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**PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN OF THE HARE INDIANS**

**HIROKO SUE**



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PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN OF THE HARE INDIANS

by

HIROKO SUE

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. 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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Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,  
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources  
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## INTRODUCTION

My overall purpose in making two field trips to Fort Good Hope, Northwest Territories, Canada, in the summer of 1961 and in the winter of 1962 was to study the life cycle of the Hare Indians, as well as their cultural and social system in general. This report will be limited to a description of the life of the pre-school children.

The reader is asked to refer to Janice Hurlbert's report (1962) "Age as a Factor in the Social Organization of the Hare Indian of Fort Good Hope, Northwest Territories," for the ecological and social setting of the community and for the age categories into which the culture divides the individual's life cycle. A more expanded description of the cultural and social system of the people can be found in my doctoral dissertation submitted to Bryn Mawr College.\*

## METHOD

In the course of the field work I gradually learned to speak the Hare language to a limited degree, and was thus able to interact with non-English speaking children and to observe how the adults handled them. However, most of the informal interviews with adults were conducted in English.

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\*Hare Indians and Their World, Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1964.

These studies were made in the town of Fort Good Hope, in the new trading post of Colville Lake and also in summer and winter camps. In selecting camp groups for study, the principal consideration was that I would have the opportunity to observe the children's life closely in various social and ecological environments. However, my sample is limited. Table 1 lists those who were intensively observed in the summer and winter camps.

TABLE I            CHILDREN OBSERVED

| <u>Time and Duration</u>                | <u>Household</u> | <u>Children's Ages (year; month)</u>            |
|---|------------------|---|
| Summer fish camp, 1961<br>for two weeks | A                | boys: 6:8, 14:2<br>girls: 0:11, 2:6, 8:7, 10:10 |
|   | B                | girls: 7:6                                      |
| Summer fish camp, 1962<br>for 2 months  | A                | boys: 7:8, 15:2<br>girls: 1:11, 3:6, 9:7, 11:10 |
|   | C                | boys: 8:6, 14:0<br>girls: 11:11, 10:0           |
| Winter game camp, 1962<br>for 3 months  | D                | girl: 3:0                                       |
|   | E                | girl: 3:0                                       |
|   | F                | boy: 3:4  |
|   | G                | girl: 3:11                                      |

I shared a tent with household D (mother and daughter) for 2 months. During the time in town, at the trading post of Fort Good Hope (a total of 3.5 months in 1961 and 2 months in 1962), observations were made on the children's life as much as possible during the

course of the general study. For the rest of the time, I lived in a tent among the Indian camp groups.

Fourteen mothers were informally interviewed on their pregnancy and child-rearing experiences and the opinions about them. As of December 31, 1962, there were 78 mothers who had borne children, and 72 children of pre-school age in the Fort Good Hope area.

Thus the samples on which the following description is based are both limited and uncontrolled. Since the people move around in small groups from camp to camp and between camps and town all through the year, and since I could visit only one camp at a time, the samples for observation were inevitably smaller than they would have been in a clustered, settled village where more extensive observation would have been possible within a given field research period. The reader is therefore asked to bear this point in mind.

All names of individuals which appear in this report are pseudonyms.



## CHAPTER I

### BABIES ARE BORN

When I was small, I and my brother asked my mother where babies come from. Mother said, "They come from the foot of a tree." Before I learned this from mother, I thought a baby might come from the belly-button or from the mother's mouth. I had wondered why a woman gets fat and then thin when a baby comes. But when mother told us that babies come from the foot of a tree, my younger brother and I went to the trees to find a baby. But there was no baby. So we came home and told mother we could not find a baby. Then mother said, "Oh, there might be some there some other time." (Recollection of a 15-year-old girl).

### Pregnancy

There is no evidence of preventive birth control practices either before or after Catholic contact of the middle of the nineteenth century. When a woman finds that she is pregnant, she is supposed to tell her husband and her relatives. The old timers say, "If she hides it from the people, one of her parents, brothers, sisters or children is going to die." Since the establishment of the Nursing Station in 1948, all pregnant women have been encouraged to see the nurse for monthly checkups, and now in almost every case the women report their pregnancy to the nurse. According to one man, "A husband cannot sleep

with the wife when she has a baby in her stomach and for eight days after the baby comes. It is because bad luck will come in hunting, if a man does it. The Bible says the same thing. I found it myself when I was reading the Bible." The pregnant woman should not attend funerals.

Many women pass the initial few months of pregnancy without any noticeable discomfort or change of food habits. Some of the women, however, feel unusually sleepy and too "lazy" to carry out their daily routines as usual, but most women manage to do them. It is felt that such a woman should not sleep too long, she should get up and work. Some of the women realize that they tire more easily in the eighth month of pregnancy. There are no food taboos during pregnancy.

One woman said, "Old people say that they can tell if the baby is going to be a boy or a girl. They say that a girl faces inward towards you and a boy faces outward away from you. When I had a baby in my stomach, an old woman told me that I was going to have a girl. Then I had a girl. The old people know everything by dreams, how they are going to die and other things." However, another woman might say, "I do not dream about whether the baby is going to be a boy or a girl. But I think the boys kick in the stomach." Most people seem to desire a boy as the first child, although girls

are considered easier to raise during childhood.

Very few women prepare clothes for the baby before the birth. After the child arrives, the mother sews his under-garments and some of his outer clothes, and buys others from the store. Some clothing materials for babies are supplied by the Canadian Government.

### Delivery

Most women are believed to have an easy time in delivery. For all women, childbirth is an expected event in their life. One woman, 36 years old and mother of four children, said, "All women feel scared about having babies when they are young. When we get married we are ready for that. And we have to do it. So we do it anyway." However, exceptionally, a few women have a very hard time. For example, "Pain started in the afternoon and the baby was born at 2 o'clock in the morning. I saw lots of stars." I have seen worried young husbands in tears while their wives were going through labor. If the nurse judges that it is necessary, the patient is sent to the Inuvik General Hospital by plane. In such an event, the people feel very sympathetic towards the husband who is left behind in Fort Good Hope. In the 1940's a woman died in labor attempting to bear twins. This incident was often mentioned in the course of the interviews.

Nowadays, when the pains start, the expectant mother

comes to the nursing station and is cared for by the nurse. If labor is extraordinarily long, her own mother may be called upon for moral support; she says a Catholic prayer by the bed of her laboring daughter. Medicine men also sing in some cases of difficult childbirth.

Formerly, when the labor pains started, all the women in camp gathered in the expectant mother's tent and helped her. Men and children usually were not involved, unless no women were around to give assistance. The helpers made a rack about two feet high and three feet long padded with rags. The woman would lean over the rack, sitting with her knees bent and breathing deeply, following the intervals of pain. One woman would hold the mother's body as if she were going to lift her. One mother of eight children reported that she gave birth after only five pains on an average. Another woman who gave birth to her son in the Delta area during the trapping season in 1944 describes the experience: "Then, two Loucheux women helped me. They know better ways for it than we do. They lean on a trunk and when the pain comes, they put a hot water bottle against the back. In four hours, my baby came." One woman gave birth on the trail with the help of her husband. "Her husband pitched the tent ahead and he came to get his wife. They were travelling towards the tent and then the wife started to have pain. So they stopped and made a fire. It was winter."

A mother said, "Now, we cannot have a baby in the bush. It is too cold for me. I catch cold. I have to go to the Nursing Station."

When the birth occurred in the bush, the navel cord was tied with a thread of big twine. It was supposed to be kept as a guardian for the baby but it was often lost. The afterbirth was wrapped in old rags and tied up on the branch of a tree. It does not matter what happens to it afterwards. Now, it is burned by the Nursing Station staff.

"Old times, when the baby was born, the women started to work next day. But now doctor says you should stay in bed for a week."

Miscarriages and still-births occasionally happen. Abortion is also sometimes forced, on the mother's own initiative, by hurting herself "tumbling." This is at the cost of great pain, including bleeding, and results in miscarriage.

Ross has left us a few observations on childbirth among the Eastern Tinneh:

The proportion of birth is rather in favor of females, a natural necessity, as it is the women among these tribes who have the shortest lease of life, and there is from various causes a much greater mortality among the girls than among the boys. The period of utero gestation is rather shorter than in Europeans, and seldom exceeds the nine months. Premature deliveries are very rare, and the women experience but little pain in childbirth, a few hours repose after the occurrence being sufficient to restore nature. (Ross, 1866: 305).

Infanticide is reported in the 19th century records.

In 1837, Thomas Simpson records an unfortunate incident:

August 26th...Upon the beach was found the body of a female child about five years old, who, we afterwards learned has been abandoned by the Outer Hare Indians. The poor child had lost both parents, and having no other relatives to take care of it, was cruelly left to its fate. (Simpson, 1843: 185).

Hurlbert writes of the situation today:

The practice [infanticide] has been very much discouraged by missionaries and there are no records of actual infanticide in recent years. However, we did record two cases, occurring in the last five years [as of 1961], in which a female child, born in the bush, though not abandoned, was neglected until near death. In one case the child was discovered by the police and rushed to the hospital [Nursing Station], regained health and was later adopted by another family. In the second case the baby died within six months of birth. The mother was a married woman living out-of-wedlock with another man, who did not want the child. (Hurlbert, 1962: 39).

In conversation, the people condemn parents who neglect their children. During 1962 there were two cases in which children were seriously neglected. According to an informant one of these cases was stated as follows:

The baby choked to death during the night. They found the baby dead in the morning. Those people had a big party that night. [Although there were various guesses as to how the baby died, no one really knew].

Another informant described the other case:

That old woman [since she was born in 1927, "old woman" is used here in a derogatory way] lazy and don't do nothing. The other day, they were having a brew party. The baby [her daughter's child] was just dirty, full of shit around it. Amy [the classificatory sister of John, the father

of the baby<sup>7</sup> took the baby away to save his life. Amy brought the baby to John's mother. If she did not take him away, he would have been stepped on. Two nights in row, they had brew party and this is just second evening since John left for the hospital. They don't think of John...Next day, they wanted the baby back. So they went to the police. The police came to John's mother's husband and said 'This is going to be the last chance for the mother to keep the baby'.

Ross notes that:

Male children are invariably more cherished and cared for than females. The latter are mere drudges, and obliged on all occasions to concede to their brother; and though female infanticide, formerly so prevalent, is now unknown still in seasons of starvation or times of danger, girls invariably fall the first sacrifices to the exigencies of the case. (Ross, 1866: 310).

Table 2 shows that today more males of ages 10 to 30 have survived than females. The same reason mentioned by Ross may be partly responsible for this fact. Today, when food is scarce in the household, children, old people and non-hunting women tend to get less satisfactory portions at meals than the men and the few women who undertake hunting and snaring.

TABLE 2 BIRTH AND SURVIVAL RATES OF THE HARE

| Year of Birth | Number of Births Recorded |        | Number Alive as of Dec. 1962 |        | Survival Rate |        |
|---------------|---------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
|               | Male                      | Female | Male                         | Female | Male          | Female |
| 1953-62       | 57                        | 62     | 50                           | 54     | 87.5%         | 87.5%  |
| 1943-52       | 65                        | 63     | 43                           | 39     | 66            | 62     |
| 1933-42       | 87                        | 69     | 41                           | 29     | 47            | 42     |
| 1923-32       | 77                        | 77     | 16                           | 24     | 21            | 31     |
| 1913-22       | 27                        | 32     | 14                           | 11     | 52            | 34.5   |
| 1903-12       | 20                        | 20     | 17                           | 17     | 85.0          | 85.0   |
| 1893-02       | 15                        | 12     | 11                           | 10     | 72            | 82     |
| 1883-92       | 12                        | 8      | 6                            | 6      | 50.0          | 75.0   |
| 1873-82       | 11                        | 16     | 2                            | 5      | 18            | 31     |
| 1863-72       | 3                         | 5      | 0                            | 0      | 0             | 0      |

Note: The records prior to 1923 are fragmentary, but are believed to be relatively reliable after that date.



Concerning the death of a child, Ross further mentions:

The death of a child is apparently not much regretted, the mourning is short, and although in after years a mother will lament her offspring bitterly, there is far more of custom than reality in the exhibition, and it rarely proceeds from the heart.  
(Ross, 1866: 310).

As of December 31, 1963, there are 109 women in the area over the age of 15. Table 3 gives the numbers of these women in terms of child-bearing experiences.

TABLE 3 HARE WOMEN ABOVE THE AGE OF 15

|           | <u>No Child-Bearing Experiences</u> | <u>Have Borne Children</u> |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Unmarried | 28                                  | 6                          |
| Married   | 6                                   | 28                         |
| Widowed   | 0                                   | 3                          |

Note: Here church marriage is used as criteria for "married" or "unmarried."

Among the women who have born children, at least 17 were fortunate enough not to lose a child. The other women have lost at least one or two children.

#### Belief in Reincarnation

The Hare Indians think it is possible that a dead person may be reborn. There are several living Hare individuals who are believed to be the reincarnation of deceased persons.

If a baby is born to a woman who has just lost her older child, he is often given the dead child's name and the people assume that he is the reincarnation of the older child.

Evidence for reincarnation in each case may also be given by an individual's dreams or by some physical trait. For example, a Hare boy (b.1946) dreamed about what his deceased grandfather had actually done in his lifetime. Since then, the boy's Indian name has been changed to his grandfather's name because his dream is believed to prove that he is actually the incarnation of his grandfather. Another boy (b.1955) has a "bullet mark" on his shoulder -- a birth mark. Just before he was born, a man died of an accidental gunshot wound. The people believe that the boy is his reincarnation, and so they gave the boy his name. A girl four years old was heard to say in her sleep, "Where is my old man (husband)?" Next day her parents asked what she had seen while she was asleep. She described things her grandmother often used to do. Thus the people found out that before she was born this girl had been her grandmother.

## CHAPTER II

### INFANCY, THE FIRST TWO YEARS

When I had children and babies, I was working very hard. The biggest one is now hunting and other kids are all in school. So I am resting now. But it is so nice to have small ones around. Sometimes I feel like adopting one." (A mother, holding a neighbor's baby).

#### NAMES

Soon after birth, the baby is baptized. The name is selected by the parents, very rarely by grandparents. If a sibling of the same sex has died earlier, the baby is often given the same name. Sometimes parents have a name in mind, either for a baby boy or for a girl, before the arrival of the child. Either parent may choose the name. Sometimes the baby is named after the father or father's brother. The first baby born in the Nursing Station was a girl, and she was named after the nurse. Besides the baptismal name, most people have an Indian name and frequently nicknames as well.

The people are told that any Catholic can baptize a baby by sprinkling holy water on him and giving him a Christian name. This person can be a man or woman, but someone other than a parent is preferred. When a baby is born in the bush, a neighbor in the camp will baptize him, but the priest later performs an

official baptism. Since most babies are now born at the Nursing Station in the town of Fort Good Hope, the nurse simply telephones the priest to notify him of the birth.

The baptism ceremony is often held on Sunday afternoon at the chapel in town. Ideally, the parents ask a woman and a man to be godparents, but often only one man or woman attends the ceremony as godparent. The godparents must be confirmed Catholics, but may be married or unmarried. Someone who is called "a nice person" or whom the parents like is usually chosen to be a godparent, and the people say that "nobody will say 'no' to it." However, there was one case in which no one was willing to be the godparent of a certain baby, and the priest had to ask a white couple to assume the role. The baby's biological father was generally considered to be obnoxious, and the refusal to act as godparents was apparently an expression of this general dislike.

From the Hare Indian's point of view, there are no institutionalized mutual obligations between the godchild and the godparents. The relationship between them differs considerably from case to case. Some children or adults do not know who their godparents are or have a hard time remembering them. A godmother seems to have a slightly stronger attachment to her godchild than a godfather has. Occasionally a woman

fondling a baby will call it, "Oh, my cute godchild." One woman, 60 years old, mentioned among the pleasant memories of her childhood, "I used to visit my godmother and she used to give me some candies." It seems that the institution of godparenthood serves to strengthen the friendship between the child's parents and the godparents in a very diffused manner.

Parents are often referred to, by relatives and non-relatives, teknonymously, as either father or mother of a particular child. Usually the teknonymous name among the Hare is based on the individual's oldest living unmarried child. For example, Zani-beta and Zani-bena mean 'John's father' and 'John's mother,' respectively, be being the suffix for the third-person singular possessive. Teknonymy seems to be especially common in camps, in address and reference, to distinguish between two individuals in one's generation or in a junior category, to whom one uses the same kin term. If a teknonymous name is used for a non-relative, it is apparently felt to sound more courteous than the personal name. Fathauer (1942: 19) interpreted that "teknonymy in this society (his central division of the northern Athabaskan Indians, including Hare, Bear Lake, Mountain, and seven other tribes) becomes intelligible as a symbol of adult status." This may have been more emphatically the case in former days when almost all the individuals were married. Today many unmarried individuals are considered "adults." The use of

teknonymy today seems to serve more to distinguish between individuals with whom one is related in the same way.

Though it is not common to give a birth feast some people remember a few instances within the past three decades when a feast was given upon the birth of a child. Recently, on birthdays, parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters and other relatives get together and have "fun."

#### Care of Babies

Women who had their babies in the 1930's say that they breast-fed their babies as soon as the milk started to flow. If the mother had plenty of milk, she might act as wet-nurse for the neighbor's children who do not have enough mother's milk. Mother's milk is not considered to be an irreplaceable necessity for the baby's growth. One baby (born in 1940) was raised by his paternal "grannie" (FaMo). His twin sister was kept by her parents. "His grannie gave him bacon and guts to suck, and moose brains, caribou brains, and rabbit brains. But hardly any milk. But, look, he is a tough and good hunter now."

Ross mentions the feeding of infants:

Respecting the food of infants, the routine is as follows: If the mother has milk they suck as long as she yields it; otherwise, mashed fish, chewed dried meat, or any other nutritious substance that can be had from a not very extended variety is given.....

Another extraordinary practice is their giving no nutrient to infants for the first four days after birth, in order, as they say, to render them capable of enduring starvation in after life, an accomplishment which they are very likely to stand often in need of. (Ross, 1866: 305).

Today, if a mother lacks milk or prefers bottle feeding, she feeds her child a formula of canned milk, water and sugar. In the 1940's, before the establishment of the Nursing Station, the policeman taught the milk formula to one mother in town.

The Hare are extremely fond of children, and men, women, boys and girls enjoy touching, carrying, talking to and playing with any baby who may be either closely or remotely related by kin ties.

According to Ross:

The instinct of love of offspring, common to the lower animals, exists strongly among these people, but considerably modified by the selfishness which is so conspicuous a feature in their character. (Ross, 1866: 310).

The mother is primarily responsible for taking care of the baby. However, the father, teen-age sisters, grandmother or parent's sister may give the baby his bottle, change his diapers and tend him. If the mother has to visit traps and snares or go to get spruce brush, she may prepare the formula in a bottle and ask a neighboring woman (who most often happens to be a relative) to care for the child during her absence. The father or boys of the family may rock his hammock or

bounce him up and down on their knees. If the baby cries someone will pick him up and divert his attention. If the mother thinks he is hungry she will give him her breast. A baby is never left to cry for any length of time.

A new-born baby is often laid on the bed in the cabin or put in the canvas baby hammock hung in the cabin or tent. At night when the mother goes to sleep, she may lay the baby next to her. The baby is kept in the hammock during the daytime for ten months or a little longer till he starts to toddle. There are no regular napping or sleeping hours controlled by the parents; the babies are left to sleep as they wish.

Children are given sponge baths more often than the adults. Before going to mass or a movie show, the mother will clean the baby's face and hands.

A mother says, "in the old time, the people did not wash the baby's head. That was something to be saved" that is, not to be touched. Parents occasionally do not cut a baby's hair at all for two to three years, although it is commonly believed that a child's hair can be cut at any time.

Ross mentions a similar practice:

A curious and superstitious custom obtains among the Slave, Hare and Dogrib tribes, of not cutting nails of female infants till they are four years of age. Their reason for this is, that if they did so earlier the child would, when arrived at womanhood, turn out lazy, and be unable to embroider well in



porcupine quill-work, an art which these Indians are very skillful in, and are justly proud of. (Ross, 1866: 305).

Soft moss, which is found in abundance in the area, was traditionally used as diapers. Before the winter came, the mothers collected the moss and saved it for the frozen season. Nowadays, cotton diapers are used for almost all babies, but the mothers think "cloth diapers take too much work for washing" and diapers are not necessarily changed immediately upon being wet. It is mostly the mother's job or an elder sister's to change the baby's diapers. Frequency of diaper change seems to vary from mother to mother and from day to day. A section of my field notes reads:

When Bob (ten months old) cried he was picked up from the hammock and put on the bed and handed the bottle of milk. Once he would suck the bottle for a while and return to crying. His diapers became really wet and water penetrated through his red corduroy pants. His elder brother checked the baby's diapers and found them wet but left them unchanged.

Mothers try to toilet-train their children as soon as possible. A three-pound lard can or a chamber pot purchased from the store is kept at the corner of the cabin or tent, and the mother starts to hold the baby over it when he is six or eight months old. Some mothers may begin to do this when the baby is only two months old. During the summer, especially in the day time, the eight-month old babies are all naked but for a T shirt so that it is easy for them to relieve themselves. At night diapers are used for several months longer.

There are wide variations in the beginning and the completion of toilet training, but most children seem to be well trained by their second birthday. It is considered better not to give a child too much water to drink at night, to prevent accidents, and some mothers wake the sleeping baby once in the night and hold him over the pot. If a two-year-old baby dirties his pants the mother will make him smell his own garments in a ridiculing manner. But spanking or other punishment has not been recorded.

Mothers recognize that "the baby usually starts to have teeth in the seventh or eighth month." The child starts to crawl when about eleven months old and begins to walk at about the fifteenth month. Older girls and boys may hold the baby's hand and encourage him to walk.

The child begins to learn to talk from the age of nine to fifteen months, using either the Hare language or English, depending on which language is spoken in the household; it is more apt to be the native dialect. Their first words are usually "ama" (or "mom") and "aps" (or "dad"). Before they are able to talk, most seven-month-old babies can distinguish familiar from unfamiliar faces.

While in town, some babies are removed from the hammock and placed in home-made playpens at about eight months; others are permitted to crawl and walk around the house, examining everything they can touch.

Little effort is made to keep harmful objects out of reach, and occasionally accidents occur, such as a child injuring his eye with scissors.

#### Adoption

It is possible for an infant to be adopted at three or four months of age, but usually adoption occurs when the child is about seven years old.

In September, 1961, there were 24 adopted children in 19 households. Of these, six were adopted through legal government procedure; in these cases there is no relationship between the child and the host parents. Of the remaining 18 children who were adopted in the traditional way without going through any legal process, there are 12 cases in which the child was adopted by secondary or tertiary relatives. Besides these 24 instances of fairly stable adoption, there are several instances in which a child is temporarily "kept" by another family.

If the mother is too weak, or if she feels that she has enough children, her baby may be taken care of by another household which may adopt him eventually. One of a pair of twins is usually given away for adoption. It is considered best to raise twins separately because they are believed not to like each other. Sometimes a mother may decide to give her baby away during pregnancy; this is more often the

case when the child is illegitimate. If the baby is the result of an adulterous affair, the husband usually resents it, and the baby is almost always given away to other people. If a baby is very much neglected, a third person may take the child away from the parents and raise it. According to tradition, the parents are able to claim their child back whenever they feel like it and the host family cannot object. If the parents want to take the child back legally, they have to pay money for the child's food and clothes to the couple who adopted the child. If the adoptive parents want to keep the child as their own and be sure that the natural parents will not reclaim it, they will take the legal step of adoption according to law. Once the adoption is done "with papers, the child is not the real parents' business" after legal adoption. When a baby is adopted, the baby is expected to call the host mother ama and the host father apa, although such children are often told in a joking manner that his or her real parents are so-and-so. Therefore most adopted children know who their biological parents are and that they themselves were adopted. Usually the biological mother visits the host family frequently and treats the child affectionately, although there are a few cases in which the real parents behave as if the child were not theirs at all after adoption. There seems to be a tendency for host parents to demand more work and obedience from an adopted child than from their own.

We may conjecture that adoption among the hare serves the population equilibrium in an area of limited resources, and that it is also a means of guaranteeing the economic and social security of the aged. It is also probably that adoption strengthens the kinship and friendship ties of the two households, and thereby makes them free to join each other's camp group. Furthermore, in some cases adoption permits the host family to express its superiority, in demonstrating that the husband can provide food for an extra mouth. Dunning made similar findings on adoption among the Southampton Island Eskimos. (1962: 163-167).

Here it should also be noted that the institution of adoption among the Hare can function in a very immediately useful way, as it did especially when many mothers were hospitalized for tuberculosis during 1945-55; the institution of adoption made it possible for their children to be raised with less trauma or tragedy than might otherwise have been the case. Recently, if the parents who spend the winter in the bush do not want to send their children to the boarding schools, the children may stay with foster families in the town of Fort Good Hope throughout the season. Under the Educational Welfare program of the government, the host family receives \$1.50 per day for a child from the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The school attendance of such children is said to be better.

than that of those who commute from their own homes.  
According to the informants, "Children do not mind the  
foster-home arrangement."

### CHAPTER III

#### EARLY CHILDHOOD: THE YEARS BETWEEN TWO AND SIX

Childhood is a wonderful time of life because children have nothing to worry about. (Comments of many men and women).

#### Physical Care and Growth

There is no time considered ideal for weaning.

"The people wean the baby when they feel like it."

Some mothers believe that as long as they are nursing they will not get pregnant again. In one case, a two and half-year-old child was still suckling, and the other mothers spoke of it disapprovingly. Usually breast-fed babies are weaned "when their jaws get stronger and they start to hurt the mother." Weaning is not considered a difficult thing, at least not for the mother. Sometimes a bitter substance is placed on the nipple "to scare the baby." Recently, if the baby should get sick and be sent to a hospital in Aklavik, Inuvik or Edmonton, this is often the time when the babies shift from breast to bottle feeding or to complete weaning.

As mentioned before, babies are given various foods besides mother's or bottled milk quite early. Mothers who are bottle feeding their children receive advice from the nurse on the children's diet. A

mother of a two-month-old bottle-fed baby said, "My baby takes pablum, two teaspoonfuls, twice a day. I started to give her one teaspoonful during the first month. Now she also eats eggs, baby meal, juice and biscuit." Babies can be seen continuously sucking rabbit leg-bones or a piece of bacon.

The time of weaning from the bottle varies from child to child. A boy 15 months old may drink from a cup and eat with a spoon, but on the other hand we knew a girl of three years and two months who mixed the milk herself and then asked adults to put the nipple top on the bottle so that she could suck it.

When children are about three years old, they are expected to eat food more or less without spilling it. If a child soils her dress while eating, the mother or aunt may say, "Look at your dress!" By the third birthday, a child is given whatever food adults eat. Here is a part of the field notes on a three-year-old:

She has her own cup, bowl, and plates. She manipulates spoons. Three weeks before her third birthday, she started to claim her own forks, too. When she eats meat, her mother cuts it into bite-sized pieces for her. She holds rabbit and bird legs in her hand and eats them. She is given fish from which most of the bones have been removed; she carefully sorts out the remaining ones. She drinks milk from a cup. She often insists on putting the butter in her hot soup herself.

There is no regular time for any meal, but the people eat some kind of a filling meal at least twice



a day. And in between, whenever they are hungry, they munch on whatever food is at hand. Children are often given chewing gum or candies or a bannock between meals. Some children select the particular favorite food items of their mothers as their favorite food.

If children happen to visit another tent or cabin when meals are served, they are given a piece of meat, fish or bannock. Occasionally, a three-year-old may play for seven or eight hours without eating a thing, if the child is visiting some other family when his family eats, and happens not to strike the other household's meal time. Realizing this, his mother will feed him a big meal when he gets home, feeling satisfied that her child has been cheerfully occupied all this time.

Three-year-old children help themselves to water from the water buckets of their own or other tents quite freely.

Consumption of sugar is controlled mainly because of its cost, but if a child tries to lick sugar or put it in milk, a mother may say, "If children eat too much sugar, their stomach will get sore."

Occasionally a little child may not show any interest in eating meals; his mother may then say, "Eat well. If you do not eat, your head will be sore." If this is not successful, a mother may threaten him

by pretending that she is going to hit him with a spruce branch from the tent floor.

As soon as children of two or three years old begin to suck their fingers some of the mothers stop them but others would not bother to stop finger sucking even if they noticed it. It was observed that an adopted child of three years and seven months sucked her right second and third fingers only while asleep.

Kissing is considered to be an important means of expressing affection toward babies and children. Female relatives kiss babies and children more often than male relatives do. It is thought that a mother would naturally kiss her own baby, but some women are noted for not kissing their adopted children and such children are pitied by others. Boys and girls of three or four years are encouraged by adults to give a kiss to small babies, dolls or to puppies. As children grow to school age, kissing tends to become restricted to close relatives.

After children are three years old, they rarely wet the blanket during the night. In the bush during the warm seasons most children go outdoors. Between November through May, small children use a pot or tin lard can, and a mother will tell a three-year-old girl to clean the pot outdoors and put it back in its set place in the tent, although this is not strictly enforced. Some three-year-old girls realize that

urination and defecation are private matters and ask the people who are around not to watch. After defecation some children customarily wipe themselves, and four-year-olds always do it, but most smaller children are not accustomed to wiping themselves at all.

Twice I saw children of three or four years touching the genital area and being immediately scolded and stopped by their mothers.

### Learning to Talk

If the Hare language is spoken in the family, children three years old seem to acquire a basic competence in pronouncing the phonemes and in constructing short sentences. At this stage they can use such possessive forms as "sek'e (my foot), nek'e (your foot), bek'e (his or her foot), kuk'e (their foot)."

Most of the three-year-olds can swear in English, saying "Go to Hell," "God damn you," "Oh, shit," or "God damn shit." If the child uses swear words to excess, the mother may tell him not to swear because "the father (the Catholic priest) will get mad."

Some of the mothers start teaching children of two and a half years to say ma'si (thank you) when others give them candies, but this is not strictly supervised and most pre-school children do not say ma'si but return a big smile when adults give them candies.

Three-year-olds seem to increase their vocabulary at a remarkable rate. For example, excerpts of the ethnographer's field notes read:

November 15th: The same girl last night was looking at a Picasso painting with her mother (see David D. Duncan's Picasso's Picasso, Harper and Brothers, the painting called "Unkempt Primeval Being" painted about 1937). Her mother said "Diri saga Zahente" (I do not like this). Today the girl started asking "Su diri nega zahente? Su diri nega nazon?" (Do you like this? Do you not like this?), pointing at everything.

November 20th: A girl on her third birthday is starting to use the word hanite, a conjunction meaning "therefore" or "that's why." She says "Diri laite nepe eyiza w'ole w'on, hanite na'ale" (This medicine makes your stomach ache, so don't take it). However, her manipulation of the word is not perfect. She uses it this way too: (looking at pictures the ethnographer drew) "Zon luge we'ta, hanite zon gofwin, hanite onkai" (Here is fish, so here is axe, therefore bird).

Parents start insisting that children, from the age of three on, address the people within the camp by the proper kinship terms. It is amazing to see the grasp of distinctions between generations the children display.

A three-year-old wanted me to pretend to be her daughter in playing house. The kewpie doll, she said, was my baby. And she said that she was as'on (grandmother) of the doll.

Children become aware of the parts of the body in many ways. At this age, in the evenings, the mother and this little girl would lie down together and mother would point to the child's nose and tickle it, saying "Your nose, your nose, your nose." Then

She would go on pointing at the different parts of the body and name them, giggling, for 30 to 40 minutes. When I pointed to the various parts of the kewpie doll's body, the child answered as follows, although she could not identify the ears.

Its head, befwi; hair, befwigu; eye, beta;  
 face, benni; nose, bingon; mouth, bawa;  
 nipple, bet'oi; belly, bepe; buttock, befwile;  
 arm, bekone; hand, binla; leg, bewene; and foot,  
bek'e.

#### Play and Play Groups

Possession of purchased toys varies from child to child. During the first year, a few parents may buy the baby some plastic toys or a teething ring, but most babies hold and play with a spoon, aluminum dish, a cup, or a bone. Many girls over two years old have dolls, and most of these dolls have English names. Some boys have stuffed or rubber animal toys. A boy of one year and seven months had twelve such toys: bear, elephant, mouse, lion, dog, cat, etc. Various toys are given to the children by the Community Club at the Christmas concert held at the Federal Day School. Most mothers and other adults give children household goods which are not in use at the moment, or old spare rags, strings, or a small piece of moose hide. Such objects as knives, scissors, or an axe often become temporary toys. The fathers and elder brothers make wooden toys or bows and arrows for boys.

Children between one and two and a half years old are often left alone, although in sight of the adults, to play by themselves while the adults are doing chores. Such children often sit, humming nonsense syllables or quietly playing with an axe and a piece of wood. When elder brothers and sisters carry wood towards the tent stove, the younger siblings often follow them, carrying a small stick of wood. Sometimes the elder brothers or sisters walk too fast for the toddler to follow and the small child bursts into tears. These toddlers take naps almost every day at random times, although it is not considered to be a set routine. Most three-year-olds stay awake all day without a nap unless they are extremely tired. After supper their mothers often put them to sleep by humming lullabies or by lightly scratching the child's ear. However, sometimes they stay awake till midnight. In the mornings, sleeping children are allowed to sleep until they wake up of their own accord. They usually sleep ten to twelve hours during the night. At these ages of three or four a child occasionally says some words or phrases while asleep; the adults assume he is dreaming. There was an instance in which a sleeping child cried out, saying, "My parka!" The following morning the mother asked the child if she

had dreamed about her parka, but the child answered "No, I did not." A child is apparently made aware of the nature of dreaming in this manner.

Two boys or girls between two and a half and three years old may get together and start to play house, but they often end up playing alone, more or less independently. At this stage some boys, but more usually girls, start to mimic their mother's activities. The ethnographer's observations on the solitary play of a three-year-old girl read:

She can imitate her mother rolling a cigarette and smoking, but she omits the step of lighting it with a match.

Many of her actions in playing house are performed with imaginary tools and utensils. Sometimes she comes to me, carrying an imaginary bowl, and says, "Diri tu'wele na'a (Eat this soup).

She wants to pretend to make bannocks herself too, when I make them. She can pluck ptarmigan feathers. Today she was handling a small axe (hatchet) with a metal handle in her bare hand, at 20° below zero.

At around the age of three the children start to play in groups, but have some organizational problems because some of the children are slow to grasp the principle of playing a role. For example:

Alice (4:3), Walter (3:4) and Cecil (3:11) came to my tent and started to play house. Alice was the mother, Walter the father, and Cecil the baby. They ate, drank, sang, and went to sleep. The next day they repeated the performance. Then Laura (3:0) came. Alice

told Walter to pretend he was Laura's mother. Walter started to assume his role, and attempted to take care of Laura. Laura refused to co-operate, however, and the game fell apart. Throughout the game, Alice had directed the activities.

At around the ages of four and five, children tend to play together in a loosely co-operative way. Boys take turns using or playing with one set of bow and arrows, though occasionally getting into a wrestling fight over it. Girls make a tipi with three or four poles and a blanket, and play house. Sometimes a mixed group of boys and girls, during their play perform various parts of mass, including the distribution of holy communion, one of the children acting as the priest and the rest as members of the congregation."

If a child starts to cry, during the play, the rest of the children start to cajole him immediately. However, if the disagreement is more serious, they wrestle and fight vigorously.

Nancy, Betty and I were sitting in the kitchen of Nancy's sister's cabin. Betty saw that Clara (3:11) and Linda (3:0) were fighting and wrestling outdoors. She ran to the window and called us to come and watch, so we did. The children were tumbling around on the ground. Betty and Nancy giggled about it for a couple of minutes, and then Betty (Linda's mother) went out to stop the fight. Therese, Clara's mother, came out of her tent too. Clara was not crying, but Linda was. Each mother took her own child inside with her.

Sometimes, a group of children would not let some child play a particular game with their group:

Susan (3:4) came into the house, crying furiously. Her maternal grandmother asked her, "What's the matter with you?" Susan ran to her, protesting



that the other children had run away and left her. Her grandmother said, "If they go, why don't you run after them instead of crying just like that, eh? Stop crying," and dried the child's tears.

Alice (4:3), Walter (3:0) and Cecil (3:11) were playing together outdoors, and excluded Laura from their game. Laura tried to join in, but did not succeed. She began to cry and went toward her grandfather's tent. He said, "Laura, tie (come). Who was bad to you?" She just kept on crying, so he picked up the kindling near him and threw it on the ground, saying, "Now, that's enough." Laura calmed down.

Some of the mothers are careful not to allow their children to mix with children whom they consider naughty, telling the children not to go to so-and so's house. And if the mothers find their children in such a "bad" group, they may call them away with some excuses.

Three-year-old children know quite clearly to whom the various toys and other items belong, but they may bring home some which belong to another household. Upon noticing an odd item in the house, the mother will wonder to whom it belongs. When she finds out, she returns the article to the owner, saying "I think it is yours. My baby brought it to our place." The child is not punished, because people do not consider him responsible for his act.

Children in this age group and puppies are great playmates. The following is a description of interaction between a three-year-old girl and a puppy:

October 21: Laura went to visit her mother's sister. MoSi put her son A's puppy in the packsack and Laura carried it home. Laura was very excited about it. The puppy was licking himself and Laura said, "Linya, linya, don't eat your skin." Then Laura told her mother, "Mom, this is not your puppy, but mine." Laura kept playing with the puppy. Her MoSi told her, "If you treat your dog too roughly, Arthur is going to take it back." At night, her mother made a place for the puppy with a cardboard box with her clothes. She got up twice during the night and made a fire in the stove to make the tent warm enough for the puppy.

October 26: When Laura touches the puppy while she is eating, her mother makes her wash her hands before she returns to her plate. The mother thinks that the dog is very dirty.

October 28: The puppy started to bit her leg; Laura started to cry and ran to her mother. But Laura still tries to hold the pup. It appears that Laura is starting to have some ambivalent feeling towards the pup.

October 29: The pup was playing with the sewing kit. Mother told Laura, "Hit the pup and put him back into his box." Laura picked up a small stick and timidly approached the dog, but she did not have the courage to hit him. She tried to touch him with the stick. Mother told Laura to beat him more severely. Laura went closer to the pup. The mother was quite amused at the scene and said, "Look at her," but she cannot beat him. This went on for 30 minutes.

November 15: Laura was taking the puppy for a walk and he started to bite her leg. Both of them were dragging in the snowy trail. Finally Laura got rid of the pup,--by picking up a willow stick near her and trying to beat the pup, but very lightly. All through these performances, Laura was crying.

Learning What to Do and How to Do it

Parents are very careful to keep children away from freezing water and from the dogs of the neighbors. For example, at the summer fish camp, a mother decided to pitch her tent on top the the hill so that the children would not go near the water, although this made her have to carry drinking water and fish up the hill. Another mother pitched her tent so that she could see her children playing outdoors while she was sewing inside the tent. In the winter mothers dress their children very warmly in the morning and when the children go out, they make sure that the children's heads, hands and feet are well covered. If a mother dreams about her child getting drowned or bitten by dogs, she will be especially careful to keep that particular child away from such dangers. Little children are also repeatedly told not to touch stoves, guns, or traps. Although children play with axes, scissors, or knives when the adults are around, the adults put these items away when they are not able to watch the children. When a girl of three-and-a-half years saw her younger sister of 23 months playing with an axe, she screamed and alarmed the adults.

If the toddlers want to go after their elder siblings, or to play with a wrist watch, traps,

playing-cards, or other forbidden objects, the adults try to divert the child's attention. When the child reaches the age of three mere diversion is not effective anymore. And at this time, if children do not listen to the adults, they are often threatened and told that they will be hit with a willow or spruce branch, or that dogs, wolves, wolverines, white people or the policeman will come to get them. The child is occasionally hit with a willow switch or spruce brush by his mother. Parents who spank children by hand are severely criticized by others.

If a three-year-old child interrupts adult conversation, the mother will often scold by saying, "Shut up" in English, or "You talk too much" in the native language. If a child of over three stares at people, this is considered as bad manners.

During infancy, a crying baby is very well attended to. However, when a child over two years old cries, adults will first try to find out what is wrong and then tell him to stop crying. If the child cries further to attract attention, he will simply be ignored.

Mothers notice that children between two years and four years old sometimes want to do everything contrary to what they are supposed to do. It is

considered best not to enforce obedience, and if the issue is not too serious, to ignore the negativistic attitudes of the children. At these ages, if a child persists in asking parents for candies or other visible food, most parents finally give in.

The minds of three-year-old children seem to be inquisitive. The mother of a three-year-old child says, "She asks too many questions--why you sleep, why you eat -- she wants to know everything, I guess."

Upon the request of their parents, boys and girls of three will adjust the draft holes of stoves, and fix the heavy blankets at the entrance of the tent to keep out the cold wind. In town, their mother may give a dime or a quarter to these children to buy gum or candies. If the children do not perform their small tasks well, the parents will say, "Gee, you are stupid" and make the child try again. Occasionally mothers praise the children, saying, "Oh, you are smart." A three-year-old girl carried ten pieces of chopped firewood from outside into the tent while the mother was doing embroidery, and the latter kept encouraging her daughter by telling her that she was very "smart."

When a child of three or four tumbles down, no help is given and if the child cries the mother just ignores it or says, "You are careless, you are stupid."

I was often amazed by the attention children were able to devote to the same monotonous action like playing

with an axe or looking at pictures for almost an hour without a break. The adults seem to take this ability to concentrate for granted. For example:

Laura (3 years old) and her cousin Arthur (seventeen, MoSiSo) were playing. Laura's mother was sewing. Arthur said, "Say A, Laura." Laura said, "A. Say B." "B." "Say C." The mother encouraged Laura, "Laura, gee, you are going to be smart, starting to talk white people's words." Arthur persisted, and taught Laura the letters of the alphabet from A to Z, and the numbers from 1 to 10, then the rosary prayers. This lesson lasted an hour and a half.

#### Taking Care of Themselves

After the fourth birthday, most children are able to put on and take off their shirts, pants, sweaters and shoes. They are able to button and unbutton the front openings of their clothing, too. However, during the winter, when they have to put on heavy parkas, mukluks and mittens, they need help. Some girls start to wash their own clothes occasionally in the wash tub with a wash board for fun.

Between play times, the children help themselves to bannock, a piece of fish or meat and pour tea into a cup when they want a snack.

Sometimes children have to make their own decisions or resolutions. A three-year-old girl is asked by her mother whether she wants to eat the only piece of rabbit heart, fish eye, etc. And if the child says "No," the mother will eat up these delicacies

immediately. There was another instance when a three-year-old girl had to make a decision of her own. The field note reads:

Sunday: At the first church bell this morning, the mother got up and made the fire. I also got up. The little girl was still asleep. When both of us were dressed, the mother said to the girl in a loud voice, "We are going to church. Do you want to stay here?" The child did not answer. The mother repeated it three times, and we left the child alone in the tent. After mass, which took almost an hour, we came home. The little girl was wide awake in her sleeping bag, in a good mood.

When the mother was going into the bush for the whole morning or whole afternoon, she used to tell this little girl about 15 minutes before her departure, "I am going a long way to get wood and it is very cold. So you stay here." The mother would repeat this over and over again until the girl was convinced. The mother might give her a piece of candy just before her departure. Children are often told that the bush is a scary place, and that one has to be smart to walk around in the bush.\*

Some children of four or five start to chop small pieces of wood with a little axe, using the same body motion in swinging the axe as adults when they chop

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\*Ross observed: A curious circumstance is, that children are treated exactly as grown-up people, and talked to as such; but as the character of all ages is decidedly childish, it is not to be wondered at if such a manner suits all parties equally well." (Ross, 1866: 310).

wood. Some girls of these ages start to use needle and thread, and make skirts for their dolls with big stitches. The adults find the children of two to four years old good entertainment. Their parents or visiting young boys ask them to sing songs or dance to music. Many children, on being asked and encouraged, stand up and gradually start to shake the whole body very subtly, with the knees slightly bent and with the eyes gazing at one spot. Parents and young fellows often tease the little children by saying, "You are bad," "You have a funny face," "You are not going to get this candy." The adults enjoy watching the frustrated children's reactions for a short time, but finally give them some candies or a kiss. If brothers and sisters compete for the parents' affection by performing some tasks, the parents are amused. And sometimes a mother will tease a child, saying, "I need your sister but I do not want you." In such cases the child often says, "Oh, you need me, you don't need my sister." Such joking often takes place while the child is on the lap of the mother, and the mother seems to feel the same kind of joy which she would experience in her joking relationship with an adult kinsman, when some quick, clever and firm response is appreciated.

The parents may send children of four or five



years to the store to get a pack of cigarettes or a package of tea. However, it is the policy of the store that the parents give the child a signed list of the goods needed and that the child should show this list to the clerk. Sometimes a girl four or five years old can be seen taking the hand of a three-year-old brother or sister to visit the next-door neighbors. Some mothers send these children away to visit neighbors when they feel they would like some peace and quiet by themselves.

At the ages of four and five the children are left pretty much alone to their own activities as long as they stay near the house or the tent, but they are not given the opportunity to follow their elders into the bush.

Mothers seem to feel that girls are easier to handle than boys at this stage of life. One mother said, "When boys get to be nine and ten years old they start to listen, but before, it is very hard." At the age of nine or ten the boys begin to be allowed to follow the male relatives into the bush; this may be the time when the boys become more obedient than before.

CONCLUSION: FUTURE OF THE GROWING CHILDRENAttitude of Parents Towards Education

Schooling was first introduced to a few Hare children in the early part of this century by the Catholic missionaries who opened a residential school at Fort Providence. In 1926, another Catholic residential school was started at Aklavik to which several children from Fort Good Hope were sent every year until the school was closed shortly before my visit in 1961, when the Federal Government began to assume the responsibility for education in the Northwest Territories. The curriculum is based on that of the Province of Alberta.

Table 4 HARE CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOLS

|         | Fort Good Hope<br>Federal Day<br>School | Residential<br>School in<br>Inuvik | Sir John<br>Franklin High<br>School in<br>Yellowknife | Catholic Blondin<br>Home in<br>Fort Smith |
|---------|---|------------------------------------|---|---|
|         | 1-6th grade                             | 1-9th grade                        | 10-12th grade   | 1-6th grade                               |
| 1961-62 | 51                                      | 20                                 | 4   | 1   |
| 1962-63 | 53                                      | 56                                 | 3   | 3   |

Hare parents now understand that they are supposed to send their children to school. However, every year it is difficult for them to make up their minds whether to let their children go to the residential schools outside the area or to keep them at home. The parents miss the children who are away from home very much, as companions and as workers. Some parents decide to stay in the town of Fort good Hope through the winter, so that their children can attend the Fort

Good Hope Federal Day School. This tendency was especially strong in 1961-62. At the same time, these parents may expect their children to stay home from school to help with household chores, or all of the family may over-sleep after a drinking party, or they may suddenly decide to go out into the bush, taking their children with them. These have been the major reasons for the poor attendance of the children at Fort Good Hope Federal Day School since its opening in the fall of 1950.

In the fall of 1962, the government officials particularly encouraged and urged the parents to go to the bush for the winter and to send their children to residential schools. When the parents make their decision to send their children to the residential schools, they consider the children's inclination as well, and the children are influenced by their playmates and schoolmates. Their previous experiences in residential schools also affect the attitudes of the children above the second grade.

#### The Modern Dilemma of the Hare Youths

Young people, especially when they have just finished the sixth grade, face the difficult decision of whether to go on to high school or to start their life in the bush. Some youths feel, "Well, I have been to school too long. I want to walk around in the bush for a while. Then maybe I will find a job, later." Some young people realize that they have to make a choice sooner or later, because it takes time to learn about the bush and also because one has to stick to a job if one wants to earn money like white people.

The parents feel very proud of their children if they go out and earn money, and they expect them to send money

home. Moreover, they miss their sons and daughters very much and when some labor is needed in the household, they tend to expect their children to return home right away whether they have a job or not which puts the latter in a dilemma. Some younger parents who understand a little better what is meant by a contract to work in an office or in another place say, "My child has not been in the bush at all except for a week or so in a year. That is just fooling around. He cannot be good in the bush to any extent. I want him to find some job. But what would he like? I do not know. It is up to him."

Many people could answer if I asked them about their own future or that of their own children. But the Indians usually would simply say "I don't know," or "It's too difficult," when I asked, "What kind of life would be the best for younger people in the future?" This may be related to the traditional feeling that "each person has to mind his own business. No one is the boss," and also to a general conviction that "We do not know what will happen tomorrow; we may be alive or we may be dead."

A few people pondered with great concern what the future of the Hare individuals in the coming generation would be. One of them felt, "It might be OK, if the fur price goes up again by some luck, and if the Government starts to give jobs to the Indians." Two persons were

not so optimistic, as can be seen by one of the more inclusive answers:

The people say good education is necessary for the future of the Indians. OK. Then why not residential school at Fort Good Hope. Since parents do not want to send their kids to Inuvik they stay around in town so that the children will go to the school here. If a residential school is built here, then the parents will go to the bush more and they will still see their kids more often. The parents will not be living on the ration like nowadays. Next thing, even with good education, it is difficult to find jobs. To become really equal with the white man, it will take two or three more generations. For the kinds of jobs suitable for Indian boys, mechanics and carpentry will be good. Nursing is good, too. Now the Government bosses us around too much. The people should be left alone. But I know it is hard. The problem will be in the future. . . . Suppose the kids go to school till the sixth grade and come to the bush and then decide to go back to school but are already too old for that. They don't feel happy in the bush. So they drink and bum. Then they are not good for the bush anymore, either. It is going to be the problem.

If any individual makes a choice at a certain time of his life not to return to the bush but to be a worker for outside wages, and if he goes out of the Fort Good Hope area to work for a while, then he has to face not only the pressures from the expectations of his parents at home, but also his own homesickness.

I was not able to find a Hare individual who wondered about the future of the Hare as a group or about Canada as a whole and who thought there was any practical or ideal solution to this unhappy situation. In this sense, the leadership is in the hands of the white people, and the Indians tend to think that

"the white people are here to help us."

The Future of Growing Hare Children

Pre-school Hare children have not yet experienced the modern dilemma. Among them proficiency in English is increasing; they have more visual contact with white people, learning about the outside world through picture books and movies (though of course not very realistically. However, the image of the white people -- the white people as they are in relation to the Indians--seems to change at a slower pace than the growing familiarity would seem to imply. The children's pre-school experiences seem to develop in them a feeling toward whites of dependency without love. True, there are several instances of genuine friendship between Hare individuals and whites, and their children appear to realize that the two peoples "are just like each other." An increase in the number of such friendships would probably accelerate a general change in attitude. Furthermore, education in the schools should be more deliberately aimed to encourage in the children the realization that a Hare individual is a responsible citizen of Canada.

As the informant cited above said, a new type of individual may appear in the following generations. From these a new type of leader may emerge who can innovate ways which the people want and will welcome,

whether or not they are able to retain their ethnic identity in becoming more vital citizens of Canada. To achieve this will take a great deal of courage and patience by both Indians and whites, even if the fur trade revives or if other potential means of livelihood are found in the area. More immediately the personal success or failure of the Hare individuals who are now about 20 years old and either engaging in trapping or attending vocational or high school will influence the actual path taken by the Hare children who succeed them.