eskimos have acquired a variety of the best that Western material culture has to offer, that their standard of living or level of culture has improved to an extent approaching that of Western society. As indicated already, many of the Western acquisitions represent "luxury" articles that can be dispensed with today. Until these articles take on the stature of the gun and other indispensable Western articles, they will for the greater part remain marginal to Eskimo culture. No doubt, some luxury articles may, over time, generate in the Eskimo a great need for them, as is probably the case already with tobacco and the whole smoking complex. A parallel of this from contemporary Canadian or United States society is the television set.

It would also be a serious error to conclude from the apparent extensive changes brought about in the material sector of Eskimo culture that the Eskimos are well on the road towards assimilation into Canadian culture. As it must be obvious, some of the material innovations adopted by the Eskimos are extremely superficial indices of cultural simulation. The automobile, a distinctive symbol of Western material culture, is not merely a luxury item today but it serves no purpose other than providing the owner with prestige. There are no roads leading to anywhere, no commercial garages or service stations, nor any of the other complex of traits associated with an automobile culture. An incident may be related here that illustrates the point in question. The first Eskimo to own a motorcycle (or a motored vehicle) almost immediately devoted an entire day (a Sunday) to giving free rides to countless numbers of his countrymen. For the greater part of the time he travelled back and forth over a very rocky stretch that extended for about a hundred yards in between government-owned, Eskimo-occupied houses, taking on new passengers each return trip. At the end of the day the tires on his motorcycle had been cut to shreds. Since he could not procure replacement tires, the motorcycle remained unused until the following year, when this investigator again saw

it leaning against the owner's house in the same unusable condition. It would be gratuitous to conclude from this merely that the Eskimos are "child-like" or that they are "gadget-happy". More correctly the behavior in question, particularly the acquisition of this and other luxury items, may be said to be the resultant of two factors. These consist of (a) the huge earnings derived from wage employment accompanied by few opportunities to spend the money earned on things other than luxury goods, and (b) the universal urge for prestige and status.

Finally, it must be noted that the material sector of the culture of any people generally yields to change more readily than the non-material aspect involving beliefs, values, and institutions. Until the Eskimos have adopted in significant measure--i. e. incorporated into their evolving cultural system and personality structure--the fundamental beliefs, values, and institutions of Western society, their acculturation to Western ways will not be realized. No doubt, continued exposure to Western technology with its associated skills and knowledge may over time exercise a profound effect on the non-material phase of Eskimo culture. Studies conducted in the near future may provide clues to the nature of these effects, if and when they occur.

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TABLE I: COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY FAMILY UNITS

One-family household	64%
Two-family household	30%
Three-family household	5%
Four-family household	2%
TOTAL OF 88 HOUSEHOLDS	<u>100%</u>

TABLE II: TYPE OF FAMILY UNITS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Husband/ Wife, with unmarried children	87	76%
Husband/ Wife, without children	8	7%
Widower, with unmarried children	7	6%
Widow, with unmarried children	5	4%
Separated/ Divorced, with or without children	3	3%
Set of unmarried siblings without parents	2	2%
Unattached individuals, over 14 years	2	2%
TOTAL	<u>114</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE III: NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLD

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Individuals</u>
One-member household	1	1%	1
Two-member household	3	3%	6
Three-member household	5	6%	15
Four-member Household	15	17%	60
Five-member household	14	16%	70
Six-member household	23	26%	138
Seven-member household	13	15%	91
Eight-member household	4	5%	32
Nine-member household	5	6%	45
Ten-member household	3	3%	30
Twelve-member household	1	1%	12
Sixteen-member household	1	1%	16
TOTALS	<u>88@</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>516@</u>

@ Average number of persons in household is 5.86.

The total number of individuals included in this Material Culture Survey (namely, 516) represents 82% of the total Eskimo population in Frobisher Bay, which in the Summer of 1958 numbered 629.



TABLE IV: TYPE OF HOUSING, BY HOUSEHOLD

Government-owned, electrified bungalows	29%
Self-made woodframe hut	11%
Canvas tent	59%
No Information	1%
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE V: ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOUSING<sup>1</sup>

Distribution of responses to "Job Attitude Survey" question: "The Eskimos who work for Northern Affairs (the Government) live in white man's houses. Would you like to own such a house?" (Sample = 48 people, mostly in wage employment)

YES	75%
"But can't afford it"; "How much does it cost?" There's no way of getting one"	36%
"It is easier and better"	15%
"It's more convenient for work"	8%
"Good in winter; it has stove"	4%
"It's not so cold; it has stove"	2%
"It's cleaner; like white man"	4%
"Eskimo-made ones not very good"	4%
"Just like to have one"	2%
NO	4%
"They give me headaches"	2%
"Not now; would like to be able to move about freely to hunt, rather than be attached to one place"	2%
ANSWER UNCLEAR	21%

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1. This research concern formed a small part of a larger Attitude Survey that was focussed on wage employment and work patterns.

TABLE VI: SEWING MACHINES

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Have portable, non-electric type	61	70%
Have portable, electric type	2	2%
Has console, electric type	1	1%
Have none	18	20%
No information	6	7%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE VII: ELECTRIC WASHING MACHINES (WRINGER TYPE)

Have one	14	16%
Have none	59	67%
No information	15	17%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE VIII: ELECTRIC REFRIGERATORS

Have one	2	2%
Have none	86	98%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE IX: CLOTHES IRONS

Have one electric type (some steam equipped)	19	22%
Have one kerosene burning type	7	8%
Have one none-electric "hot iron" type	5	5%
Have none	44	50%
No information	13	15%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE X: STOVES, FOR COOKING AND/OR HEATING

Double-burner, pressure pump Coleman stove	14	16%
Small Primus stove only	31	35%
Space heater and Primus stove	5	6%
Kerosene stove	3	3%
Gov't-owned (DNA) automatic oil-burning stove for cooking and heating	26	30%
Like Gov't-owned (DNA) stove above, but non-automatic and Eskimo-owned	3	3%
No information	6	7%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XI: STAND CLOCKS (ALARM)

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Total No. of Clocks</u>
Have one, non-electric	49	56%	49
Have two, non-electric	22	25%	44
Have three, non-electric	4	5%	12
Have one, electric	2	2%	2
Have none	2	2%	-
No information	9	10%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>107</u>

TABLE XII: WRIST WATCHES

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Total No. of Watches</u>
Husband has one, wife has none	31	35%	31
Wife has one, husband has none	5	6%	5
Husband and wife, each has one	21	24%	42
Head has one, and some "other" member of household has one	7	8%	14
None	4	4%	-
No information	20	23%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>92</u>

TABLE XIII: ELECTRIC SHAVERS\*

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Total No. of Shavers</u>
Male head has one	13	15%	13
Have none	36	41%	-
No information	39	44%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>13</u>

\*Both battery-powered and A.C. types.

TABLE XIV: RADIOS (ONLY)

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Total No. of Radios</u>
Has two radios, one large & one small	1	1%	2
Have one large or medium-sized radio, table	35	40%	35
Have one small radio, table model	16	18%	16
Has one console model	1	1%	1
Have one small and one large, table model	2	2%	4
Have none	25	29%	-
No information	8	9%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>58</u>

TABLE XV: RADIO-PHONOGRAPH COMBINATION

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Have one	6	7%
Have none	56	64%
No information	26	29%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XVI: RECORD PLAYER (ONLY)

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Items</u>
Has Hi-Fi set or near-facsimile	1	1%	1
Have ordinary, inexpensive set	34	39%	34
Has one each of two above	1	1%	2
Have none	34	39%	-
No information	18	20%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>37</u>

TABLE XVII: SLIDE PROJECTORS & TAPE RECORDERS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Items</u>
Have one slide projector only	2	2%	2
Have one tape recorder only	2	2%	2
One S/projector & one T/recorder	1	1%	2
Have none	67	76%	-
No information	16	18%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>6</u>

TABLE XVIII: STILL CAMERAS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Items</u>
Have one	34	39%	34
Have two	10	11%	20
Has three	1	1%	3
Have none	28	32%	-
No information	15	17%	-
TOTALS	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>57</u>

TABLE XIX: BINOCULARS AND TELESCOPES

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
One pair of binoculars only	7	8%	7
One telescope only	24	27%	24
One each of above	14	16%	28
None	12	14%	-
No information	31	35%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>59</u>

TABLE XX: GUNS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Have one gun	8	9%	8
Have two guns	26	30%	52
Have three guns	28	32%	84
Have four guns	10	11%	40
Have five guns	8	9%	40
Has six guns	1	1%	6
Has seven guns	1	1%	7
Has eight guns	1	1%	8
None	1	1%	-
No information	4	5%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>245</u>

TABLE XXI: BOATS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Canoe, factory-made	28	33%	38
Small boat	17	19%	17
Whale boat, factory-made	1	1%	1
Peter-Head boat	1	1%	1
One Whale Boat <u>and</u> one canoe or small boat	10	11%	20
Trap boat	1	1%	1
None	29	33%	-
No information	1	1%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>78</u>

TABLE XXII: BOAT MOTORS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Have one motor	46	52%	46
Have two motors	9	10%	18
Has three motors	1	1%	3
Part-owner of a motor	2	2%	2
None	28	32%	-
No information	2	3%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>69</u>

TABLE XXIII: TYPE OF BOAT MOTORS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Inboard boat motor only	17	29%	17
Outboard boat motor only	31	53%	31
One outboard and one inboard	7	12%	14
Two outboard motors	1	2%	2
Two outboard and one inboard motors	1	2%	3
Unspecified	1	2%	2
TOTAL	<u>58</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>69</u>

TABLE XXIV: HORSE POWER OF BOAT MOTORS

	<u>Outboard No. of Items</u>	<u>Inboard No. of Items</u>	<u>Total No. of Items</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>
3 or 3½ Horse Power motors	7	7	14	20%
5 or 5½ Horse Power motors	12	5	17	25%
7 or 7½ Horse Power motors	10	8	18	26%
10 or 10½ Horse Power motors	6	4	10	14%
12 Horse Power motors	-	2	2	3%
18 Horse Power motors	4	-	4	6%
Unspecified	-	4	4	6%
TOTAL	<u>39</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XXV: NUMBER OF DOGS (HUSKY)

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Dogs</u>
Households with one dog only	7	8%	7
Households with two dogs	5	6%	10
Households with three dogs	3	3%	9
Households with four dogs	5	6%	20
Households with five dogs	4	4%	20
Households with six dogs	7	8%	42
Households with seven dogs	4	4%	28
Households with eight dogs	7	8%	56
Households with nine dogs	5	6%	45
Households with ten dogs	5	6%	50
Households with twelve dogs	4	5%	48
Household with thirteen dogs	1	1%	13
Household with fourteen dogs	1	1%	14
Household with fifteen dogs	1	1%	15
Household with seventeen dogs	1	1%	17
Household with twenty dogs	1	1%	20
No information	7	8%	-
Households with no dogs	20	23%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>414</u>

\*The percentage for 4/88 is 4.5%; thus, in order to confine the total percentage calculation to 100%, the first two instances of this fraction have been designated 4% and the third 5%.

TABLE XXVI: NUMBER OF DOG SLEDS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Households with one dog sled	39	44%	39
Households with two dog sleds	6	7%	12
Households with <u>no</u> dog sleds	39	44%	-
No information	4	5%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>51</u>

TABLE XXVII: FISHING NETS

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Households with one net	43	49%	43
Households with two nets	11	13%	22
Households with three nets	2	2%	6
None	17	19%	-
No information	15	17%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>71</u>

TABLE XXVIII: FISHING ROD AND REEL (FACTORY-MADE)

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Households with one rod/reel set	37	42%	37
Households with two rod/reel sets	4	5%	8
None	32	36%	-
No information	15	17%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>45</u>

TABLE XXIX: BICYCLES, TRICYCLES & MOTORCYCLES

	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
Households with one tricycle only	15	17%	15
Households with two tricycles only	2	2%	4
Households with trike & bike	2	2%	4
Household with a motorcycle	1	1%	1
None	55	63%	-
No information	13	15%	-
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>24</u>



TABLE XXX: BEDS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Army metal cots, with mattresses	23	26%
Factory-made double beds, metal with springs and mattresses	18	20%
Mixture of Army metal cots and self-made wooden beds, with or without mattresses	16	18%
Self-made wooden beds, no springs with or without mattresses	15	17%
No factory or self-made beds; sleep on floor, on skins or mattresses	4	5%
No information	12	14%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XXXI: DINING TABLES & CHAIRS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Factory chrome dining set only	15	17%
Factory-made table without matching chairs	4	4%
Factory-made chairs only	2	2%
Self-made wooden tables only	23	26%
Self-made wooden chairs, stools or benches only	4	5%
Self-made wooden tables and wooden chairs or benches or stools	9	10%
Self-made wooden tables with one or more factory-made chairs	11	13%
No regular chairs or tables	7	8%
No information	13	15%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XXXII: LIVING ROOM FURNITURE

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Have factory-made sofa and stuffed chair set	2	2%
Have factory-made couch only	5	6%
Has factory-made stuffed chair only	1	1%
Have none	36	41%
No information	44	50%
TOTAL	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XXXIII: BABY FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Baby crib (all but one or two factory-made)	11 )	
Factory-made high chair	11 ) . . .	20%
Factory-made play pen	5 )	
Factory-made perambulator	4 )	
None	50	57%
No information	20	23%
TOTAL	<u>      </u> * <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 100% <u>      </u>

\*Total here adds up to more than the total sample of 88 households.  
Reason for this is that several households owned a combination of baby crib, high chair, play pen, and perambulator.  
The percentage breakdown is based on the total sample of 88 households.

TABLE XXXIV: HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS: LINOLEUM

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>
Tenant of DNA linoleum-laid bungalow	16	18%
Have self-bought linoleum	5	6%
None	28	32%
No information	39	44%
TOTAL	<u>      </u> 88 <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 100% <u>      </u>

TABLE XXXV: MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Households</u>	<u>Per-</u> <u>cent</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Accordions</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Guitars</u>
Have one accordion only	34	39%	34	
Have two accordions only	3	3%	6	
Have one accordion, one guitar	9	10%	9	9
Has one guitar only	1	1%		1
None	40	46%	-	-
No information	1	1%	-	-
TOTAL	<u>      </u> 88 <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 100% <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 49 <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 10 <u>      </u>

TABLE XXXVI: MAIL ORDER CATALOGUES

Have a catalogue	24	27%
None	64	73%
TOTAL	<u>      </u> 88 <u>      </u>	<u>      </u> 100% <u>      </u>

APPENDIX I - SURVEY FORM

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

BY: \_\_\_\_\_

INTERPRETER \_\_\_\_\_

MATERIAL CULTURE CHANGE VS. CONSERVATISM: A SURVEY

(The family as the survey unit)

Prepared by Dr. T. Yatsushiro, specially for Frobisher Eskimos; June, 1958.

A. FAMILY SET-UP: (NOTE: Data here to be supplied by census survey, if this has been completed). For this survey, the name and code number of "head" of family are most essential. However, other data should be obtained.

A-1. Names of all members of the family or household.

A-2. Relationship of each member to "head" of family.

A-3. Code number of each member.

A-4. Sex.

A-5. Age (birth date, if this obtainable; if not rough age in years).

A-6. Occupation of "head" and other adult members of family.  
(NOTE: - for school-age children, note if in school or not)

B. HOUSING--Type: (Check appropriate item)

\_\_\_\_\_ Gov't, wood-frame; pays rent      COMMENTS:

\_\_\_\_\_ Gov't, Atwell tent; pays no rent

\_\_\_\_\_ Private, wood frame

\_\_\_\_\_ Private, tent

\_\_\_\_\_ Other (specify)

C. HOUSING--QUALITY OF STRUCTURE (based on observation of exterior and interior)

\_\_\_\_\_ excellent      COMMENTS:

\_\_\_\_\_ good

D. HOUSING--OVERALL APPEARANCE OF INTERIOR (i. e. arrangement of furnishings, fixtures, clothing, and other possessions):

\_\_\_\_\_ very neat, tidy  
 \_\_\_\_\_ fair  
 \_\_\_\_\_ poor

COMMENTS: (Note if the place smells of seal meat or other odours)

E. FAMILY AND PERSONAL POSSESSIONS:

(NOTE: For town Eskimos who live in the 512 woodframe huts and in the Atwell tents, oil stoves and electric power are supplied by the Government. However, it is quite possible that the Eskimo family may own its own special stoves, which may or may not be in use. NOTE: Make a rough estimate of the value of each item. If the Eskimo is willing to give you the amount he paid for the item, at the Hudson's Bay Co. store, T. Eaton's mail-order house in Toronto, or through some other source, this would be preferable information. If the value is your own estimate, prefix the amount by an "E"; if the value is what the Eskimo paid for the article retail, prefix the amount by a "P").

<u>Number of each item owned:</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>VALUE</u>
1. _____	Woodframe house	_____
_____	Tent: (factory made _____; home-made _____)	_____
2. _____	Stove (type? _____ (if more than one owned, describe briefly)	_____
3. _____	Washing machine, electric powered (type?)	_____
_____	Washing machine, gas motored (type?)	_____
4. _____	Sewing machine electric _____; or manually operated _____; or combination electric/manual _____; portable _____ or console model _____	_____
5. _____	Electric Iron (if some other type, specify)	_____
6. _____	Refrigerator electric _____	_____

7. \_\_\_\_\_ Bed(s) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ double, metal, spring (with mattress)  
\_\_\_\_\_ single, metal, spring, (with mattress)  
\_\_\_\_\_ home-made, woodframe  
\_\_\_\_\_ other (specify)  
\_\_\_\_\_ sleep on floor or ground, on top of caribou skin .
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Baby crib (factory made) \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Baby play pen \_\_\_\_\_  
factory \_\_\_\_\_; home-made \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Baby high chair (factory) \_\_\_\_\_
11. \_\_\_\_\_ Baby buggy \_\_\_\_\_
12. \_\_\_\_\_ Bedding \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify kind):  
\_\_\_\_\_ factory-made sleeping bag  
\_\_\_\_\_ factory-made blankets  
\_\_\_\_\_ animal skins (specify)
13. \_\_\_\_\_ Table \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Factory-made (describe briefly)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Home-made ones (describe general condition)
14. \_\_\_\_\_ Chairs \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Factory-made  
\_\_\_\_\_ Home-made chairs or benches or stools
15. \_\_\_\_\_ Couch or sofa (factory) \_\_\_\_\_
16. \_\_\_\_\_ Stuffed easy chair (factory) \_\_\_\_\_
17. \_\_\_\_\_ Linoleum or carpet on floor (only if this belongs to the  
Eskimo family) \_\_\_\_\_
18. \_\_\_\_\_ Clocks \_\_\_\_\_  
electric \_\_\_\_\_; non-electric \_\_\_\_\_.
19. \_\_\_\_\_ Window curtains or drapes \_\_\_\_\_
20. \_\_\_\_\_ Radio (brand name?) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Table model) standard wave \_\_\_\_\_ or short wave \_\_\_\_\_;  
\_\_\_\_\_ Console" ) large \_\_\_\_\_, medium \_\_\_\_\_ or small \_\_\_\_\_.
21. \_\_\_\_\_ Record Player (brand name?) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ High fidelity ) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Plain, 4-speed ) table \_\_\_\_\_, console \_\_\_\_\_.

22. \_\_\_\_\_ Radio-phonograph combination (brand name?)  
console \_\_\_\_\_ or table model \_\_\_\_\_;  
(quality, specify). \_\_\_\_\_
23. \_\_\_\_\_ Chest of drawers, or Dresser  
\_\_\_\_\_ factory-made; \_\_\_\_\_ home-made. \_\_\_\_\_
24. \_\_\_\_\_ Guns  
(type?) \_\_\_\_\_
25. \_\_\_\_\_ Cartridges for guns \_\_\_\_\_
26. \_\_\_\_\_ Motor for boat  
(brand name?)  
(horsepower?)  
(rough age of motor) \_\_\_\_\_
27. \_\_\_\_\_ Boat  
(kind?) \_\_\_\_\_
28. \_\_\_\_\_ Fishing rod and reel \_\_\_\_\_
29. \_\_\_\_\_ Fishing net \_\_\_\_\_
30. \_\_\_\_\_ Dogs (Huskie) \_\_\_\_\_
31. \_\_\_\_\_ Sled \_\_\_\_\_
32. \_\_\_\_\_ Other hunting or fishing equipment  
(specify) \_\_\_\_\_
33. \_\_\_\_\_ Cameras  
(Specify make e. g. Polaroid, or 35 mm. "Kodak Pony", etc.) \_\_\_\_\_
34. \_\_\_\_\_ Movie projector \_\_\_\_\_
35. \_\_\_\_\_ Slide projector \_\_\_\_\_
36. \_\_\_\_\_ Tape recorder \_\_\_\_\_
37. \_\_\_\_\_ Tricycles (or bicycles \_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_
38. \_\_\_\_\_ Motorcycle \_\_\_\_\_
39. \_\_\_\_\_ Jeep or other 4-wheeled vehicle \_\_\_\_\_
40. \_\_\_\_\_ Dishes (modern) \_\_\_\_\_
41. \_\_\_\_\_ Pots and pans (modern)  
(Note - if soapstone pots or other traditional  
articles used, note this) \_\_\_\_\_
42. \_\_\_\_\_ Silverware (modern) \_\_\_\_\_

43. \_\_\_\_\_ Clothing (very rough estimate of value required here) \_\_\_\_\_
- 43a. \_\_\_\_\_ Adult Men's clothing: \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ Western dress suit
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western shirt and tie
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western casual or sport suit; sport shirt
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western shoes
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Work clothes (Western)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Traditional clothes (specify)
- 43b. \_\_\_\_\_ Adult Women's clothing: \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ Western Dress
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western Suit
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western shoes and stockings
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western overcoat
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western hairdo (permanent, etc.)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Use of lipstick
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Use of facial powder
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Use of fingernail polish
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Western slacks and sport shirt (or blouse)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Other Western apparel
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Traditional clothing:
    - \_\_\_\_\_ Parka (with pouch in back for infant)
    - \_\_\_\_\_ Footwear (kammik)
    - \_\_\_\_\_ (other):
- 43c. \_\_\_\_\_ Children and Infant clothing \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ Western
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Traditional
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Mixture (explain)
- 43d. \_\_\_\_\_ Suitcases & Trunks (factory) \_\_\_\_\_
- 43e. \_\_\_\_\_ Musical Instruments \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ Accordion
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Guitar
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Other (specify)

44. FOOD:

Type of Food

FREQUENCY  
& QUANTITY OF CONSUMPTION

Almost

Daily Daily Periodically Occasionally Never

BABY:

Canned meat & vegetables

Powdered milk

Canned milk

Other (specify)

ADULTS & GROWN CHILDREN:

Canned (Western) Food --  
specify:

Seal meat

Caribou meat

Bear meat

Arctic char

Other fish and land animal  
meat (specify):

45. HEALTH CONDITION

45a. Illness record:

Period of  
Hospitalization                      Cause

\_\_\_\_\_ all members in good health; none  
hospitalized.

\_\_\_\_\_ members had been hospitalized;  
back now.

\_\_\_\_\_ members still hospitalized

NOTE: Of those who had been or still are hospitalized, make note  
of the individual's relationship to head of family.

Did anyone in this family ever go to a hospital in the South?  
Who?                      When?                      For how long?

Is there anyone in the hospital now?



46. KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH:

Member identified in terms  
of relationship to head  
of family

Age	Sex	Spoken Knowledge of English			None
		Good	Fair	Poor	

(a)

(b)

(c)

47. KNOWLEDGE OF ESKIMO SYLLABIC SCRIPT:

\_\_\_\_\_ All members of family, with exception of pre-school age children  
\_\_\_\_\_ can read and write Eskimo syllabic script.

\_\_\_\_\_ Some members can, others cannot (specify).

\_\_\_\_\_ None can read nor write in Eskimo script.

48. Wrist watch

49. Fountain pen

50. Electric shaver

51. Binoculars and telescope

52. Eye glasses

53. Cigarette lighter

54. Mail order catalogue (Simpson's or Eaton's)

55. Ring--wedding band or other

56. Member of Canadian Rangers

57. Bible and/ or Prayer Book in Eskimo script.