

HUGH BRODY REPORT

E100
.A1
B762
c. 1



Mr. Barry Gunn,
Territorial & Social Development
Branch,
Room 1021A

Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0H4,
February 28, 1974.

Your file Votre référence

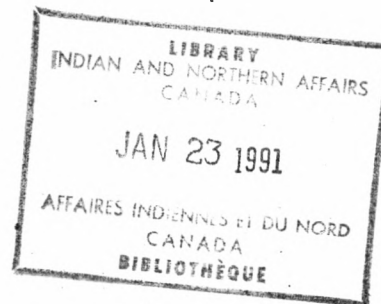
Our file Notre référence

Attached is Copy No. (6) of Hugh Brody's report. He would be grateful to receive your comments and suggestions, and I suggest that you send these to him directly.

He can be reached at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Lensfield Road, Cambridge, England, CB2 1ER.

A. J. Kerr,
Chief,
Social Research Division.

Encl.



Mr. A. J. Kerr,
Chief,
Social Research Division

Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0N4
February 18, 1974.

I am presenting herewith the typed, revised draft of my report to this Department. You will find that the report is somewhat lengthy, but I feel that its arguments are too various and complex to allow for abbreviation at this stage. You will find in chapter a methodological note which offers further argument against reducing the scale of the documentation. The report contains the principal results of my work in the Eastern Arctic, initially under contract and subsequently as a Research Officer with your Division.

As you know, Chapter 14 is designed to stand alone. It is submitted herewith in its preliminary form, and as it has already been distributed to others in the Department, I shall soon be sending to you a revised version of that chapter, in the form of a separate paper which aims at indicating some of the ways in which the recommendations could be implemented, as well as a proposal that a pilot scheme be proceeded with as soon as possible.

You will find that there are parts of the argument which need both tightening and additional statistical support. I have in the past week acquired some new sets of figures (relevant both to Parts Two and Three), and shall incorporate them in the final draft. You will also notice that references are often incomplete or absent. Again, they will be completed in the final draft; the amount of time required for that kind of final editing is better spent having others read and make criticisms alongside which the detailed revising can finally be done.

That final draft will be undertaken as soon as I have your reactions and, most importantly, your criticisms. I would very much appreciate the comments of others on Chapters 1-13. I have in mind the following:-

George Anderson
Jean Fournier
Graham Rowley
George Parsons
Frank Vallee
Barry Gunn

Es. W. (Bulcher) S. W. T.

Perhaps you would like to suggest some other names, either from within the Department or academia.

I have given some considerable thought to the question of publication. My feeling is that much of the material in the report is of so personal a nature as to raise important doubts about the suitability of publishing in its present form. I would like to have your views on this. Perhaps in the future it will make good sense to prepare a revised version for general distribution. In that eventuality I would, of course, be prepared to consider undertaking such work under contract to the Department.

Hugh Brody,
Research Officer.

H. Brody/dgc

Acknowledgements

The field work for this report was begun in the early spring of 1971, under contract to the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Subsequent field trips in the Eastern Arctic totalled slightly less than 24 months. The results were written up partly in Ottawa and partly at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. During all that time, in many different places, many people provided time, information, general assistance, as well as encouragement on a remarkably generous scale. I am aware that some of them will disagree profoundly with my interpretations and conclusions, and others will be dismayed to see that I have not included the particular data which they offered to me. But whatever disagreement I herein reveal, I nonetheless cannot forget how much I owe to all those helped me.

The staff of the NSRG and subsequently of the Social Research Division were of enormous assistance to the project, from start to finish. I must particularly acknowledge my debt to Graham Rowley and Moose Kerr, but for whose support the field-work would have been impossible. Simon Arnaviapik, Mick Mallon, Lukassie Aragutaina, and Elizabeth and Peter Karlik all helped to teach me the Eskimo language. Elijah Erkloo, Charlie Crow, and Lukassie Aragutaina all helped me gather information, especially the stories and reminiscences of Eskimo people. Arnold Cragg and Christina Moore provided much supplementary data. Ann Mackenzie helped with the onerous task of transcribing literally hundreds of sheets of notes of conversations which constitute the backbone of the evidence used

in Part Three of the report. Simon Arnaviapik, Isaac Amituq, Qallu, Noah Araguataina, Enugu, and Joe Emikatailak all volunteered a wealth of stories and reminiscences about Eskimo life in the present and recent past.

I must also thank Dr. Gordon Robin and Dr. Terence Armstrong for providing such excellent facilities at the Scott Polar Research Institute. Alan Cooke, Geoffrey Hunt, Arnold Cragg, Peter Usher, and Nigel Wilford read earlier drafts and made many useful comments and criticisms. Jessie Miller and Jackie Denton helped enormously with preparing successive drafts.

It need hardly be added that none of the above bear responsibility for errors herein. But all - along with the many, many northerners who gave so much of their time and their truly remarkable hospitality - ensured that the work was often exciting and certainly less full of error than would otherwise have been the case.

CONTENTS

PART ONE:

		page
Chapter 1	Introduction	
Chapter 2	Hearing tell of a teacher	
Chapter 3	The Iron Mine	
Chapter 4	Fish men and Ice men	

PART TWO: Whites

Chapter 5	New kinds of newcomers - northerners	
Chapter 6	The whites: hard facts	
Chapter 7	The whites' sub-community	
Chapter 8	White attitudes to the Eskimo	
Chapter 9	Local government: the Eskimo reaction	

PART THREE: Eskimos

Chapter 10	<u>Inummariik</u> : the real Eskimo	
Chapter 11	<u>Qallunaat</u> : the Whites	
Chapter 12	The Settlement and its Problems	
Chapter 13	Family life	

PART FOUR: The Possible future

Chapter 14	Development <u>versus</u> the majority	
------------	--	--

1 - 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 - ~~Field work and Methods~~

Field work + methods

In the early spring of 1971 I began work in the Eastern Arctic. It was decided from the start that a working knowledge of the Eskimo language would be a sine qua non, and for the first months of field work, language learning was the highest priority. That was begun at the Rankin Inlet language school, and continued in other settlements. After leaving Rankin Inlet none of the learning was carried out in a formal or institutional setting: rather, I lived in an Eskimo household, travelled and hunted with people who did not speak any English, gradually acquiring a minimal proficiency. Many older people were enthusiastic teachers, and I was encouraged to devote several hours each day to talking with people who wanted me to learn. Even during those hours, however, the learning was not separated from other activities, and my teachers would take me seal hunting, checking traps, berry picking, or generally exploring, in order to make sure that I was learning what they took to be the most important matters. Also, teaching me was often used as a means of passing messages and advice: it made possible a concealed forthrightness which would otherwise have been awkward. A beginner in language learning, entirely dependent on my hosts, incompetent and foolish at all those tasks which were regarded by my teachers as the simplest of achievements, I was obviously prepared to accept whatever practical or moral counsel seemed appropriate.

Learning the language was not, then, split off from other kinds of learning; both mundane and general learning were integrated into a host of activities. The learning of the language thus led me directly into quite conventional participant observation. During the third month of field work I decided to conduct a series of wide-ranging, loose interviews. That represented a shift in method, as well as a chance to communicate to people of the settlement just what it was that interested me, and why I had come there in the first place. In the following eighteen months, in a total of four communities, I followed the same mixture of techniques. In each case the more formal discussions were undertaken only after a quite lengthy phase of participation. In the two communities from which the bulk of the data comes the participation phase lasted two months on the one hand and three months on the other.

The discussions themselves were carried out only with people who expressed interest in them. In a number of cases I suggested that we meet and talk 'on the record'; in far more cases people who had heard I had carried out such discussions asked me to come and talk with them. There was no attempt, therefore, at securing a representative sample, but by the end of the field work I had covered more than 50% of households, and was sure that my information was representative. In one community I had discussions with all but six households, and in each community managed to make extensive contact with people in each age group, and with both men and women.

During those discussions I recorded everything that was said. I did this in writing in all but a few instances. It is my view that tape-recorders (like cameras) are intrusive and alarming: they are devices for total recording, and therefore cause nervousness. Certainly I found that people talked more relaxedly when I wrote, while the writing itself gave a distinctive and slow pace to discussions - a pace which corresponded well with northern conversational styles. Some older people urged me to make tape-recordings of their views and reminiscences, and towards the end of my field work I always left a tape-recorder on a table in the places I stayed which could be used by anyone who wanted to make recordings. That was well-received, and a number of lengthy reminiscences were recorded by older people. In those cases my participation in the work was minimal; the subject matter, narration, and questioning were all provided by local people. Much of the most important material was accumulated in that way.

Language learning of course never stopped; ~~and~~ it was an important activity in every ^{as at every stage} part of the work. Equally, I never stopped accompanying hunters and trappers, and always joined in much of the everyday social and family life of my hosts. Participation obviously shades into systematic discussion, and it is similarly difficult to determine whether a conversation is systematic or not. The various strands of the field method were thus hard to distinguish one from the other. This was especially the case since I made as clear as possible from the very beginning what it was I was trying to do, and found much willingness to help me do it.

I also carried out interviews with whites in the settlements, and had many opportunities for access to their lives. Since the number of whites in each settlement is so small, there was no difficulty about establishing a complete profile of the white sub-community. During the summer I made a point of talking with transients in ~~the~~ settlements, and occasionally acted as interpreter for both English and French Canadian construction workers. Towards the end of my field work I received more and more requests for either interpreting or other go-between services, from both whites and Inuit. That role was often awkward, and sometimes beyond my abilities as interpreter of either words or culture. But it did give me opportunities for witnessing, and participating in, a series of encounters between Inuit and southern brokers of various kinds. That experience, which was in no way a consciously pursued field method, provided many of the most important encounters I had with northern problems.

It is ~~not~~, therefore, really possible to say what was method, what was chance, and what merely an inevitable outcome of spending time in any place. I did not devote much time to assembling statistics other than those available in the offices of Regional Government. Many settlement personnel gave me access to documents and records, and I did assemble information on those bases. Much of it, however, is either unreliable or out of date. Virtually all records kept by missionaries, for example, prior to the 1950s ^{are} ~~were~~ hopelessly incomplete. The important documentation in this study, ~~therefore~~, derives from relatively informal field methods. It is my view that such methods are, in the context of a long-

term study of this kind, entirely appropriate. Misrepresentation through statistics is all too easy in northern work; while the administration of questionnaires is highly problematic. Neither native nor temporary northerners like to be quizzed, and all are suspicious of outsiders - particularly if they make any claim to expertise. Gathering the important data is a slow, painstaking business; the sociological field worker has no methodological equivalent to the ready-reckoner.

The focus of the report

This report is problem-oriented. It does not seek to be a comprehensive sociology of either the white or Inuit society; it is not an ethnography. Nor is it a community study - indeed, the ^{real} names of communities ^{and individuals} are not given in the belief that confidentiality is essential and that the findings here have a general application to virtually all the settlements of the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

In the earliest stages of the field work it was decided that focus should be on modernization and problems associated with a move towards wage-labour. That orientation was partly in anticipation of projected large-scale development of base metal and other non-renewable resource deposits, and partly with an awareness of the kinds of processes which appear to have caused so much disarray in other remote and quasi-traditional locations throughout the world. I therefore began by expecting that the bulk of the study would be concerned with economic factors and correlations between them and specific forms of social disorganization. But as the work developed it became apparent to me that the area which compelled attention

and scrutiny was not to be found in that focus. People talked to me about other kinds of things, and gradually revealed their main preoccupations. In following the northerners themselves, then, this entire report came to centre on ~~two~~^{three} matters.

a. The lack of contact or problematical contact between whites and Inuit, and the ways in which their interrelationship militates against proper assessment or realization of Inuit aspirations. It became obvious that neither side is in a position adequately to judge what the other might be wanting to achieve. The Inuit expressed to me some of their criticisms of white individuals and southern agencies. They also explained that silence was most often their way of being critical. Of course, in southern society silence is generally taken as consent; the 'silent majority' is so described in the hope of convincing the 'articulate minority' that it is a minority; only clearly expressed protest is seen as opposition. Inuit are well aware of the bind such a consciousness sets them in. And if they continue in silence, or withdrawal, it became clear to me that such silence did not mean consent or even indifference. So I was urged by the people I knew to try and give voice to some of their complaints. The discussions which constituted the more formal part of my work were essentially to do with such criticisms, and the topics in each case included: comparisons between each kind of agency (H.B.C., Church, R.C.M.P., Administration) in the present and the past; views on specific individual whites, both of the past and present; comments on the main difficulties facing those now living in settlements; and comments on

the changes which seemed to have taken place in the local hunting and trapping environment. But no two discussions followed precisely the same range of subjects, and every individual raised some problems that were very much his own. As a result of which it became possible to assemble a rough profile of how various institutional and personnel arrangements affected individuals and families.

b. The lack or limited nature of alternatives to wage-labour based economic development. As field work continued it became increasingly apparent that very many Inuit, of all ages, had highly positive attitudes towards the land and its renewable resources. It also became apparent that a majority of white officials, and much important policy, aimed at basing settlement economic life on wage-employment either in service and tertiary sectors of the economy, or - in the longer term - on employment generated by large-scale economic development of the north. Attitudes to land, settlement, and whites, kept returning to the kinds of difficulties created or at least aggravated by such policy directions.

c. The sociology of the white community, and the attitudes of various individuals towards both their work and the Inuit people.

Given the range of those three broad areas of concern, the discussion inevitably moves between very different levels. Local detail, political matters, and economic formations in the future all tend to be intertwined. The compounding of such disparate levels of discussion is there because, in the Eskimo view of things, as in the social reality of the

settlement situation, they are not separable. And in this report a first priority^v given to the native northerners' view of the situation. I do not try and establish the 'objective realities' against which their view might be judged; this is in no part an essay into the question of false-consciousness.

The structure of the report reflects the main concerns. The introductory anecdotes are designed to give a first taste of the more serious difficulties which are a part of contemporary northern life. To many readers those anecdotes will see^m gross, not to say grotesque. I can only emphasize that they are by no means unrepresentative of the kinds of thing that occur with alarming frequency in every Eastern Arctic settlement. Any who have lived for any length of time in those communities can tell such stories; indeed, they are tending to become a central feature of disgruntled or alarmed administrators' reminiscences. In those anecdotes as in every other part of this study, the names of most individuals are changed and settings are not given. Chapter 2 is the one important exception to that general rule.

It will be obvious that this study aims at setting up a counterpoint between whites and ^{Eskimos} ~~Inuit~~. It has not always been possible to split the discussions, and Chapter 9 can be seen as a link between Parts Two and Three. But Part Two aims primarily at giving a view of the white community, as against Part Three, which aims at offering the ^{Eskimo} ~~Inuit~~ view of things.

The methodological bases of the two parts are somewhat at odds. Part Two depends heavily on a simple class-theory, and tries to explain in that way the attitudes northern whites tend to hold towards northern natives. In attempting explanatory formulations of that order that section of the study is more sociological and less directly empirical. In contrast, Part Three seeks to establish the Inuit perception of things without moving very far towards an explanatory schema. To some extent there is a theoretical formulation which by implication covers much of the material assembled in Part Three. Given that I adopt a class-theory in Part Two, there follows at least an implicit commitment to the view that Inuit are being moved towards a quite definite class position vis-à-vis southern society and therefore vis-à-vis northern whites. There is between the lines a proletarianization thesis. The reason for not making it more explicit lies in the priority already expressed: a wish to give the Inuit view, and accordingly to avoid organizing that view inside social-scientific categories. Of course, all data ^{are} ~~is~~ being organized, and readers will be able to discern the moulds into which much of the information here has been poured; every social scientist carried on a process of selection, sifting, and reordering of reality - however much he may protest his 'objectivity'.

I have, however, used one simple device with which to soften the conceptual moulds. Much of the text is taken up with quotations from Inuit conversations and reminiscences. Those quotations are ^{translated} ~~are~~ verbatim, and there has not been too much attempt at selecting the exactly aposite sentence. Instead, the quotations are left as paragraphs, and in several instances as

several paragraphs. There are asides and reflections which do not bear directly on the matter at that point of the report's text. It is to be hoped, therefore, that whatever framework this text seeks to situate local expression within, that expression will nonetheless have its own, and perhaps very different, coherence.

The problem orientation of this report, with its corresponding emphasis on Inuit expressions of discontent, means that good things and good men tend to go unsung. That cannot be avoided; the overall situation is bad. I can only draw attention to those things that those most directly concerned often express: confusions, uncertainties, self- and other-criticisms. Thanks are due, however to many officials in the field, who helped and sympathized with much of what I was trying to do. They include some men whose positions are criticized in these pages. It must be said, therefore, that there is a very real difference between the institutional and the personal identities of such men. The problem orientation of this report is not attached to the matter of problem individuals; it is the jobs which are often hopeless.

Key terms

The two most important terms are 'white' and 'Eskimo'. Very recently it has become customary in governmental and other circles to replace 'Eskimo' by 'Inuit'. 'Inuit', meaning literally 'people' in the Eskimo language, is the term by which Eskimos refer to themselves when speaking Eskimo. Only very few use it when speaking English. In fact Inuit of the Eastern Arctic have three categories of people: 'Allait', 'Qallunaat',

and 'Inuit' - which refer respectively to the people living immediately to the south of the lands occupied by Inuit, typically within the tree-line; the people living beyond that; and themselves. The first two are, of course, usually translated as 'Indians' and 'Whites'. More precise terms for specific peoples are readily coined in Eskimo by use of the affix -miut: 'Uttavamiut' are people of Ottawa, while 'Sainisimiut' are people of China, and 'Qirnirtarmiut' are black people. By this device each category is divisible into very small and very precise sectors. The term 'Qallunaat' is not, therefore, very well translated as 'White' - it includes all those of the south, and thus can include Blacks, Chinese, etc.¹ The term 'Qallunaat n̄nanḡat', 'the land of the Qallunaat', denotes all the world not inhabited by either Inuit or Allait. It of course includes, then, territory certainly not inhabited by 'whites'.

The two pairs of terms are thus asymmetrical. Qallunaat: Inuit and Whites: Eskimos are not accurate translations of one another. Frank Vallee took the opposition Qallunaaq:Eskimo as the basis for the title of his book about Baker Lake.¹ I suspect that the opposition in that form minimizes the extent to which Inuit regard Qallunaat as people of moral and material power. For that reason I prefer to use 'white'; it may be a less than perfectly accurate translation, but it carries the most important connotations - both psychological and political - of the word 'Qallunaaq' as it is used by the Inuit.

¹ Qallunaaq is the spelling of the term in New Orthography - in which all Eskimo terms are rendered in this report; Vallee of course used the form Kabloona.

De Ponins +

The term 'Inuit' is also problematic, for it is a plural form. Already there are numerous papers and publications in which the word 'inuits' appears. The singular of 'inuit' is 'inuk'. while the plural form in fact applies to three or more; the dual form is written (though not pronounced) in the same form as the singular. If replacement of 'Eskimo' by 'Inuit' is to be regarded as a sign of respect for Eskimo culture, then it must be used with respect for the language. That is not easily done without a certain coyness. For that reason this report slips back and forth between 'Eskimo' and 'Inuit'. The term 'Eskimo' is not a pejorative term, though it does derive from an Athapaskan term meaning 'raw meat eater', which may - in the moral framework of the Athapascans themselves - have carried strongly disapprobatory implications. But such pejorative content is scarcely a part of the term's meanings as used by southerners.

Perhaps more troubling to the reader will be the use of the term 'middle-class'. Canadian society, especially in its English speaking form, is not very easily divisible into middle and working-classes. The problem is that the criteria by which a person is judged to be working or middle class have been evolved by European sociologists who are inevitably conscious of accent, education, and other comparatively informal but nonetheless key social insignia. In North America as a whole there is a tendency to view class in terms of money. In this report the term middle class covers those people who have money and high occupational status. There are construction workers in the north who earn more on a month-to-month basis than quite senior officials, but who are nonetheless members

of the working-class. Moreover, that occupational status is usually associated with distinctive cultural traits, which are just the same kind of signpost as accent. The bundle of characteristics which are being associated with middle-classness, therefore, is not very different from the one carried in both European and American sociology. The starting point is a specific relationship to the means of production, from which other things are predicted. In the context of northern settlements those other things are to do with status, lifestyle, and personal manner. All of them have bearing on relationships between whites and Eskimos.

It must also be noted that middle-class will usually refer to the present status of a person, rather than to his class origins. Since the north provides some atypical opportunities for upward mobility (notably in the case of Hudson's Bay Company employees), that is especially important: there are numbers of whites there who are much gratified by the opportunity for a middle-class position. The class origins of white brokers causes some complication to the mores of the middle-class in the north, but that complication does not interfere with the main thread of the argument: the whites in the north have increasingly come to live middle-class lifestyles and have typically middle-class attitudes to their jobs, colleagues, and neighbours.

Most of the data included in this report are highly specific, and little attempt is made to enlarge their generality. Occasionally, however, reference is made to colonialism. In many crucial respects the people of the Canadian north are experiencing a colonial situation, and their

1-14

predicament can therefore be related to that of other peoples who have experienced or are experiencing colonialism. One essential feature of colonialism is the nature of social change it generates: it is forced by outside agents on indigenous populations, and has economic as well as cultural dimensions. Moreover, such change - however it is characterized or even perceived by the colonizers - works to the advantage of the outsiders, and reveals their moral and economic notions. Typically colonial situations also create certain kinds of human confusion, on the part of the agents in the field as well as of native populations. There are definite psychological types associated with both groups. In Chapter 8 the discussion turns to that matter vis-à-vis ~~the~~ northern whites. In a range of matters, therefore, the use of the term colonialism represents a move to a higher generality than is elsewhere a feature of ~~this~~ report. The use of the term is urged in opposition to writers on the north who have neglected to notice the degree in which the dominant, southern society continues to dominate.

It will be alleged, perhaps, against this use of the term colonialism that contemporary socio-economic theory has refined an important distinction between colonialism on the one hand and economic imperialism on the other. The latter has been characterised as:

"the economic domination of one region or country over another - specifically, the formal or informal control over local economic resources in a manner advantageous to the metropolitan power, and at the expense of the local economy."¹

That kind of definition seeks to include the kind of relationship the United States has to some Latin American countries' economies, as well as the kind

¹ See Robert I. Rhodes, Imperialism and Underdevelopment, Monthly Review Press 1970 p. 118.

of economic relationship that existed for many centuries (and in many respects continues to exist) between England and its Gaelic hinterlands (including Ireland). It blurs the distinction between international and inter-regional relationships, seeing metropolis treatment of hinterland as no less a case of economic imperialism than an imperial power's domination of its colonies. It also aims at pointing to the relative disadvantage which development of the so-called under-developed regions can entail.

In Canada the position of the far north continues to be ambiguous. It was first regarded as a colony of Britain, in which the Hudson's Bay Company had both a trading monopoly and administrative functions. But the incorporation of the Ruperts Land Colony into Canada, itself a colony, complicated the issue. And the subsequent development of relationships between southern Canada and the peoples of the northern territories has done little to remove those complications. Should the Eskimos of Canada decide to establish a nation of their own north of the treeline, however, it would be unlikely to change the structure of their economic relationship to southern Canada and, less directly, to the U.S.A. This shifting, ambiguous situation may therefore seem to call for the less precise category; it does seem to be moving towards ever more complex economic imperialism.

My reasons for using the term 'colonialism', however, are simple enough. The settlements of the Eastern Arctic have, during the past twenty years, been experiencing a social and political process of a very distinctive nature. The fur traders, who themselves of course came in the wake of

whalers, were attracted by the resources of the arctic; it was hoped that the high price which the white fox began to achieve in international markets in the early 1920s would justify the extension of the trading operation. That extension was not concerned with ownership of land, nor even with mineral resources (though the Hudson's Bay Company did undertake a few very small scale mining operations). The fur trade was, above all, a business venture. But the modern period has crucial social and political elements which do not, prima facie, have much to do with business. Extension of welfare and administrative services has not been regarded as a device for maximizing economic fortunes; indeed, Canada undertook in the 1950s a series of northern programs which were expensive, and which were not going to secure economic benefits for the nation. Social, educational, and medical agencies did not create a significant labour pool which could be drawn upon by northern industrial developers. Indeed, industrial developers often show a marked preference for imported southern labour. The quality of settlement life - and it must be remembered that the settlement itself is the product of post/~~fur~~-trade policies - is directly informed, therefore, by government officials. The Settlement Manager, who followed the Area Administrator, who followed the Northern Service Officer, is the representative of Canadian endeavour in contemporary Eskimo life. Alongside ~~the~~ Settlement Managers are teachers, nurses, social development and other welfare agents. Today's Eskimos live at the end of a long administrative chain.

The concern of most of those who form the links of that chain is with giving to Eskimos a lifestyle which is much more like that of people in the south. This means that the settlement is very much like a colonial outpost. The lands around it are usually said to be undisputably Canadian, and even the Indians and Eskimos of the N.W.T. who are most concerned with restricting or controlling use of their lands do not suggest that those lands should be split politically from Canada. It is with an eye to the detail of settlement social and political life, then, that I refer to the situation as colonial. The attitudes as well as the professional activities of southern personnel in the settlements encourage the use of the term. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 all return to that point.

Embedded in stories and memories, which refer now to the past and now to the present, is a sense of extraordinarily rapid change. The people of the Canadian Eastern Arctic are conscious of having experienced transformations in virtually every aspect of their lives. Moreover, many of these transformations have taken no longer than the adult life of people now living in settlements. One man's reminiscences can have a scope no less broad than the principal changes themselves. It is not surprising, therefore, that many commentators on the Arctic scene adopt a basic schema which rests upon a division of things into 'traditional' and 'modern'. An undercurrent to virtually every part of this report is that such a division is at best an error and at worst actually pernicious.

The changes which have taken place are often most poignantly represented by a readily describable contrast between the material conditions of the

past and those of the present, or by noticing modern preoccupations among people who were brought up in a way of life which knew nothing of such preoccupations. It is not surprising, therefore, that change is usually described as a move from traditional to modern lifestyles. This description of the changes which have taken place in the Canadian north may help locate study of Canada's Eskimos in a wider context of culture-contact or acculturation analyses, for like them it tends to see the arrival of southerners as synonymous with the qualification to traditional culture. In those terms things modern have displaced things aboriginal. And in the largest sense that is of course true - before whites and white influence had appeared in the far north, the peoples originally there lived a life which was self-maintained and self-maintaining. But that form of the traditional:modern conception is misleading. It identifies the fastest change with the move from aboriginal to modern culture, whereas in fact the move from aboriginal culture is quite separable from the changes which have in the past fifty years been dramatically compressed.

The point can be indicated historically. Aboriginal life among Eskimos in Canada was, in many areas, at least indirectly transformed in the eighteenth century. As soon as whalers had begun to make regular visits to the Eastern Arctic, the lives of the people in those areas were significantly affected. Those who knew the whalers, who lived in camps along the shores the whalers travelled and visited, were affected by the material culture of the whalers, and subsequently by the impact which whalers made on the local whale populations. While those who lived some

distance from the places whalers actually frequented were nonetheless affected by the appearance of guns and metal, if not by the sheer knowledge of these strange peoples' existence which could itself have engendered change. In later years, towards the beginning of the present century, spread of guns and metal, as well as of a host of new ideas, went beyond the actual paths the southern intruders took themselves. News and goods ran ahead, into remote parts of the Arctic, to places which southerners would not directly enter until much later.

Older men, the story-tellers, do not recall a time when they lived the aboriginal life. They cannot remember a world which did not have guns, traders, and some Christian ideas, even though ^{many} ~~they~~ remember well a world in which whites had never physically set foot. ^{But} their cultural feet, shadowy intimations of the heavier things to come, had deeply marked the way of life which men of even sixty years ago knew. Although Stefansson was convinced that the Copper Eskimo whom he encountered during his travels of 1912 and 1913 had never before met with a Qallunaaq, and knew nothing of them, either materially or culturally, that situation must count as a rare - if not unique - instance in the Canadian north¹. Flaherty did not reach the Belcher Islands until 191⁵, but he most certainly did not find there a population which was intellectually or materially isolated from the society which Flaherty represented². Equally the inland Eskimo whom

¹ See Stefansson Anderson and Canadian Arctic Expedition.

² See R. Flaherty.

Farley Mowat lived among for some time in the 1940s, although many had never had dealings with whites before, all most certainly were supplied with southern goods, and knew much of southern ways¹. Certainly none of the men and women, even of the oldest generation now living, whose reminiscences and comments yielded the anecdotal material in subsequent chapters, knew the life which ethnographers would call truly traditional. In Chapter 10 ~~will~~^{it} will be seen that the Inuit themselves do not characterize their traditional life, or the life they now regard as traditional, in terms of pre-contact aboriginal life.

The drastic change which the Eskimos themselves are conscious of therefore consists in the shift from camp life to settlement life - a camp life which was built on some elements of southern technology (i.e. guns and iron), and included southern economic and other ideological forms - trading and Christianity. It may be answered that if that is the case, if the change is from a life which was attended by numerous 'modern' elements, then it is not a particularly radical change. But the change is from life at the very edge of - and in many ways a life beyond - southern ways, to a life which is surrounded by and hemmed in by southerners. The Eskimos themselves regard that change as radical, for they see evidence of it at every turn.

Even to the casual visitor to such communities the evidence is poignant. It is possible to meet young men and women who appear to be the very essence of modernity, people who are most fashionably dressed, knowledgeable about

¹ See Farley Mowat, 19

the most recent in the rock music scene, articulate in their impression of modern attitudes to political and moral issues, but who nonetheless can remember early childhood in a snow house, or recall travelling in a kayak from spring to summer camp sites. It is possible to hear a young man talk of his first days' hunting with his father, of difficult journeys as a child, when soft snow exhausted the dogs and left the family stranded for several days in hard weather and hunger - and the same young man will complain about how difficult it is to get hold of the soft drugs he most enjoys. Equally there are older people who repeatedly express their amazement - and often their indignation - at new things by which they are faced, at problematic settlement life on which so many new things are now being built, and at those fads and fashions of the young which seem so entirely at odds with the ways of careful childhood the old had created for those same young people.

The predicament of today's Eskimos is modern; they are confronted by a set of difficulties which are to do with social, economic, and political disadvantage; the difficulties are inflamed by problems of race. This report will not discover any clear ways out of those difficulties, though in Chapter 14 I set out a recommendation to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs which could still do much to protect the aspirations of Inuit at least in the medium-run. The report is written, however, in the belief that the ways in which difficulties are described can contribute much. The accuracy of description will of course determine whether that contribution merely aggravates or helps lay a foundation for alleviating those difficulties.

Chapter 2

Some few years ago a crisis occurred in one of the small Eastern Arctic settlements. It is a crisis which survives still in the memories even of those who were only marginally involved, and it remained until recently among the most savoured pieces of local gossip. It was not long after my arrival there that I was treated to its details. Details, that is to say, as they have been filtered by time as well as by intensity of feelings, and provided (in this, the first instance) by settlement whites.

There had been a difficult time with a teacher, I was told, whose sexual appetites brought him into the most terrible conflict with the Eskimo people. Preceded as he was by a reputation for homosexual tendencies, the new young teacher had from the outset been an object of white suspicions and rumour. But for a year or so there was nothing substantial. He was evidently disliked by the school principal, but clearly was an exemplary worker in the class room. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the school principal's Eskimo wife. It is said that she reported to her husband the stories circulating among the Eskimos. There was, apparently, much to be told.

Alerted to the possible activities of the young teacher, the school principal and Settlement Manager began their own investigations. They learned the name of one of the boys involved, interviewed him, and began to assemble a list of participants and some account of what exactly they had participated in. The story is that both boys and sexual activities

had been many. The school principal devoted much of his time to interviewing each of the participants in turn. It is said that they were happy to give full and detailed accounts of all their doings. It is also said that these doings included financial dealings which were little short of prostitution. Eventually the school principal had assembled his evidence. Although it took some days, he allegedly did not inform the teacher himself, but left him agonizing over the obvious developments in settlement preoccupations. Indeed, it is said by those who gossip still, that boys were called from his classroom during lessons, one by one, to the interviews which the principal was conducting. More generally, it is recalled that from the start the investigators exhibited ferocity and rage against the alleged offender, and systematically pursued their discoveries in a way most sure to maximize the teacher's growing fears and uncertainties.

Eventually, of course, he himself was summoned to an interview, and was presented with the details of his supposed wrong-doings. Exactly what took place at that encounter is not very exactly described, but one of the interviewers told me that the culprit was by that time in a state of acute distress. I was also told that the investigating team tape-recorded their proceedings. Confessions were extracted, indignation expressed, and the parents of some of the boys who had been involved were called in to give their views of the matter. Only after this private enquiry had run its course were the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (who maintain a permanent detachment on the settlement) called to the scene. The

young teacher was charged, confined to his house in lieu of being put into detention (a sort of improvised house-arrest cum bail), and eventually "flown out in handcuffs" to Yellowknife.

Thus were the broad facts of the matter as they were first outlined to me. But there was another aspect to the reminiscences I heard from whites in the settlement: the Eskimo view of the events. One of the key officials who had involved himself with the proceedings from the very start made much of Eskimo indignation. He characterized the house-arrest, for example, as the only way in which the young teacher's life could be protected: the Eskimos - most particularly the fathers of the boys concerned - were "after him with a gun". Indeed, I was told, rage against the teacher was beginning to reach such proportion just prior to the investigations that it was fortunate for everyone that the crisis broke when it did; had the veil of secrecy continued the teacher would probably have been dealt with in more summary fashion by the local people. Other whites, who had not played any direct part in the situation, were equally convinced that Eskimo feeling against the teacher was strong, growing, and likely to be dangerous. And it was generally recalled that those fathers who had been summoned to interviews with the investigators, prior to the official laying of charges by the police, had expressed fierce indignation against the white man who had drawn their sons into homosexual practice. I came to believe that the subject was one to be avoided, and that the community would nurse for all time an undying grudge against the misplaced concupiscence of southerners. After all, I

was told, the people had been exposed to corruption, and were not going to forget that anger which they had expressed to those officials who made it their business to ameliorate such pollution of the local moral climate.

Some of those whites who talked to me of those bad times in the school were not inclined to support the attitudes which the school principal had adopted, nor did they favour the more angry disgust which some other whites had been very ready to express. One teacher remarked that he found the anger of some officials as distasteful as the activities of the teacher, commenting that one government employee had voiced loudly his hope that the death-sentence be introduced for this particular offender, followed by his choice of a settlement for the site of the gallows.

Another teacher was inclined to speculate about the sexual dispositions of the school principal, seeing signs of a troubled personality in what he regarded as such extremes of hostility towards homosexuality. The white missionary at that time also was inclined to criticize the manner in which the inquiries had been pursued, saying that the teacher may have needed some help, but certainly would not have been given any by the blend of cloak-and-dagger investigation, moral outrage, and punitive measures, which constituted official response to the scandal.

Divided as the whites were in their judgements of the way in which the difficult situation had been handled, they were nonetheless in agreement over the depth of Eskimo indignation. All those whites who talked to me of the crisis felt that the law was at least putting into effect the local attitude to the criminal; it was, after all, taking him away and

punishing him for serious wrong-doing.

As I came to know the settlement better, and gradually learned to live within the Eskimo community there, I began to participate in conversations about the past. As a rule, the subject and range of these conversations was established and contained by the Eskimos. Faltering and nervous, afraid of saying the wrong thing or saying things wrongly, I avoided taking conversational initiatives. And during these conversations I never heard anything of sexually deviant whites, although I did hear much talk about school and teachers. Eventually I embarked upon a series of systematic discussions, focussed on problems which the people of the settlement felt they were encountering. The discussions were systematic in so far as I attempted to follow a series of topics, and it was understood that they were somewhat formal. In effect they marked the beginning of my work in the north, and were an opportunity for me to explain just why I was there, what I was interested in, etc. They were unsystematic in so far as I only conducted them in households which expressed a wish for me to do so. The procedure was this: an announcement was made over the local radio station which gave in the most general terms my reasons for being in the settlement, adding that should anyone be interested in talking to me about those reasons, then I would visit them. The first discussions were therefore held with people who wanted to have them.

Emphasis throughout these first forays into the community's opinions and thoughts was on dissatisfaction and the local sense of change. I listened to complaints against the white institutions, and against particular white

individuals; I heard much about the ways in which life in general had improved and ways in which it was said to have deteriorated; all these were conveyed in the form of reminiscences, anecdotes, and specific requests for information. It became evident very early on that many people of the settlement were ready to express substantial criticisms and anxiety. Indeed, the general impression I received was of doubt, confusion, and occasional touches of indignation. But nobody raised the matter of the teacher who had been led away to gaol.

One day, in the house of a young couple, when the conversation was running especially easily and I felt that there was a great willingness on all sides to talk freely and openly, I asked if there had been any difficulty with school teachers. Oh yes, I was told, there had been difficulty because there had once been a very good principal, but he had left, and now the principal was not so good; the people here often wished that the other man would come back again. We talked for a while about what made one principal better than another, what kinds of teachers got on best with the children, and what teachers should be doing in the settlement apart from teaching. Eventually I took my courage in my hands and asked the fateful question. The exact formulation was: "I have heard that there was once a teacher here who had to leave because he liked to make love with the young boys. Is that what happened?" Yes, came the answer, that was a very bad thing. The young man heard that white men sometimes liked to make love with other men before that teacher came to the settlement, but he had never really understood why it was. Maybe such men were lonely.

But it was a very bad thing the way it happened here. The bad thing was the way he left: suddenly he was taken away by the police. It was hard to understand why the police should have taken the young teacher away. And the whites had been terrible in the way they had behaved. After all, he had been making love with Eskimo boys, not with white boys. So it was a matter for the Eskimos. I asked what should have been done about it, and was told: he should not have been sent away at all. Instead, he should have had a meeting with the Eskimos, and they would have told him: "we like you very much and we think that you are a good teacher for our children, but we do not like you making love with them. So please stop doing that. He should have been warned by the people, and then he would have understood what we wanted, and he would probably have stopped doing that, and then he could have stayed working in the school. But instead the whites decided everything, talked to him, did not ask what the Eskimos thought, and then just took him away." I was told that the people of the settlement had been angry about that. Certainly it had been "a very bad thing to see the whites do those things to that teacher without asking the Eskimos what they wanted."

I was of course astonished by both the nature of the answer, no less than by the readiness with which that particular man would discuss the whole matter. And I proceeded to talk to many people about the episode, always asking what should have been done, and what was felt about what had in fact been done. Then, gradually, without specifically intending it, I assembled a picture of that teacher as he had come to be described by

the Eskimos. All the versions of the episode I heard from the Eskimos were akin to the first. Most significantly, however, I found much later that I had talked in great detail about the matter to three fathers of boys who had been deeply involved, and to two of those who had been participants in the critical investigations conducted in the office of the Settlement Manager. One of those fathers was that first young man with whom I had raised the subject. The other, Attak, spoke at much greater length, and over a series of conversations we had at various times during the following eighteen months. In that time, as we got to know each other better, the subject of the school teacher came up in many different contexts. It became more and more evident that the seduction of Attak's son by the teacher in no way dominated Attak's attitude towards the man. The conversations are worth summarizing.

That teacher, Attak told me, was unlike other whites. He was more like whites who came to the settlement some years ago, at a time when southerners wanted to learn the language and get to know the Eskimos. That teacher used to visit families in the settlement, and some families were visited by him often. In that way people there were able to get to know him, and he could get to understand many of their ways. In particular, he made a great effort to learn the language, and though he did not find it easy he managed after a time, after many visits, to establish a command of simple conversational Eskimo. So he talked with some of the people, and became friendly with them. Attak himself was one of the men most often visited, and Attak took special pleasure in teaching the teacher. Also, that

teacher was liked by the children in the school; Attak had heard from many of the pupils how that teacher had become popular. In all these ways he was contrasted most favourably with both other teachers and with settlement whites in general.

Yet for some time it had been rumoured among the Eskimos that the teacher showed sexual interest in some of the boys. It seemed from Attak's accounts that it was not too serious a matter, and no cause for real anger against such a likeable man. Then the whites had heard rumours, and had become angry about it all. Of course, if it were all true, it should not continue. But Attak felt that it was for him and other older men in the settlement to decide what to do about the problem. It would have been good, he said, to discuss with the teacher all the rumours, and to tell him how the Eskimos wanted him to behave with the young people of the community. Like the first man I asked about the affair, Attak expressed indignation at the way in which the school principal and other officials had taken the matter entirely into their own hands. He pointed out to me that all they wanted to know from the Eskimos were some of the details, some of the stories that were being told in the settlement. The whites, he said, never seemed to think it would be right if Eskimos decided what should be done about a man accused of those offences.

Attak was very specific in his feeling that the R.C.M.P. should never have been involved in the matter. He felt that police had far more important things to do than interfere with a teacher whose activities were the Eskimos' business. If the Eskimos had needed the R.C.M.P's help, then

they would have asked for it; but they were never given a chance to say what they thought should be done about the matter. Attak used the episode in the context of criticizing the police, pointing out that there was beginning to be much difficulty with alcohol and drunkenness, and that police could be usefully employed keeping an eye on parties where people were drinking, making sure that no one collapsed onto the snow to be frozen to death in drunken indifference to the cold. By comparison with duties of that kind, he argued, the intervention of the police in this business of the teacher and the local boys was neither called for nor useful. And, Attak believed, the interference of the police **had meant that** a good teacher was taken away to prison, never to return to the settlement. Thus the only outcome of their doings was the loss of one white who had shown himself willing and able to learn about Eskimo people.

Towards the end of my stay in the Eastern Arctic, almost two years since I had first met Attak, he asked me to look at all his old photographs. We sat for several hours sorting through scraps of paper and faded pictures he had kept in boxes. After looking at the majority of the photographs in the boxes, he suddenly asked me if I knew all the pictures he kept permanently pinned up around the house. I had often noticed many of them, but had never asked who all the people were who figured in them. And some I had never looked at closely for they were attached to the walls of the bedroom. Attak took me on a tour of the pictures on display, and eventually we came to one on his bedroom wall, small and rather out of focus. Attak pointed to the picture, and asked if I knew who it was. I

did not know, and was duly told: "that is a man who used to be a teacher here; he was a really good man, one of the best men ever sent here to work with the people." Attak remembered the man's name, and I realized that it was indeed the teacher. A photograph of the centre of that little crisis remained on the wall. I was asked if I knew where he was now, or what he was working at. I reported the little I had heard. Attak told me that he had discovered those few things, but had also heard that the former teacher was married and had some children. Perhaps, reflected Attak, he will come back to the settlement one day", and at least visit us again: there are so few whites whom one can talk with and become friendly with."

Chapter 3

During the summer of 1962 British Ungava Explorations Limited conducted a series of prospecting flights over northern Baffin Island. During one of those flights Murray Watts (director of) and Ron Sheardown (a pilot working for) noticed a set of hills which were unusually reddish in colour. They landed in Lake, gathered up a number of rock samples, and continued on their way.

It seemed to Murray Watts that the rocks he had collected and the tincture of the hills among which they were found indicated the presence of iron ore deposits. The area had been surveyed between 1954 and 1962 by the Geological Survey of Canada, but no mineral resources had at that time been discovered there. Indeed, Watts and his pilot found a triangulation point on the peak of one of those reddish hills which had in the first place attracted their attention: the triangulation point had been placed on the hill by an earlier Canadian Geological survey team. It was a surprise to many, therefore, that the samples collected in the summer of 1962 were discovered to contain a minimum of 68% pure iron. And in the course of their first exploration, Watts and Sheardown found five deposits of high grade magnetite and hematite¹. It was evident to those involved in the British Ungava Explorations Limited survey program that the resource was an important discovery: the percentages of iron in the base rock were remarkably high, while the deposits appeared to be enormous.

¹ See review essay by , Baffinland Iron Mines Limited, DIAND, 19 .

D-4

Inevitably the initial discovery was quickly followed by the formation of a Company with primary control of the resource, and then by three years of systematic exploration and assessment of the deposits. Between 1963 and 1965 the company, which was named Baffinland Iron Mines Limited, conducted magnetic surveys, geological mapping, as well as researches into the possibilities of railway construction between the site and the nearest or best point for deep water harbour construction. First calculations were also made as to the problems of marketing, and the trends in world supplies and demands for high quality iron ore. This phase of the project was carried out by Baffinland Iron Mines, and was financed entirely by them. The cost of such researching, as well as the construction of preliminary logistic facilities came to \$2.5 millions. Baffinland Iron Mines Limited financed their operations by

First claims to the mine were staked in July of 1962, at the time of the initial discovery, prior to the assessment of specimen rocks collected by Watts and Sheardown. Later in that year a feasibility study was begun by a Montreal firm of consulting engineers, Surveyer, Nenninger and Chenevert Inc. Their report was completed by March of 1963. It made a cost estimate on the basis of a small mining townsite being built in the Mary River area, with an estimated 380 man work force living on site. The consultants' report came to the conclusion that the project would make economic sense if and only if much additional financing could be secured. Thus it came about that in summer of 1966 Baffinland Iron Mines Limited approached the

Canadian Federal Government with a carefully documented brief, outlining the costings for the operation at various levels of production. The mining company suggested that Federal funds be provided for construction and maintenance of the townsite planned as the base for the operation, as well as some general financial support. The argument behind the request for money and for the participation of Federal Government in the operation turned on a straightforward costing: the research thus far carried out by the company indicated that the project would not make economic sense if annual production of the mine fell short of two million tons of ore shipments, but the financing of that scale of operations would be too high to find its funds in the marketplace. Quite simply, the development of an iron mine without such long-term large-scale bases was felt to be too risky for the international investing community. The solution would be for government to bear the risk, and thus secure the profitability of the venture.

It was also pointed out to the Federal Government that such a project had a number of peripheral advantages. At present, it was claimed, the area was without any economic development and would therefore benefit greatly from the establishment of an iron mine with a long future. Moreover, the working of such a mine would require developments in shipping and supplying which would almost certainly be innovatory, and very much in accord with Canadian economic needs: large freight tankers which could operate in extremely harsh ice conditions would be a fundamental aspect of the operation. Research and development in the area of tankers and ice was

much needed and could, they claimed, only do good to the future of Canadian development throughout the northern regions of the country. Alongside the profitability assessment these arguments were used to support a request for a government financial commitment in the neighbourhood of \$33 million.

The proposal was closely scrutinized and reviewed by the Federal Government economists. They judged that the proposal, as it stood in its principal form, was not wholly acceptable. There appeared to be at least two central difficulties. First: ice conditions in the access inlets to the north of the projected mine sites are extremely severe, and there appeared to be little prospect of a shipping season of much longer than three months per annum. Second: the supply of iron ore to the world markets was in any case high, and threatened an over-supply which would make operations like Mary River uncompetitive. The second difficulty appeared to be especially serious in the light of Baffinland Iron Mines Limited's decision to supply the European market, which takes orders for iron ore at annual or bi-annual intervals, thus aggravating the uncertainty of the demand situation, and rendering solid assessment predictions extremely difficult. In 1971 it also appeared to be the case that possible shipping limited production to an annual maximum of 2 million tons. Given these considerations the Canadian Federal Government felt that the scale of investment needed for initial site preparation, construction, and first production, was too high.

In early 1971 a re-evaluation of the mine's possibilities was made by Federal Government economists. By that time it seemed more plausible to envisage production in the range of four to five million tons per annum, a scale which made possible returns to capital look more attractive. But on the 1971 figures it was evident that the need for government investment in the project was as acute as ever. Assuming that production was to be at four million tons per annum, the maximum investment support that private industry could gain from conventional government incentive and support programs was approximately \$7.25 m. But the total cost of the project was estimated at almost \$95 million; it was calculated that private industrial contribution would fall short by at least \$30.5 million. Government was therefore asked to spend between 21 and 22 million dollars in the form of special participation in the project. At the same time the advantages of government participation on that scale were reviewed. They appeared to include the possible profitability of the venture: returns to Federal Government were calculated to range between \$5.5 m. and \$50.0 , depending on the scale and success of the operation, each year of the mine's working life. Those figures represent between 5% and 18.5% per annum return on investment by government. Despite these more hopeful assessments, the project remained in the planning stages. The fear remained that the Federal Government investment could lead to open-ended support for a venture which slipped into unprofitability. Obviously, the larger the initial investment the stronger the pressures on government to make sure that the project did not collapse. And should northern Baffin become a locus of large-scale economic enterprise, its demise would

have serious implications for both the local populations and economic development in general, which would both generate pressures on government to support the mine even were it to become unprofitable. It was also observed at the time that government participation would lead directly to government responsibility for employment policies, and vulnerability therefore to charges of discrimination against local Eskimo workers. To this blend of economic and political considerations was added the observation that government participation would ensure that the resource was exploited by Canadian interests: the original consortium was only 50% controlled by Canadian interests.

Between 1971 and 1973 nothing altered in the calculations or in the world markets to render the continuation of the project more likely. Baffinland Iron Mines Limited expressed some impatience at government reluctance during 1972 to show confidence in the project, and considered that world demand for iron indicated the fundamental viability of the scheme. During the same period a new confidence had grown in the possibilities of using large ore-carrying tankers in harsh ice conditions, thus rendering the freight season potentially much longer. But it was still finally felt in the Federal Government that the scale of support being asked for could not be regarded as acceptable, given the remaining uncertainties of the project.

The Mary River iron mine project inevitably had a multitude of important implications for the Eskimos of the region. The site itself is located between a number of Eskimo communities¹; to the north are Pond Inlet and

¹ See Map

Arctic Bay, to the east is Clyde River, while to the south are Igloolik and Hall Beach. The total Eskimo population of those five settlements was in 1973¹. Most significantly, none of the communities has a developed economic base, but are all dependent in various proportions on returns from hunting and trapping, occasional wage-labour within the settlements, and welfare. In the past two years Panarctic Oils have employed sixteen men from Pond Inlet and eight from Arctic Bay on their Arctic Islands drilling sites. At the time of the iron ore's discovery in 1966, however, the balance of economic activities was much more heavily tilted towards the harvesting of renewable resources, towards a blend of hunting and trapping which became the hallmark of the semi-traditional life which emerged throughout the north in the wake of the fur trade.

The important implications, therefore, turned in the first instance on economic factors. The men of the settlements and camps around the proposed development site were to become part of a potential labour force. Already dependent on some flow of money, the families in the area were perhaps going to be faced with a highly paid alternative to the life they were then leading, a life which was financially meagre and somewhat uncertain. As the technological level of hunting and trapping techniques became increasingly modernized, so the need for money became greater. The hunters and trappers became more and more dependent on supplies and equipment which could only be got through ordering and purchasing out

¹ See table for detailed figures for each of the individual settlements.

of the Hudson's Bay Company stores. This process is notorious for the actual poverty which it spawns; and in a social context where information about southern material standards was spreading faster and wider. the importance of new needs increased drastically. Against such a material and psychological background, the mine could be seen by many as a possible solution to a proliferation of new and threatening difficulties. Among the many there were, no doubt, economic developers, local administrators, and those Eskimos who began to hear news of the mine and its possibilities.

But another integral feature of plans for the mine's development was the possible establishment of a mine-site town. Such a town would include Eskimo families from the region, and would make large inroads into social life as it had evolved in the communities living on and off the land around. Among these inroads there was the possibility of large numbers of southerners coming to the area. These strangers would perhaps outnumber the Eskimos, and certainly be a conspicuous feature of the new social landscape. Perhaps they would be spending much of their free time visiting the villages within easy travelling distance of the mine site; perhaps some of them would choose to live in remoter parts of north Baffin Island, closer to traditional centres of Eskimo population.

Finally, the entire development was to be centred on an area adjacent to important hunting lands. The inland area between Pond Inlet and Igloolik is rich in caribou and has for many years been a favoured locale for hunting. Until ten years ago many Eskimo families from the Igloolik culture area spent the summer months, between break-up and freeze-up of the sea ice, walking on the land, at the caribou grounds or fish

weirs. Families from north-eastern Baffin and northern Foxe Basin once walked the land where iron-ore has now been discovered. More recently, since seasonal hunting has shifted and more time is spent hunting caribou during winter while fish weirs have been rendered obsolete by store-bought fishing nets, men have been travelling from the settlements by snowmobile, hunting caribou inland. And today in much the same way as in traditional times, Eskimos travel between Igloolik, Arctic Bay, and Pond Inlet - people of the three settlements are closely related to one another. As the journey is made, usually in the spring, caribou are hunted on their winter feeding grounds, in the land around the proposed Mary River mine site.

Not all these implications of the mine's development were evident to the local people at the outset of the research conducted by the mining company. But early in the initial exploration and preliminary site construction a number of Eskimo men were hired by Baffinland Iron Mines Limited. They helped build the skeletal base which was necessary in the first phase: a gravel airstrip, a few houses, a crude tote road. A total of men were employed, and they were paid \$ per hour. Their employment lasted . From these early employees other Eskimos heard about the site, what was happening there, and some of what will develop in the future.

At that time, when work on the Mary River site was first beginning and rumours were first starting up in the area, the Eskimo population was widely scattered in settlements and camps. More accurately, it was a

population which hovered between camp and settlement. There remained in the 90,000 square miles around the ore deposit some camps; the population of camps ranged between five and thirty. But every camp was dependent on trade with posts, which were by that time among the central institutions of permanent settlements. Camp people were being urged by officials and unspoken forces alike, to move out of their camps into one or other of those settlements. Houses were being provided by the government, medical services were beginning to be located in each settlement, and schooling programs were beginning to get under way. In camps it was possible to live by hunting and trapping, but it was not possible to take advantage of all those new services which at that time were beginning to establish themselves in every remotest corner of the Arctic.

The people who were presented with a choice between camp and settlement life were, in either event, going to need ready cash. Although they realized that in a settlement it would be much harder to live by hunting - the game would be that much farther away, and there would be too many people clustered around limited resources - they were nonetheless persuaded that life there would be easier. Children were being taken to settlement schools, and were being accommodated in hostels there, with strangers; a camp without children was a lonely place. And then there was sickness in the camps, and fear that sickness could strike any time, and no medicines available. These were the sicknesses of the southerners, and only they had the remedies. So the people were led to believe that their children

needed school and they needed health, and those things could be got much more readily by those who lived for most of the year in settlements. And in settlements there was more likely to be opportunity for earning regular money. So the shift to settlement life marked a sharp increase in demand for wages; indeed, wage-labour was the resource which would finally make the move possible for a large majority of camp dwellers.

The trend was thus established. In his 1967 study of Northern Baffin Island, Don Bissett reviewed the camp life of the region. He wrote:

"A number of factors have precipitated a decline in camps during the 1960s. The rapid growth in administration and the establishment of school facilities have been major factors. . . The large scale housing program in 1965-1966 provided a major incentive to the closing of camps...During a few brief years, in the period from 1963-1965, the Eskimos had both an increased summer and winter revenue through increased sealskin prices. They bought more store goods than they did when fox-trapping and family allowances were the major sources of revenue. A decline in sealskin prices was partially overcome by construction programs in the settlement". (p83)

That poverty which derives from proliferating new needs within a traditional or quasi-traditional socio-economic context was becoming endemic. It was already hard to make ends meet, and the apparently inevitable directions of change threatened to make it harder. Alongside the poverty went a sense of helplessness, and the helplessness was compounded by dependence on outsiders. In 1971 a middle-aged hunter reminisced about those times, when he and his family moved from camp to settlement:

We moved because we were told that it would be better if we moved away from the camp. One summer a teacher came and visited us, and she told me it would be better for us all if we went to the settlement. We had a hard life sometimes then, and sometimes in the early spring we were hungry. My wife was sick sometimes. They told us that if we came into a house, in the settlement, we would not get sick any more.

Many families had already moved by 1966; Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, and Clyde River were all rapidly growing communities. And as they grew, so more and more families became caught in the web of settlement needs and styles, but remained rooted in a hunting and trapping economy. It was inevitable that anxiety should come to focus on money.

Rumours about the Mary River mine site were accordingly received with excitement. But there were only rumours. No southern officials had ever discussed the project with the local people. Neither government agents nor representatives of private industry had communicated the nature of the discoveries. Nor had those plans being laid for the future ever been explained to the Eskimos on whose land the iron-ore was found. Local wishes and opinions had never been sought by those who occupied themselves with researching the possibilities of new economic development. What the people of the area knew in 1972 they knew because they had heard from someone who had heard from someone else... During 1971 and 1972 I was told by many northern Baffin families what it was they had come to expect from the mine. An elderly man, well known in his community for his excellence as a hunter and trapper, a man who continued to embody in the details of his way of life the skills and dispositions of local tradition, spoke of the mine in these terms:

"Now I have heard that the mine is going to be opened, but I do not think there is anyone at work there as yet. People here need work. If there were no job for me in the settlement I would go to that mine. If the pay were good, I think I would stop hunting altogether. It is hard to feed my family by hunting; we need money. I have not given much thought to the conditions we should have. Nobody has heard about the kind of work there would be for us. I have not been told when we shall be able to work. Perhaps I shall be obliged to go away to work for a month at a time. I would do that - so long as I could sometimes get to see my family. Even if I

never could hunt at all I would accept that. There are many difficulties here now. There are many children, and I try to live by hunting. Sometimes I do not get enough, and there are many things a hunter must do. At the same time I have no job here, no way of getting more money. If the mine opens I would go and work there if I could.

"But I would not like to see a great number of whites passing through our community. They may come and cause trouble. We may not be prepared for them. I think we could be prepared, and so prevent any trouble - then it would be alright.

"I want to ask one thing, however: where was that mine which opened for a short time and then closed down again? What would happen here if the mine opened and after a few years closed again? Perhaps we should begin to collect money among ourselves. If we tax ourselves, and save that money, then when the mine closes there would still be some money here."

Another man revealed the sort of apprehension and confusion which rumour had spawned:

"I do not really know what is happening about that mine. I have heard it will come; I've heard there will be a mine near here. But what does that mean to us? I think: if it does come, then everyone here will rush to the mine for work. The old people here have often said among themselves: if the mine comes, we will be left here. We, who tire quickly, will be left behind. What would happen then? There are men here who have no jobs, but who badly need jobs, men capable of work but not working. They try to live by hunting. These men would go.

"I have heard that the settlement will be moved altogether, that everyone will be taken to that mine place. Then what would happen? Perhaps we would be in despair, longing for the old kind of food. Yes, we would be unhappy if we were not able to eat wild foods. Sometimes men here want to do wage-labour, sometimes they do not. When they do not want work it is because they want to hunt. They hunt because they want to get the real food for us all to eat. With a mine like that, some arrangement would have to be made. It is difficult to see what would happen to us."

Those two men gave voice to issues which had preoccupied many people in the community. Others were no less anxious but more directly perplexed: they merely said that it was in 1967 - or was it '68? - that any news came of the mine's development.

So the community as a whole had heard bits of news, among which figured rumours of drastic change. A majority of those who talked of the bits of news commented on the prospect of the village's total move. The implication of all the dealing and planning far away in the south were not, therefore, unknown to the people concerned. The young and the strong were eager, sometimes desperate, for a chance to make money. The old and infirm were afraid. But neither young nor old had heard any clear statement about the mine and the changes it could precipitate from those who were actually scheming the schemes. For five years rumour and doubt had proceeded alone.

In 1972, Ottawa civil servants were finally made aware of the confusion which existed among the Eskimos living near to the proposed site. At that time the chances of the mine's becoming operational in the near future were small and, on the accounts of many technical advisers to government, diminishing. It was all the more important, therefore, that solid up-to-date information be relayed to Eskimo communities which were expecting and speculating amid an abundance of mis-information. And so it happened that Murray Watts himself was asked to contact the community council of one settlement and explain in person what his company expected to happen. In anticipation of that encounter, government

officials did not themselves meet with Eskimo councils of the region. Watts' visit to the community took place in the autumn of 1972.

During the following winter I received occasional letters from people of the community, but none mentioned any meeting with an official of the mining company. That seemed bizarre, since such meetings naturally engender considerable local interest, and would be a normal topic for comment in a letter.

In the early spring of 1973 I spoke with Murray Watts, and asked him what the outlook was for the mine at Mary River. He expressed pessimism in his forecasts, indicating some dismay at government reluctance to become heavily committed to the project. I then asked if that forecast had been communicated to Eskimos who were anticipating many things from operation of the mine. As far as he knew, he said, everyone was well aware of the overall situation. But it emerged, as the conversation turned to his own visits to northern villages, that he had never himself spoken to Eskimo communities, neither to their councils nor to any meeting. During his autumn 1972 visit he had preferred to avoid - he said - confusing the issue or causing any misunderstandings, and had therefore preferred not to address any public gathering. In fact it became clear that no information about the mine had been passed to local people. Their understanding of the mine remained in its confused and limited state.

In May of 1973 rumours once again began to circulate about mines. It was said that a plan was being drawn up for a mining town in the far north

of Baffin Island, a town which would absorb the labour force of each of the region's settlements. Many who heard tell of such a plan presumed that the Mary River site was after all on the verge of operations. The scheme was reputed to be under the auspices of government, and some officials in the Northwest Territories were themselves convinced that the north Baffin region was soon to experience a truly radical transformation. But Eskimos living in close vicinity of the proposed site had heard tell of it. During the previous winter they had indicated that any opportunity for wage-earning would be welcomed. They were not, they said, in a mood for resisting such changes: they were too greatly in need of cash. A young man captured the mood:

"I've heard that all kinds of things might happen at a mine, but I think everyone here would go there to work if they could. We have become too poor to live any other way."

Chapter 4

The arctic summer of 1971 was unusually poor. Days of fog and misting rain were recurrent and, of course, inimical to flying: even the intrepid pilots of Atlas Aviation were often obliged to postpone or cancel their regular flights into small settlements of the far north-east. It was surprising, therefore, to hear one afternoon the drone of a light aircraft passing back and forth over Pond Inlet, flying low but entirely concealed by fog. After a succession of passes, a small sea-plane eventually appeared, low over the sea, and, despite appalling conditions, determined to land on the shore-line.

The arrival of an aircraft is always an important event in the small settlements; no sooner is there a drone of engines in the sky than a buzz of rumour and speculation begins on the ground: everyone guesses or calculates the identity of plane and purposes of its passengers. Often, of course, the whites know something in advance about who is expected to be arriving in the settlement. But the Eskimos are not so well-informed, and rely on that blend of hearsay and observation which has become a crucial skill in northern life. On this particular occasion, no one in the Eskimo community had heard or observed anything which could explain the arrival of the plane; it dropped most mysteriously out of the sky.

As it settled uneasily on the sea, a large group of people came hurrying to the beach to watch. I arrived among the more laggard spectators, finding myself standing among some older men towards the back of the

crowd. At the very front were the whites; the Settlement Manager and his clerk were preparing canoe and outboard motor, to help the aircraft or its crew make their way to the beach. The old men around me urged me to ask and find out who these visitors might be; I made my way to the Anglican missionary, who was standing a little to one side of the main group of Eskimos, and who was usually as well informed as any about the comings and goings of aircraft. But all he could report was overhearing that it had come from Yellowknife. I passed this slender piece of information on to the old men, and we left it to the missionary to discover more exact details.

Soon enough the visitors climbed out of their plane; they were nine in all. As they made their way ashore, someone called out to the missionary, asking who this group might be; the missionary asked a teacher, who in turn asked the Settlement Manager's clerk. The answer was called back: "fish". One of the old men remarked to me that they seemed more like whites from the south than like fish, adding that no doubt these men had come to do some fishing. The visitors were led off by the clerk to the transient centre, and the crowd dispersed. Curiosity was partially satisfied; in any case it emerged later on that afternoon that the party was in fact on a fact-finding tour, seeking background information about the location and scale of the principal sources of arctic char in the settlement's hunting and trapping hinterland. It was said that the members of the group were in various professional capacities all authorities on, or keenly interested in, Arctic fish resources. It emerged also that they had hoped to spend only a few hours in the settlement, and were

dismayed at the prospect of overnighiting there. As the fog settled again on the hills and inlets around the village, that prospect became a certainty. There was going to be time for the fishery experts to make their enquiries.

I visited these fish men in the transient centre. They were all there, sitting rather dolefully around a coffee table, lamenting the vagaries of arctic weather. For one half of the hour I stayed talking with them they quizzed me about arctic char fishing carried out by Eskimos in the vicinity of the settlement. Although I could reminisce about a few fishing trips I had been taken on, it was obvious that my knowledge was exceedingly scant. Repeatedly I suggested to them that they approach some of the local hunters. Bad weather meant that many hunters were in the settlement, and a meeting with the best informants could easily be arranged. In any case, I pointed out, hunters would be very interested to hear what such men had to say about the fisheries in other places. No, they said, their time was too short. I sought to point out that time had been lengthened by the weather, and the misfortune of delay to their schedule could, with a bare minimum of trouble, be turned to real advantage: summer evenings in the high arctic stretch through the night, the local people do not feel bound by specific bed-times, and information would be forthcoming. No, they said, they had been invited to visit the home of one of the whites in the settlement, and would therefore not have time that night to arrange any elaborate discussions.

The party did indeed visit and spend several hours with a local white official that evening. The official himself subsequently told me that he found it rather strange that he be asked so many things about fish and the land around. He remarked that the visitors seemed reluctant to leave, lingering on into the night, despite the fact that he was plainly unable to provide any substantial information. Like myself, he was able to do little more than recall his own occasional outings with local fishermen. But in the course of the evening the visitors learned that only two miles along the coast was a small stream at the mouth of which the Hudson's Bay Company clerk often caught small arctic char on rod and line. It was not a stream which the char used as access route to spawning lakes, but merely fed there. They learned also that on the edge of that little stream were some Thule culture house remains. Over cocktails it was agreed that the next day, should the weather still delay departure, they would take a walk to look at the stream and the old house sites beside it. One of the local whites agreed to escort them there.

The party left the settlement that afternoon. At no time during the visit did they discuss with local people their reasons for visiting. Nor did they at any time even suggest a meeting be arranged with those hunters who best understood the locations and scale of the local char resource. Although this failure even to appear to conduct these enquiries, which were the stated rationale for their visit was much criticized by local people, the Eskimos did not try to establish contact with the party on their

own initiative. Rather, it was accepted by most whites and Eskimos alike that these visitors, being white, would naturally devote their time to the white community, staying entirely within it. To some local men the party seemed merely ludicrous, but to others it was another confirmation of that disregard too often shown by whites for the Eskimos and their knowledge. I talked with one of the fish men at some length, and pointed out to him the anomaly of their behaviour. I asked him if, in the ten other settlements visited in the course of the fact-finding tour, they had found occasion to have meetings with local people. He told me that the stay I had witnessed was representative of the manner in which their time had been spent all the way across the Arctic, and the tour was now ended. That particular member of the party was not happy about the way things had gone, and was not unaware of the irony of visiting Thule house ruins instead of talking to Eskimo people. But he attributed the style of the visits to the attitude of his superiors. He did not enjoy absorption into the white enclave of each settlement, did really have things he wanted to find out about arctic char, but could find no way of persuading those who decided the arrangements to adopt any other course. At each settlement, he informed me, they had been greeted by white officials, entertained by whites, and had gleaned from the whites - in the course of being entertained - such snippets of information as they could. The scale of the generosity, he remarked, was broader than the information thus acquired.

In the spring of 1972 a rumour began to spread around the settlement that a research team would be spending the spring and summer there. It was said that their researchers would be physicists, and that they would be many. The rumours were in part corroborated and in part enlarged by the arrival of the researchers' two-man advance guard. These two evidently came with the main objective of establishing the conditions under which the researchers would be living, and to make sure that a supply of clothes be available for them when they arrived. They also wanted to find a number of local men who would be willing to work for them, carrying out measuring tasks with comparatively simple equipment. The project was to be financed by German industry and the Canadian Federal Government.

The research project's two-member advance guard asked if I would help them establish contact with people in the settlement. Clothes had to be made, they explained, and accommodation might be required in Eskimo homes. Also, it was painstakingly pointed out to me, they were anxious to secure the co-operation of the community as a whole; indeed, they felt that such co-operation was a clear sine qua non for the success of their work in the settlement. The role being offered to me, therefore, was a blend of public relations agent and interpreter.

It was obvious from the outset that of the two new arrivals to the settlement, one of them saw himself as the central agent for the entire project. A large, outgoing man, he certainly felt that all would be well as long as all was explained. Expansive in manner, he also assured every-

A-1

one that money was not going to be short, and could definitely be spread thick and wide through the Eskimo community. He had a marked tendency to claim intimate contacts with many people in influential positions. Before accepting any of the tasks which were being offered me I intimated some of my apprehensions; my lack of enthusiasm was in any case detected. But diffidence was interpreted by the researcher as moral scruple, and reassurances were immediately forthcoming.

I was assured that he (the organizer and soi-disant leader of the research team) was keenly sensitive to the predicament of Eskimo people in general, and the situation he was going to find in that settlement in particular. He knew full well, he said, that it was commonplace throughout the arctic for experts and officials to sweep into a community, demanding this and that, asking for information about one thing or another, arranging a multitude of things, but failing meanwhile to establish any proper links with local people. And the locals, after all, were the people who would always be most directly affected by the doings of such visitors. Only too well did he recognize, or so he insisted, the need for sensitive approaches to the people of the community. And he was - he assured me - going to make it his own business to see that all approaches were sensitive: obviously, if the community's ire were raised against the project it would be unhappy in the doing and less rich in its results. Moreover, it was to be his main concern that money went from the project to the people - not to any white middlemen, either there or in the south. For those reasons he wanted to make many and full contacts

with Eskimos, showing them that they really did stand to gain from the presence in the settlement of so many strangers doing such apparently curious things.

I asked if many rules were to be imposed on the members of his team, explaining that it sometimes happened that visitors who installed themselves for a month or two in the transient centre became involved in activities which were best described as prostitution for liquor - a practice which was disruptive if only because it made a large and influential section of the local society deeply uneasy and increasingly hostile to visitors and their eccentric doings. He replied that each member of the team was to be given a daily allowance of drink (not a very large amount) and that every one of the men would be too busy for much philandering. But one had to realize, I was told, that the team would for the most part be composed of men, and there were limits to what one could demand from them - though they would, of course, be left in no doubt as to the lifestyle they would be expected to follow. I also asked how selection of employees from within the settlement would be arranged, noting that sometimes it seemed that the same men always got jobs of that kind, and one could not avoid receiving the impression that employment of local men was not much influenced by the actual needs of various families. To this it was replied that he really did not know how selection could be made, and that he had been thinking of asking the Settlement Manager to make recommendations to him. I suggested that he approach the community council, and ask its members what they thought about the project and the method which should be used for finding employees.

In the course of these exchanges I must have created an impression of faintly suspicious disapproval, for I was suddenly treated to a long speech which aimed at removing the very basis of my doubts. It was, in effect, a statement of qualification for the job. Apparently this kind of role was not entirely new to Mr. Fein (which is what I shall call the senior member of the advance guard). He had been a soldier in the German army during the last war, and was for a time with troops on the advancing eastern front. Of course, the advance was over foreign territories and into towns and villages of strange peoples. In the atmosphere of the German advances it was not possible to pay much heed to niceties of social relations, or exhibit those touches of sensitive human contact which can in normal times help reduce suspiciousness and conflict. Yet each time the front moved deeper into eastern Europe there arose the problem of billeting troops. In occupied territories local populations are not inclined to show ready welcome to an advancing army's personnel.

In that difficult situation, he recalled, the men in the German army who had special responsibility for discovering and organizing accommodation sometimes resorted to rugged tactics. Indeed, they tended simply to commandeer homes, ordering the occupiers to make such provision as they (the German quartermasters) deemed necessary. Inevitably, Mr. Fein told me, such tactics created a bad atmosphere and deepened the reluctance of householders to extend that co-operation which could have made the whole business less difficult and the atmosphere more congenial. When Mr.

Fein himself was charged with the job of getting accommodation and other local provision for the advancing troops' needs, he adopted a different strategy: he learned a phrase or two in the local language, then knocked on the door and, for example, asked: "How's your grandmother? Are you short of coffee?" Pleasantly surprised at this agreeable manner, householders often showed much greater willingness to make the necessary accommodation to Mr. Fein's requests, and in some cases were actually friendly. Quite simply, he explained to me, it was a matter of tact, graciousness, and making it clear that he had some things to offer in return for those services that they were in any event absolutely bound to provide to the soldiers.

So Mr. Fein felt well confident on saying people of that arctic settlement could be assured that he knew the importance of tact and the specially sensitive management of inter-ethnic inter-personal relationships. And of course he did have something to offer: money for clothes, food, and work which he felt sure local Eskimos were eminently able to provide.

In the event the scientists' visit was unproblematic. A group of stayed several weeks, were indeed very busy, and there were certainly no complaints about their manner of living in the transient centre. In general, they intruded on the everyday life of the settlement to a surprisingly small extent. Only one real difficulty arose.

After the research had been under way for some four weeks, the wife of one of the men working full time for the project, went to the Settlement Manager's office and asked if she could be given some welfare. The Settlement Manager was most surprised to receive a welfare request from one of the families which was receiving a full regular income. He asked why it was that they were so short of money. The woman told him that they had no money at all now, because her husband was not able to hunt or carve; he was spending all his time working for the visiting scientists. But, said the Settlement Manager, he is being paid for working for those visitors, and so there should be no need to live by selling sealskins and carving. The woman answered: she did not understand what her husband was doing, nor how he was supposed to be paid; all she knew was that no money had been given to her husband so far, and they were accordingly very short of money. The Settlement Manager was naturally alarmed at receiving this information, and made enquiries from other men working for the research team. He was told that it was quite true that none of them had been paid, but they had been told that they would eventually get some payment. They did not know how much. Continuing his enquiries, the Settlement Manager discovered that a disagreement had arisen over who should bear the cost of employing local men. Mr. Fein and his organization were of the opinion that the wages should be paid by the Adult Education division of the Northwest Territories government. That opinion was based on a judgement of what the men were doing: on Fein's view they were being trained in a special and most useful skill. Given that the researchers' role vis-à-vis Eskimo employment was educational, it

followed - he argued - that his employees should by right be integrated into the Adult Education program, and therefore paid by it. He urged this view of the situation by reference also to the fact that payment for men learning new and valuable skills was a normal feature of the Adult Education program as it functioned in the small settlements of the Eastern Arctic. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Adult Education department in Frobisher Bay took a rather different view of **the matter**. But it is most striking that the employment of the men continued despite the lack of clarity about who in fact would be paying their wages - a lack of clarity which in the event meant that men were actually not being paid.

In the end they did get their pay. \$10,000 of wages came from Fein's organization and \$4,000 from the Territorial Government. And when the summer's research was completed the employees indicated their readiness to work for Fein and his team the following year. And the community as a whole offered no objection when presented with a likelihood of the team's return to the village in coming years. Fein had indeed succeeded in creating a broadly favourable atmosphere.

He returned to the village the following November, and arranged to talk to the community council. He planned to take over an old hut once used for housing meteorological equipment, and told the council that work would again be available for men who were ready to carry out measuring with the use of simple equipment on a medium-term basis. Fein urged the council to approach the Northwest Territories Government and directly

seek its support for the project. If government put up money, the project's long-term survival would be secured. The council's reaction to the proposal that they seek for funds from the Territorial Administration was unclear, and the council chairman proceeded to ask an Adult Education official how they should in fact proceed. That official contacted a senior regional administrator, who in turn discussed the matter at a high level of the Territorial civil service.

The senior regional official thereby gained the impression that Fein had already been refused direct support by the Northwest Territories government, which seems to have taken the view that such a matter lay within the aegis of Federal Government. Subsequently it became clear that Federal Government officials were not inclined to support the Fein program of research, and felt that funding should come from industry. Initially it had been substantially provided by a German ship-building interest which had an eye to possible demand for heavy-duty freighters which would be required for shipping base metal ores from high arctic deposits to distant industrial sites and markets. But government reluctance to subsidize the project was deepened by a growing feeling that Fein was trying to manipulate the situation in what was judged to be an underhand manner. Troubling, for example, was his apparent readiness to ensure all directly concerned that the project would definitely be going ahead even though he had not yet secured the funds. His dealing with the local council inspired mistrust among other officials, while the Eskimo community itself was left with the impression that Fein would certainly be looking

for employees the following spring, whatever the outlook for the long-term. Although the councillors never did approach the Territorial Government on behalf of Fein's scheme, they were still confident that those men who had previously worked for the researchers would do well to prepare for another summer at the same jobs.

But in the early spring of 1973 the outcome remained uncertain. Officials in regional government had been assured during the winter that Fein would return with his entire team to the same location as before. Officials in Ottawa were convinced, however, that Fein would not be permitted to return, and that his program was to receive absolutely no support, at any level, from within Canada.

At that time I received a letter from one of the men who had the year before been employed by Fein. He is an elderly man who has few opportunities in the settlement for earning wages. He wrote at the end of March:

"Those people who last year were concerned with ice have still not arrived here. I still have heard nothing: we have no idea whether we shall be working for them or not, or whether they are going to arrive or not arrive. The one who was their boss turned up during the winter. Should you hear anything of that lot write and tell me. I would be very pleased. I want to understand fully even though you will not be coming here yourself."

1 Translated from Eskimo syllabics.

Prompted by that letter I sought to discover from relevant officials what was going to happen. On the basis of what I then was told I replied on May 9 to the man who wrote and asked, telling him that Fein would not be returning to the community, and that it seemed very likely that work would not be available. I informed officials that I was communicating those facts, and was assured that no danger existed of relaying misinformation. On _____ I received another letter from the same old man. It told of his family, how hunting had been, and then - at the very end, apparently as a _____ afterthought, he wrote: "I heard today that the boss of the ice researchers has arrived. I have not yet seen him, but I have heard it". So I became an element in a saga of confusion. At the time of writing the outcome remains unclear. Confusion among the villagers will doubtless continue to prevail, whatever statements and determination various southern agencies may eventually arrive at.

Chapter 5

Remarkably few whites have ever gone amongst the Eskimos simply to live. Early traders, the first missionaries, the whalers even, all in varying degrees did live among the Eskimos. But they did so in order to trade, evangelise, or hunt. There have been men who stayed so long trading, or returned so many years as whalers, as to be wellnigh resident. Such men occasionally had wives and children, in quite normally organised northern families. And it may have been that they came gradually to feel that they did indeed live in the north, with the Eskimo. The large majority, however, did no such thing. They lived, rather, at the edge of Eskimo society, distanced by their purposes, in some measure by their lifestyles, and finally by their interest in transforming rather than following the peoples they encountered.

In the Eastern Arctic such men became numerous in the last part of the 19th Century, as the whaling industry was booming, and continued to ply their various trades until the 1940's or even later. The essence of such men was their willingness to discover how to live in cold and relative isolation. Many of them travelled vast distances, from Eskimo camp to Eskimo camp. If some were possessed of an inordinate desire for monetary gain, most were more or less caught by some wish for adventure. In Ray Price's book "The Howling Arctic" some of these men can be glimpsed, if only in rather uncritical outline. Morris Zaslow gives a brief résumé of early white presence in one area: "The region northeast of

Great Bear Lake, explored by Cabell and Camsell in 1900 and by Hanbury in 1902 for example, was occupied almost continuously from 1908 by a succession of white men who represented a veritable cross-section of motives and personalities. There were J.C. Melville, the wealthy hunter and traveller; Jack Hornby, the romantic ill-starred misfit; Stefansson, the ambitious, head-line hunting anthropologist, and Anderson, the naturalist, popping in and out; the Douglas party... and the geologist August Sandberg - came to see the celebrated copper occurrence...; D'arcy Arden, the hunter and trapper who settled down and made the area his own; and the oblate priests, the agreeable father J.B. Rouviere, and the zealous father G. LeRoux."¹ In retrospect those who ventured first into the true Arctic tend to be revered: for the privations they suffered, the distances they covered, the isolation they seem to have endured.

Once the whaling industry had collapsed, and whaling ships had ceased to appear each summer, and the permanent shore stations had been closed down, whites in the far north were more solitary. Whaling crews in their heyday came in groups, and even small fleets; traders and missionaries for the most part came alone. After approximately 1910, therefore, the whites were lone figures. There was a paradox to their solitary lives; behind them stood institutions much vaster in scale and much more committed to wholesale reformation of the north than the whalers had ever been. The churches and the Canadian nation were involved from the first in establishing

¹ See Morris Zaslow: The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914, Toronto 1971, p.247

hegemony over the minds and lands of the Eskimo. The Hudson's Bay Company was preoccupied from the first with asserting a trading monopoly which grew by virtue of adjusting the economic lives of the primary producers. The advance guard of all these institutions, however, were men who lived and travelled without the daily support of other white men, and often with only a minimum of southern material comfort.¹

Because of their solitary and often dangerous lives, these men have become the subject of much romance. They are celebrated in the recollections of arctic old-timers, while their doings have become incorporated into the attraction which northern life has for most southerners who live there today. Their doings are part of the mystique of the north, and the attitudes which they developed towards land and people, are part of the established and continuing traditions of northern life. Perhaps Ray Price's book embodies the spirit of celebration more clearly than any other single work on the north: for him, the early traders, missionaries, and policement are essentially heroes. Many of the principal characters in that book travelled in hard conditions, endured privations, some even starved, one or two were killed by indignant Eskimos. In much the same

¹ A number of early free-traders had travelled into the far north as whalers. When the whaling ceased, a small number of men either were left in the arctic or decided to remain there. Such men found it possible to live by establishing a small trade in furs and guns. But none of them managed to survive economically once the Hudson's Bay Company traders spread their posts throughout the remotest parts of the eastern high arctic. Moreover, it appears that several of the early free traders were not entirely glad to find themselves in the far north. Some of the men felt they had become imprisoned in a geographical and spiritual wilderness; their minds were troubled and hopes centred on return to the south. Their restlessness is recorded by southern historians and is equally the subject of older Eskimos' reminiscences today.

style, with much the same view of northern life, early missionaries are celebrated in Eskimo magazine; traders find their elegies in Beaver.

The following passage is illustrative:

"Jack Turner was a big man. Although not a tall man there was a bigness about him that was inescapable. He was big in character, personality and spirit. The Eskimos called him the 'real man'. There was a no-nonsense determination about Turner that made itself felt. In a way rarely achieved by white men he won the Eskimos completely. They loved him.....Jack Turner was an Englishman, a member of the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society and a dedicated Evangelist; a single-minded man who knew what he believed and why he believed; a man who knew he was right."1.

There are two reasons for lamenting this tendency to idealize those whites who first represented the powerful southern institutions in the far north. In the first place it tends to obscure the negative attitude which such representatives held towards the Eskimo. Since these men in fact came on behalf of institutions preoccupied with effecting more or less radical change among the Eskimos, it was inevitable that many features of Eskimo culture and personality became objects of criticism and distaste. No doubt individual whites varied in the intensity with which they felt such distaste and the ferocity with which they expressed their criticisms. But they were all committed to effecting transformations, and were all attracted by roles which turned most definitely on removing or at least adjusting the established customs of the local people. This, missionaries, policemen, and traders all tend to express quite strongly negative attitudes to Eskimos in general, discovering in particular people or families the signs of that deviance, degeneracy, or ignorance which

1 Price, 19 P.67.

one or other southern institution sees as among its rationales for working among Eskimos. Where these southerners are themselves regarded as men of distinguished personal strength and integrity, it tends to be forgotten that their purposes almost inevitably led them to encourage antipathy towards many things essentially Eskimo. And it must never be forgotten that only a very limited range of southern types were attracted to the role of missionary, policeman, or trader, while the role itself encouraged self-righteousness and authoritarian attitudes in those who were in any case thus disposed.

The second reason for lamenting idealization of such southerners is related to the first, but is more theoretical. By concentrating on the adventures of individuals, historians and old timers seem to be almost systematically unaware of the overall nature of southern involvement with the North. Northern history can be written around the impressive doings of a limited number of individuals; it should be written around the combined operations and purposes of a small number of institutions. The traders, police, and missionaries constituted a joined - if not joint - endeavour: Eskimos were to be incorporated into the mainstream of southern life. The incorporation was initially economic and ideological; the field-work was carried out by rugged individuals who may very well have had personal and bizarre ideas about what they were doing, who may indeed have believed that the purposes of their separate institutions were irreconcilable. But they nonetheless constituted an objective historical phenomenon: it is easy to see in retrospect how the ways and purposes

of missionary, trader, and policeman neatly dovetailed. In the history of colonialism the combination of their operations is familiar enough. Rarely in that history, however, can the alliance have been so complete¹. Even Price touches on the alliance, at least in its social aspect: talking of the policeman Jack Doyle, he notes that

"The isolation appealed to him. The close camaraderie he was able to enjoy with the other white men in the small settlements appealed to him. The police, Hudson's Bay Company employees and the Roman Catholic missionaries spent quite a lot of time in each other's company and invariably had a get together on Friday evenings. Quite often the R.C.M.P. would do the entertaining and when they did there was always a good spread. Lobster sandwiches and the like were the order of the day". (177)

Easy sociability among the representatives of the various agencies does not, however, appear to have been the invariable norm. Tensions and jealousies between both individuals and agencies seem to have characterized some arctic communities in the 1920s and 1930s. Yet beyond easy and problematic sociability there existed that broad set of objectives which amounted, in their effect, to establishing even the remotest and wildest corners of the high arctic within the sphere of southern influence. At first it was perhaps unclear or imprecise in the minds of southerners engaged by the various agencies as to whether it was England, Canada, or merely the civilization of Europe which aimed at incorporating the arctic. But it eventually became evident enough that it was Canada which aimed at

¹ It is crucial that the essentially colonial nature of southern presence in the Eskimos' land should occupy a central position in discussion of northern development. It is the thread first spun in the 1920s which now gives continuity between northern history and the present situation.

establishing beyond any doubt in the nations of the world and equally in the minds of northern indigenes that the eastern arctic, from the southern corridor to the highest arctic islands, was part of Canada. All doubt in this matter should have been dispelled by the presence and patrols of the R.C.M.P.¹.

Thus it came about that Canadian attention to the eastern arctic had a typically colonial aspect: land and people were becoming incorporated into a growing political entity; they were being this incorporated with but little regard to their own expressed wishes. Indeed, Eskimos would have found it hard to express wishes in the matter, since they had for the main part never heard of the institutions, or even the nation, carrying out the process.

Certainly many of those early southern brokers were deeply convinced that incorporation would be the best thing for Eskimos, and probably believed that were Eskimos to be rational they would themselves express a ready enthusiasm for the purposes and objectives of the colonizers. But the Eskimos did not have the information without which rationality tends to be an unfinished weapon. (Some missionaries were in fact of the view that Eskimos lacked rationality itself). Separately sure of their purposes and jointly convinced of their rightness, the three institutions

¹ It is nonetheless revealing that the massively publicized journey of s.s. Manhattan during 1971 brought new attention to which nations in fact claimed the various sections of the Northwest Passage.

began to draw the eastern high arctic within their compass in the early 1920s. Generally speaking, missionaries and policemen and traders never 'discovered' Eskimos; by 1920 there were effectively none left to discover. What they did, rather, was 'discover' those Eskimos who were 'in need' - of Christianity, trading posts, and enforcement of Canadian law.

The most stark testimony to the essential collaboration between the three institutions can be seen in The Eskimo Book of Knowledge. Published in 1931 by the Hudson's Bay Company, and written by George Binney, at that time an employee of the Company, The Eskimo Book of Knowledge was translated into the Labrador dialect by two Moravian missionaries, W. Perret and S. Hutton. In its foreword the author poses the contemporary problem and a set of questions. The paragraph is printed in capitals:

YES INDEED IT SEEMS THAT THE TIMES ARE CHANGING AND THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE LIKEWISE CHANGING WITH THEM. WHY HAVE THINGS CHANGED WITH US? BY WHAT MEANS CAN WE RETAIN IN OUR CAMPS THE FORMER HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF OUR FATHERS? AND FULLY ENJOY THE PROSPERITY WHICH COMES FROM OUR TRADING WITH THE COMPANY?

The book proceeds to answer these 'difficult questions' by laying down rule after rule by which Eskimos should order their lives. The rules are those of trader, missionary, and policeman. They are collected under the umbrella of Empire; a great potentate lurks behind every passage whose name is King George. ("Not only is King George a man of great prudence and a hard worker; he is also a great hunter....He is likewise a great sailor, which is a fitting thing for a man who lives on an island.")

There is a history of the Empire, advancing and bringing with it that plethora of good, with the Hudson's Bay Company somehow embodying all that good. And with the Empire comes the Law, which is one of those goods. The Eskimos are told that if they try and enforce their own laws among themselves they are "also guilty of a crime, and you are likely also to be punished for breaking the Law." (60) Rather: "It is your duty to report to the policeman, or, if there is no policeman, then to the Company's Trader or to the Man of God any serious crime which one of your people may have committed". (61-62). The policemen are given a considerable filip: "The officers appointed by the King to uphold the Laws are wise men after the heart of King Solomon". The book goes on to tell the story of Solomon and his judgement of the mothers' competing claims to a child.

After a résumé of the Laws (including a section on "Laws relating to Sex", which are "common to all civilized countries"), there is a chapter entitled "The Men of God". Eskimos are told to respect the Men, and to follow their way. The text is even assiduous in its avoidance of sectarianism: all Men of God are to be revered. Moreover, missionaries are protected from overly material attitudes towards belief: "This much you should know. In some parts of the country the Men of God complain that because you attend their services and profess yourselves to be Christians, some of you expect to receive gifts of food from the Men of God who are not rich in possessions. This is a disgraceful thing, unworthy of the Christian belief which you profess." (80)

The book throughout has a biblical ring to it; its intellectual tone evokes that Methodist spirit which sits so easily with the entrepreneurial endeavour. The message intended for Eskimo trappers is clear enough: "You know that if you give your dogs too much walrus meat, they grow fat and slack and that you frequently have to use the whip on them... It is the same thing in trade among people of all countries: if the Traders are easy-going, then the people become easy-going." (84). In the final section, the author warns the Eskimo of things to come:

"Take heed, Inuit, for the future will bring even greater changes than have taken place in your country in the past twenty years. There will be White trappers who will trap the foxes out of your country; strange ships will visit your harbours and strange traders will come among you seeking only your furs. Many White men will explore your lands in search of precious rocks and minerals. These traders and these trappers and these wanderers are like the drift-ice; today they come with the wind, tomorrow they are gone with the wind. Of these strangers some will be fairer than others, as is the nature of men; but whosoever they be, they cannot at heart possess that deep understanding of your lives through which our Traders have learned to bestow the care of a father upon you and upon your children" (234)

Probably few Eskimos really studied The Eskimo Book of Knowledge and we can be sure that it tells us more about the Hudson's Bay Company than about changes actually taking place among the Eskimos themselves.

Dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company and other traders was not, of course, the beginning of Eskimo dependence on southern society. In many parts of the eastern arctic the whaling trade had reformed many features of traditional life. In truly traditional times the Igloolik Eskimo, for example, often spent the summer months, between break-up and freeze-up, walking inland, hunting caribou and spearing char at skillfully designed

stone fish weirs. The whaling ships' arrival in the early summer, however, encouraged many families to remain on the coast rather than walking inland, for the whalers offered numerous material and social benefits. The benefits included a fairly regular supply of firearms which could be traded for skins or labour. Moreover, even in those areas where whalers did not appear, material culture from the south advanced ahead of southerners. In the Belcher Islands, for example, there are no men who can remember a time when there were no guns in use on the islands. But there are many Belcher Islanders who can remember Flaherty's stay on the islands in 1914-15. And Flaherty was the first European to 'discover' the Belchers. Changes brought about by permanent trading posts therefore consisted to some extent in a matter of degree of dependence. Traders systematically encouraged Eskimos to spend more time hunting animals with skins most highly prized in southern markets, and to spend less time hunting for creatures whose use consisted primarily in offering good subsistence. This shift sometimes left a gap in Eskimo life: shortage of daily food-stuffs. And it created equivalent needs: for the equipment with which to trap. The imbalances which followed from this change in traditional life were in some measure rectified by exchange: hunters-become-trappers exchanged skins for items they were short of and things they had come to need. By this process dependence upon trading posts rapidly became acute. Since new needs were also proliferating and traders were also in a position to see trapping families over hard times, feeling of dependence was no doubt that much more acute than actual dependence.

It must not be forgotten that for a period in the fur trade days, between 1925 and around 1935, the relationship was relatively easy; prices for furs, especially fox skins, were high, while trappers equipped with good guns were able to feed their families and dog teams (which had become larger because of the nature and importance of trap-line work) without too much difficulty. And the quality of life was enhanced, in trappers' terms, by reliable supplies of tea and tobacco as well as material odds and ends. During those years Eskimo life in almost every part of the eastern arctic shifted from traditional or subsistence to a trading economy. Moreover, it was possible in some areas for hunters to make their adjustment to trading at their own pace: so long as guns were available and game was plentiful there was no compelling need for the new goods which traders had to offer. By far the majority of families remained in their camps, and could follow that cycle of seasonal movements which had evolved over the preceding generations.

Nor must it be forgotten, however, that traders' interests lay centrally in persuading better hunters to become trappers, and to enter into those exchanges which were the hallmark of the Eskimos' dependence on trading posts and southern goods. On their own the traders could exercise some influence, could bring some pressures to bear on hunting families, but in the earlier period it was with the help of the missionaries that the pressure could be intensified. In fact, the traders became forceful and discovered their real influence over the northern peoples only after the decline in fur prices had really set in. By the late 1930s, and sub-

sequently during the war years, the economic plight of trappers became, in many parts of the Canadian arctic, extremely harsh. Helge Kleivan, in his study of white-Eskimo relations in Labrador summarizes: "All in all, it is no exaggeration to suggest that the economic dependency of the Eskimos upon the Company increased in step with the poverty in the 1930s and onwards." And quotes another writer who refers to the "economic serfdom" which characterized relationships between Eskimos and Hudson's Bay Company traders.¹ Once the camps were suffering acute shortages of basic foodstuffs, a trader could exercise his discretionary powers over individual families by offering or refusing credit at the store. The hunter whom the trade regarded as 'reliable' or 'good' would of course be the recipient of emergency rations; those hunters who were not 'good', who presumably had at least partially resisted the pressures to shift from subsistence into exchange economy, would be left without rations. In those regions of the arctic where game resources were not abundant, or at times when weather conditions added disaster to difficulty, this could spell starvation.

I have never heard of acute starvation during this period from the hunters of North Baffin or Igloolik, where the abundance of walrus and small whales usually protected the people from real starvation. But among the Caribou Eskimos of Hudson Bay there was starvation in the 1940s which evidently was in significant measure a consequence of interrupted dependence on southern provision. While some Hudson Bay Eskimos once described to me the appalling conditions, with several deaths from

1

starvation, which prevailed there during the early 1940s¹. There can be little doubt but that the first widespread attempt at economically incorporating Eskimos into the southern economic community created a situation which was unstable and, once disturbed, produced hardship in many areas. Dependence had a high price, and dependence on traders was the inevitable correlate of the specific form taken by initial economic incorporation.

The missionaries, over the same period, were engaged on an analagous endeavour; if it may be said that the Hudson's Bay Company established an economic serfdom, then perhaps it may also be said that the missionaries sought to establish a moral serfdom. Kleivan's study of the Moravian mission to Labrador brings out the principal threads in the missionary's cloth². Local Eskimos who were spiritual leaders in the Eskimo tradition became objects of remorseless criticism; missionaries sought to undermine their influence in every family. Customary social practice, from sexual life down to the very minutiae of games, was attacked. Conversion was encouraged by trade, medical benefits (a specific case of competition with the shamanistic role), threats, and tireless exhortation. Conversion tended to involve a move from camp life (under the influence of traditional social authority) to settlement (under the influence of the new church). It is evident from the missionaries' own writings, voluminous and rich in detail, that the preoccupation in most missions was with the overall

¹ This story and amplification of all these points from contemporary Eskimos' points of view are given on pp.

quality of Eskimo life: godliness, cleanliness, and an abundance of other quite worldly virtues, were seen as a sort of package deal which could be secured by the heathen through conversion. It appears that the familiar distinction between the sacred and the secular was never maintained by missionaries in their regular dealings with Eskimo life. Perhaps it can best be said: the missionaries seem to have often regarded their potential flock as primitive because heathen, and linked the material condition they saw with a mental condition they imagined, thus discerning a single state of gracelessness from which the Eskimos had to be redeemed. This combination view of the Eskimo expresses itself in the attitude which many missionaries expressed towards the Eskimo in general. Here, for example, Father Jean Philippe, Oblate missionary in the Eastern Arctic, wrote in 1947 of the "Eskimo Psychology", coming to a plain conclusion: "He does not think", remarking that "intellectual exchange can scarcely be carried on with an Eskimo. He is not accustomed to analyze and coordinate his thoughts... In his mind, far from being close together, the ideas laboriously follow one another, one giving place to the other... "More than once I asked an Eskimo an explanation of his way of acting, of a rule in grammar, etc... an explanation calling for an intellectual effort on his part.

"The first reply is evidently: 'Amiashook' (I do not know).

"I insist...

"The Eskimo looks at me for an instant and ends by saying: 'Why? because we do it thus... because it is like that.' Certainly it is not a rational answer." And: "These people with so little intellect, are always

happy. They soon forget their past miseries and ignore the plans and cares for the future. They live from day to day without worry...He has no trouble falling asleep even when he knows he has no food for the morrow, and famine lies in wait for him and his family."¹

Yet with surprising readiness the Eskimos of the eastern arctic became at least token Christians. Certainly by the 1950s the large majority of Eskimo camps had accepted Christian teachings, and most families observed principal Christian rites. It is obviously the case that Eskimo acceptance of missionaries and other white colonial agents was accelerated by the physical health of Eskimos during the critical period. In registers of deaths, which were kept by missionaries in each region, it is possible to see the high incidence of child mortality caused by viral infections. One can only infer from these (probably inaccurate) data about deaths to the state of health among the adult population as a whole. During the 1930s and 1940s it became evident that in those regions where whites had travelled much a number of infections had begun to spread among the local populations. In the eastern arctic, however, especially in the far north-east, isolation from southern populations was still extreme. There was no regular air service before the second world war; those southerners who did make their way among the Eskimos during that period were obliged to travel overland or along the coasts, by dog team and canoe, having no contact with the south once they had begun their journeys. A few ships provisioned the trading posts, making annual visits to some communities. But the Eskimo population was scattered, and though some infections no

¹ Eskimo, June 1947, p 5-7.

did spread from the ships to the hunters and trappers, the incidence of epidemic infections does not appear to have been high prior to 1950.

Around 1950, however, just at the time when trapping had been suffering from persistent depression of fur prices, and missionaries had established a preliminary hold over the religious lives of the peoples, the medical situation took a sharp turn for the worse. During 1948-9 an epidemic of Poliomyelitis broke out among Eskimos living inland on west Hudson Bay: 18 adults died, and 60 were paralyzed (representing just under 8% of total population). In some communities the incidence of infection was close to 100%¹. In early 1952 southern Baffin was the scene of a serious measles epidemic (the first recorded incidence of measles in the area) during which the mortality rate in three communities rose to 22%. During that measles epidemic there was a concurrent outbreak of Influenza B, and the epidemic was followed by the spread of both scarlet fever and mumps. No Eskimos died of the latter infections, but the cumulative effect can only have been one of intense debilitation, while the extremely high incidence of infection must have intensified feelings of vulnerability and dependence upon the white agencies in the neighbourhood².

In the early 1960s southern anxiety increased over the extremely high incidences of tuberculosis among Canadian Eskimos. It was discovered

¹ see Health of Original Canadian, 1867-1967, in Medical Services Journal of Canada, Vol. 23, Feb. 1967 and Adamson J.D. et al: Poliomyelitis in the Arctic, in Canadian Medical Association Journal. Vol 61, 1949, pp 339-348.

² See A.E.W. Peart and F.P. Nagler: Measles in the Canadian Arctic, 1952, DNHW and for details of 'flu at Pangnirtung in 1963 see R.N. Simpson, Epidemics in the Eastern Arctic, in The Arctic Circular, Vol. 6 No. 5 .

that 55% of all households in Baker Lake contained at least one case of tuberculosis, and that one half of all the children in that community were actively infected¹. This confirmed findings in the 1950 to the effect that the medical situation in the north was extremely serious. An article appeared in 1954 indicating that among Indians and Eskimos in Canada the tuberculosis rate was between 15 and 20 times higher than among whites: it was also pointed out that birth rate was double, but infant mortality rate stood at three times the southern figures².

It is not possible to date the exact points at which the deterioration of health among Eskimos of the remoter camps rendered the economic and moral dependence on trader and missionary that much more acute. Missionaries certainly spent time dealing with sickness, and no doubt enhanced their prestige, and the efficacy of their moral messages, by virtue of some skill in medical matters. By 1950, however, the dependence was secured, while economic and physical health were both in the most uncertain condition. In the two decades before then, however, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had begun establishing posts throughout the eastern arctic. And in some places the police had initiated legal proceedings against men they regarded as serious criminals. All the white agents saw much Eskimo practice as criminal, and must bear some of the responsibility for the exaggerated accounts of Eskimo customs of infanticide and patricide. Rasmussen, in his report on the Fifth Thule Expedition, laments the

¹ See P.E. Moore: An Epidemic of Tuberculosis at Eskimo Point, NWT, The Canadian Medical Association Journal, May 1964 Vol. 90 No. 21.

² See Percy E. Moore, Health for Indians and Eskimos, Canadian Geographical Journal, 1954 pp 216-221.

tendency among policemen in the far north to judge Eskimo customs (which Rasmussen thought of as rational and necessary) by southern legal standards, thereby discovering criminality where in fact there existed only the normal operations of a well ordered society¹.

An early example of police intervention in Eskimo affairs occurred in the Pond Inlet area during 1923. On that occasion three Eskimos were charged with and tried for the murder of a free trader, Robert Janes. Janes had been shot by local hunters because he was regarded as a dangerous man, and had threatened to shoot the hunters' dogs. The case was investigated by one Staff Sergeant Joy, and the investigations were followed by the arrival at Pond Inlet of a Magistrate, with all the other personnel required for a full court procedure. The jury was composed of men from the crew of the ship bringing magistrate and lawyers. One of those charged was eventually found guilty of manslaughter, another was acquitted, while a third was convicted of aiding and abetting². The sentences passed on the convicted were two years close confinement to the Pond Inlet police detachment, and ten years in a southern prison.

Another instance of police activities is given by Giert Van Den Steenhoven in his essay on Law and Legal Structure among the Netsilik Eskimos³. An Eskimo man came to trial for the murder of his mother: she had been

¹ See Report on Fifth Thule Expedition, Vol. pp .

² See Price, p 164-5.

³ The Haag, 1962.

suffering acutely from the last stages of tuberculosis, and had asked her son to kill her. With some reluctance, after some hesitation, the son did as his mother had asked. When the news of the killing reached the RCMP (the son had never made any attempt at concealing the facts of the matter), the police fetched the son and charged him with murder.

In his study of leadership and law among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District, Giert Van Den Steenhoven gives the main details of another occasion on which the RCMP took issue with Eskimos who had, by the standards of Canadian justice, acted in a criminal manner. It is worth quoting the Department of Mines and Resources¹:

"Eerkiyoot, 21, son of the woman Nukashook, was found guilty by a six-man jury made up of R.C.A.F. and Department of Transport personnel who attached a recommendation for clemency to their verdict. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment by Stipendiary Magistrate A.H. Gibson, who presided over the trials...

"Nukashook, who was in an advanced state of tuberculosis and in pain, had last summer asked her son Eerkiyoot to help her die, according to the facts alleged against the two accused. Eerkiyoot asked his friend Ishakak to help him. They went to the woman's tent, where Eerkiyoot tied both ends of a sealskin rope to the ridge-pole so that the loop hung to within about two feet from the floor. Eerkiyoot helped Nukashook to dress and then Eerkiyoot and Ishakak helped her over to a sitting position beside the rope and Nukashook placed her head through the loop, exhorting her son to hurry the procedure. Eerkiyoot pressed down on the back of Nukashook's head until the woman was dead...

The account continues:

"Both accused were shown to be intelligent types. They are able to read and write syllabics Eskimo and seemed to grasp the essential factors involved in the trials. It is hoped that the trials will have the desired effect of bringing home to the Eskimos that

¹ Ottawa, No. 3162, 8-9-1949.

assisted suicides are forbidden. The comparatively light sentence given Eerkiyoot avoided, however, any unnecessary harshness towards an individual whose sense of filial duty and adherence to Eskimo custom led him to contravene the Criminal Code."¹

It is worth adding that the jury in that case were troubled by the evident lack of criminality, as they perceived it, of the accused, and sought advice from the Magistrate. In his summing up the Magistrate had however made the position clear: "There may be a different standard of observance in areas occupied by primitive people. I find it very difficult to express this; perhaps I should put it this way: we could not accept for one part of the country a lower or different view of duty from the one that was meant to apply throughout the country."² Despite this explicit statement by the Magistrate, the jury nonetheless returned with a special question, asking if it was by local custom that the case should finally be judged. Said the Magistrate: "The answer is that you are to govern yourselves by Canadian law, that is the law that I have stated is the law that you will apply to the case."³

It is necessary to recognize the difference between the legal institutions of Canada as a whole and the individual policemen who manned detachments in the high arctic. Those police were not charged merely with the role of law-enforcers; rather, they occupied a curious congerie of roles,

¹ Van Den Steenhoven op. cit. p 174-176 for discussion of this case and some of the problems it raised for law. He comments iter alia on the question of jury selection, remarking that if "an Eskimo jury is felt unable to realize what is expected from them, then how can the Eskimo accused himself realize what the Criminal Code expects from him?"

² See ibid. 147-8

³ Ibid. p 150

visiting camps that were thought to be experiencing shortages of food, making sure that information about Eskimos was gathered accurately and reached the central governmental departments concerned with northern affairs, as well as making sure that Canadian law ran throughout the land. Yet the police could be seen to have enormous power, which they could direct against any individual they chose, and which was amply demonstrated in the court cases and sentences which were periodically instigated. Moreover, they were obviously in alliance with the whites as a whole; the practice of selecting juries from local and migrant whites, even for Eskimo cases at which every word had to be interpreted made that evident enough. No doubt the influence and apparent power of the three separate institutions merged if only because southern society was often perceived a single thing; and no doubt the purposes of whites were assimilated to one another. There can be little doubt, however, but that the police did emphasize their most important role: they were preoccupied with enforcing Canadian law, and did hold it in their power to have tried and possibly imprisoned those Eskimos who did things which police regarded as improper. The police added fear to the many other reasons for accepting the southerners' wishes and acquiescing in their demands¹. In the local area the police put official seal on whites' determination to have things changed; at the larger level they established that one nation was bent on burying the vast arctic lands within its moral, legal, and geographical frontiers. The missionaries may have been French or English, and the

¹ See pp. below for evidence of how that fear was crucially significant, as well as for further discussion of how Eskimos came to regard whites as a whole.

trader Scottish; the Police were deeply Canadian¹.

The days of missionary, trader, and policeman are now regarded as the 'old days'. Not because there are no longer missionaries, traders and policemen, but because today there are other and probably more powerful agencies everywhere present in the arctic. The old days are lamented by the old-timers; wistfully they recall that time when "individuals could make decisions", when there was no persistent contact with and interference from the south, when a man lived and travelled alone "with the Eskimos". Old-timers feel that their influence has been eclipsed by changes which are, in their terms, for the most part unfortunate. They say that before "the great change" the whites in the north "knew the people", and it was possible then to live in the north with a measure of freedom, freedom compounded out of unique conditions, special duties, clear purposes, and distance - above all distance - from meddling overseers of any kind. This is said to be in striking contrast with modern day subordination to bureaucratic administration, even in the high arctic. Laments of old-timers are loud and clear.

Their laments find some echos in the writings of social scientists. One author introduces his study of an Arctic Quebec community with a sense of new beginnings: "In 1959, the people of George River went through an intensive period of social change....the impetus for change came from the Government of Canada's program of social and economic development and had

¹ See Milton Freeman's discussion of the police in Grise Fjord for more evidence of how the police established influence in at least one isolated community, in Paine 1971, pp 330-35

two main objectives: first, to gather the scattered Eskimo people together in settlements for administrative efficiency and to complement the social services already existing in the rest of Canada, and second, to improve and organize the economy based upon the formation of Eskimo co-operatives. George River, in 1959, became the first of these communities¹.

The main reality of the change centred on concentration of Eskimo population into definite settlements. To all intents and purposes those settlements existed long before the changes in policy during the 1950s: missions and trading posts had gathered round them a cluster of houses, and those became the nuclei of larger villages.² This concentration was accompanied by establishment of housing, schools, medical service nursing station, as well as full time local administration. It was also in part a by-product of a growing awareness in southern Canada that the northern population was in a condition of severe deprivation; lacking those medical and educational facilities which were seen as the necessary conditions for equality, freedom, and a competitive place in the national fabric, the Eskimos were discovered to be severely disadvantaged in those crucial respects. The second world war also significantly altered the nature of southern concern with the north, creating strategic and new nationalistic dimensions; in the international climate of the cold war all land was seen to have a place in the balance of forces and hypothetical

¹ Arbess 1966: 1) Balikci and Cohen (1963: 33-47) discuss briefly the consequences of commercial soapstone carving, introduced as part of the government emphasis on local economic development, while a spate of Area Economic Surveys reflects the Canadian concern with reforming or at least vitalizing (or perhaps conventionalizing) Eskimo communities throughout the country. The Area Economic Surveys were published by , beginning in 19 ; the last one appeared in 19 .

² Table gives dates of settlement formation in 11 eastern arctic communities

military logistics, while national integrity came to enjoy a vigorous new importance. Thus the Eskimos' fortunes came to be affected by forces as remote from their lives as nationalism fattened on a mood of international insecurity. The international situation may be said to have given impetus to the colonial advance; revived economic fortunes in North America as a whole provided the means by which the advance could be realized; growing humanitarian concerns meant that governments were inclined to use national wealth to improve the lot of the less advantaged of new citizens; shifting ideology brought a willingness to express dissatisfaction with that relatively unhampered free-enterprise which had left traders freely to determine the fortunes of northern peoples in the wake of market forces in distant places. Slowly but surely all these considerations translated into a new situation in the far north; there were more whites, more southern contacts of all kinds, and more services for the Eskimo population, which in turn tended to adopt a more settled and materially more elaborate lifestyle.

The earliest administrative endeavour (and that endeavour is still early) may thus lead us to expect significant reformation of Eskimo/white relationships; it would perhaps appear that exploitative agencies were displaced by supportative ones. But there is one fundamental continuity to what might be termed the pre- and post-administrative periods: both periods reveal the extent to which whites in the north have been bent on causing change and in realizing changes have dominated the Eskimos. This

domination has a pattern common to all the agencies: Eskimos have come to depend upon (or become convinced that they depend upon) things which only whites can dispense. This applies as much to the beneficence of a Christian God, as to an anti-viral vaccination, or a local political organization. The basic relationships between whites and Eskimos has thus stayed the same. The material conditions of life have changed, among Eskimos as well as among whites who work in the north, just as the degree of vulnerability to national or even international considerations has sharply increased. But those actual changes which take place have remained under the aegis of southerners: they decide what Eskimos need or should need, and they generally decide how those needs can be met.

It is not a static situation, however, and the continuity can probably best be seen as a continuity to the nature of change. It can be stated in terms of incorporation: whereas missionaries and traders began moral and economic incorporation, the newer institutions are engaged upon incorporation that is broadly ideological (per educational system), national (per legal and health system), and finally political (per local government system). Whites who inhabit the settlements of today are agents of incorporating agencies; in the language of one anthropological theoretical approach they are culture brokers in just the same way as traders, missionaries, and policemen were in an earlier period¹. In Chapter 9 I shall return to the question of political incorporation specifically;

¹ Mayer (1968:168) distinguishes the broker and patron element in administrative functions, noticing that patronage is integral to many colonial situations because the administrator "may distribute patronage to a small minority and yet keep his position: for his removal depends on the outside agency, and public pressure against him for biased distribution of favours must coincide with the dereliction in his formal duties if the outside agency is to be persuaded to dismiss him". The Canadian administrator in the north, like other patron/brokers, is installed by officials in the south who have purposes defined in relation to needs they have perceived.

it remains to the next chapters to characterize the nature of the small white community occupied with effecting changes in northern life which are aimed at completing the process of Canadian colonization of the Arctic.

Gradually even the high eastern arctic, for so long regarded as the last fortress of quasi-traditional Eskimo life, is evolving into another part of the widespread hinterland to the Canadian (or North American) metropolis. Although the following chapters concentrate on the details of life in a small society, there exists a backdrop to those details shaped by the largest social forces. The present social condition in those small societies is a part of a broad historical trend and thus represents the latest phase in North American colonial history.

Chapter 6

When old-timers recall the glorious freedoms of the past they construct that time with tales of their doings. Those tales, like any other body of myth being made to serve a direct purpose, are instructive. They concentrate on features of land and life which return in essence to simple themes: the rugged place and the fullness of their exposure to it. They lament, that is to say, the passing of nature and its replacement by culture. It will be useful to return to that theme in a later chapter¹, but by way of introduction to this chapter it is worth looking at the shift to 'culture' in its most simple and precisely material aspect. Old-timers describe the difficulties of their life, their accommodation, the material and intellectual poverty which touched their existence with harshness and romance - the price, as they saw it, for their freedom. The stories emphasize travelling, and their embellishments derive from the dog-team, the people, and other features of recurrent if not persistent exposure to the place. They lived in simple houses, with few comforts, and were accordingly dependent on people and the ways of people who lived, by southern standards, in material simplicity.

The white community of the present, these old-timers allege, live in ease and luxury. And in at least that respect the old-timers are right. Today, each government employee is provided with a furnished and more or less fully equipped house. These houses are heated and serviced: they have

¹ See pp below

6-2

showers and washing machines, curtains and carpets, electricity, and in many settlements they even have telephones. Water is delivered, and garbage removed, with quite adequate regularity. Such homes make a materially comfortable life for any southern Canadian perfectly possible. These houses are not perfect, of course: in some settlements there are no flush lavatories, and the notorious "honey bag" is ubiquitous. But these bags are usually removed and replaced daily as part of local services, and well disguised in a small room with electrical air freshener devices. They are scarcely offensive.

The whites themselves complain from time to time about their homes. These complaints however, seem to concentrate on details of equipment and services: there is a broken chair, a set of cutlery missing, no vacuum cleaner, or the water level has been low for eight days. The concentration on such detail suggests that the overall circumstance is regarded as adequate. It would be a demanding northerner indeed who thought his and his family's accommodation was really unsatisfactory.

It should be said that housing is not uniform in quality. Government officials and teachers are provided with two or three bedroom single storey homes. The Settlement Manager usually has a double basement house, built on two levels, with a generous ground floor as additional bedroom or storage or workshop¹. Nurses live in the nursing station, and are provided there with stereo equipment, electric sewing machine, and a

¹ Lack of uniformity is to some extent a measure of within the white community. More senior officials have been provided with slightly better homes.

6-3

video-tape TV set, as well as the customary washing machine, refrigerator and deep freeze. The Hudson's Bay Store Manager has a house which compares favourably with those of government employees, although it is often on a less generous scale. Only missionaries have housing which in some minor respects lacks good facilities: they often do not have modern electric stoves, but are equipped with paraffin heating and cooking units, while their houses are usually of an older vintage, showing signs of slight dilapidation. Even those missionaries' dwellings, however, might be said to have character rather than serious causes of discomfort.

Just as the living conditions of the whites are in the style of the southern middle classes, so they eat almost exclusively southern foods. Each family lays in large annual supplies, and supplementary foods are either bought at the Hudson's Bay Company store (which caters to southern tastes at slightly higher than southern prices) or air-freighted from the larger centres. There is no significant difference between the diets of the school teachers in Arctic Bay, for example, and school teachers in Ottawa. For dinner there is meat, potatoes, green vegetables, with cake or ice cream, coffee and cream. There may be a rye before the meal, and there may be a liqueur after. Occasionally there is a medium priced imported wine.

The material life of these small northern settlements is, in at least one crucial regard, a consequence of Canadian government policy: it was decided in the early 1950s that sufficient numbers of properly qualified personnel could be attracted to the north only if financial rewards were

large and conditions of life there no great deal worse than elsewhere in the country. It was imagined, presumably, that young teachers, administrators, and nurses would choose between the north and any other place of employment on the basis of comparative material advantages. The marginal utility of more money would, on that view, be the means of offsetting the disutilities of the place itself. This policy laid the foundations of material life of northern employees. It meant that northern whites would be able to lead "normal lives" - lives much in the style they would have led elsewhere. It grew from policies which emphasized uniformity as a goal and minimized idealism as a means: the north was in every respect to become more like the south, with an increasingly conventionalized complement of resident white employees. Once the material conditions for life were of that order, the social life of northern whites was inevitably transformed. It became possible for northern employees to live with their families, and to live a conventional community life.

By far the majority of the whites, even in small and isolated settlements of the High Arctic now live in high quality homes. And they spend a large amount of time at home. There is no necessity to go beyond the settlement, and little need to move outside their own or the house of a white neighbour. Contact with the snow or the wind or the land itself may be restricted to the walk from home to store, from store to friend's home, from there back home again. Of course, many of the white community like to walk a little, and some enjoy a day or two hunting now and then. Especially

during open water season, there are small expeditions away from the settlement. Some teachers use their Easter or Whitsun holiday to make a camping trip to the floe-edge. Such adventurers, however, are few, and even they do not use the trips to enrich their diets: virtually no whites eat seal meat. In the winter time some younger men like to hunt caribou, and then the meat is a useful and welcome supplement to southern food. Equally, in the summer there is fishing and fish.

Yet these new northerners find it hard to get away from home and settlement. Their reasons for this are evident enough: only teachers have a long holiday in which it would be possible to wait on the vagaries and uncertainties of arctic weather, and when they would be free to pick the moment for a real trip on the land. The other whites have only weekends for adventure. But the teachers seem to prefer to go south for the long vacation: almost to a man they leave the settlements the day after school year ends, and return the day it recommences in the fall. In the High Arctic that means they leave before ice breaks up and return as the weather is becoming colder again. Moreover, the climate is harsh, and few southerners are able to undertake even brief journeys: they for the most part have children, and rarely get accustomed to the outdoors. Few whites even have winter clothing which is adequate for anything more demanding than walking through the settlement.

Inexperience exaggerates nervousness about going beyond the good home and safe settlement, about living on unfamiliar foods. It is harder to be

without the established securities and protections for three days than for three weeks. It takes time to learn how to live on the land, truly at some distance from the south; it takes time to learn to dress and to use clothes in the real cold, just as the body will adjust to climate only if given opportunity. The jobs and the lifestyles of the present generation of northern whites do not allow opportunity or time for such learning, experience, and adjustment. They are prevented by duties from taking time on the land, away from home, and they are for the most part reluctant by inclination to leave the safety of home. They are connected with the south, by aeroplane and radio in reality, and culturally - almost symbolically at times - by the details of furnishings, dinner times, shoes. They are in no position to move beyond their enclaves for more than an occasional foray. It may be that the multitude of stories about old-timers, their hard days by dog teams, starving and battered, struggling from camp to camp, intensify feelings of unease and actual fear of moving out of material and cultural fortresses. And it may be that impressions of the environment, its extremes and the way these extremes have taken the lives even of Eskimos, leave the whites in nervous awe of the land itself. Moreover, many whites enjoy the idea of being in so fierce a climate: there is great pride in having been especially far north, and endless preoccupation with statistics about cold. These reflect quite definitely an idea of the adventure of being north¹. Only a few whites in the north know to how small an extent degrees of both latitude and fahrenheit indicate the experiential realities of the climate. There

¹ See pp below for expansion of this theme.

tends to be a purely intellectual or narrowly arithmetical appreciation of the environment, not linked with being in the environment. It is naturally more significant to a sedentary settlement white that the thermometer on Tuesday showed a minimum of -45° that in fact on Tuesday the ice, snow and wind conditions made seal hunting or travelling particularly problematic.

By comparison with these people of today, the whites of 30 or 40 years ago, were rough, hard, and lived close to their environment. They almost all had to be without wives or family, and most had to learn something of the Eskimo language. Indeed, they would perhaps have been di-appointed if life in the north had been without privation and challenge. Part of their satisfaction derived from harshness: a non-bourgeois style was for them a necessary condition for enjoyment. Prior to the emergence of the settlement and the accompanying establishment of more orthodox institutions, the whites were almost all in some measure in search of a rugged life. Maybe a missionary did not regard privation or adventure as intrinsically worthwhile, but it may not be over-simplistic to say that for many missionaries some hardship and self-denial contributed an important part of a self-image; a Hudson's Bay Company Store Manager in a remote arctic district was probably aware of the tradition, almost the culture, of solitary pioneering and adventure beyond the edges of civilization, and he probably also at some level was gratified by the influence which came with being the lone white man among the unknowable natives; and the RCMP Constable who went to the far north and did not travel by dog team with Eskimos, did not experience the recurrent malevolence of

the climate, would surely have failed to realize his dreams of going north. Nor should it ever be forgotten that such solitude was a correlary of vast influence and a sense of real power.

There are very few reasons for thinking that even they lived truly like Eskimos. Rather, they often lived on the edge of the camps, at the edge of the peoples' lives, following and to some extent experiencing the Eskimos' ways. Today, with the establishment of Government run permanent settlements, the circumstances have been turned on their heads: in the settlements, at least, it is the Eskimos who are encouraged to live at the edge of southern ways. It is striking how many of the whites who came north and lived in the north in that older tradition are made despondent by the new. Frank Vallee noted in 1954 the irony of the missionary who laments the passing of traditional Eskimo ways¹. Behind the irony, however, is a real sense of loss - to the missionary himself. Those for whom the essence of northern life was the dog team, the language, or simply the people, can only but lament the development of the conventionalized middle class white community: it is plainly antithetical to both their reasons for coming north, and much of their pleasure in the experience.

Today it is the institutions from the south which stand at the political centre of the settlements. Indeed, they have provided the rationale for the very existence of the settlement, and the spur with which to hasten people in from the camps. School, store, nursing station, and government office, are the pillars on which settlements rest. The officials who people these institutions are accordingly powerful and central in the

¹ See Vallee, *Kabloona and Eskimo*, 19 p.

6--

total social circumstance. They are the social and political heirs to those earlier whites who moved at the edge of camp life, urging changes and discovering reasons for reform. But the settlements of today can be seen as the fruit of earlier labours. The labourers have changed; many of their ways are new to the north. They have more power and influence because they are depended upon more totally by the Eskimo population. Yet they are distanced from much about the north if only because they have created, albeit in small pockets, the conditions of the south. More precisely, they have established a mode of life which is peculiarly and distinctively as middle class as it is white. The whites in the north have, over half a century, undergone a process of bourgeoisification: their lifestyles, material culture, and their attitudes, have all become essentially middle class.

This change, this emergence of a middle-class lifestyle, is of considerable importance. It throws much light on white/Eskimo interaction and mutual suspiciousness. It also offers an understanding of the way in which the white community conducts its own affairs, and how it reacts to newcomers and outsiders. Only through a proper understanding of that community, its social style and its class orientations, can a parallel understanding of the Eskimos' predicament be made possible. It is a change which can, for the Eastern Arctic at least, be more or less accurately dated. In that sense it is less a process, a trend, than a particular reconstitution of things. However, even if those decisions in Ottawa which precipitated the change can be dated, the fact remains that we are dealing with a community. In a community there is continuity of personnel: there was no

displacement of the older group in toto by a sudden rush of newcomers. Rather, two styles for a time overlapped: the settlement grew, the camps contracted and disappeared, other kinds of officials took their place in the scene. To that extent it was inevitably a process. Further, no single institution was involved, no one decision-making body controlled all the whites in any community. Hence, Federal Government may have changed its directions, and therefor the personnel in one major segment of northern life, but it could never, of course, directly manipulate the doings of missionary or trader.

It was shortly after the Second World War that Ottawa decided the northern part of the country should be developed, and that services to northern people should be considerably extended. This new direction in northern policy sprang from two quite different considerations: a hope that the north might be transformed into a major resource potential seemed realistic, and an awareness of the appalling consequences of a collapsed fur trade were becoming known.¹ Since the fur trade was failing to provide a living to Eskimos and Indians, and since missionary-dominated education could not be regarded as adequate to the future needs of a sector of the Canadian population, the non-interventionist attitude to the north was quite radically qualified. In the largest terms it can be said that a welfare attitude in some measure displaced an unquestioned acceptance of laissez-faire².

¹ Further, no single institution was involved, no one decision-making body controlled all the whites in any community. Hence Federal Government may have changed its directions and thereby changed the personnel in one major segment of northern life, but it could not of course directly manipulate the doings of missions or traders.

² For a time the construction of military radar sites (the DEW Line installations) cushioned the effects of low fur prices, but by 1950 employment at those sites could not fill the growing economic voids.

6 11

It must be emphasized, however, that the acceptance of a considerable need for welfare and education was never accompanied by much government intervention at the economic level. The position and activities of the traders had never been subjected to scrutiny or direct control. This is evident in a passage written by Diamond Jenness in 1966: "Since the early post-war years Ottawa has spared neither money nor effort to expand her northern health or education programmes, and to discover ways and means of making them more efficient. She has flooded the Arctic with white administrators, school teachers, doctors, nurses, and welfare officers, all committed to raise the Eskimo cultural level and improve their standard of living".¹ Jenness makes no mention of any plan aimed at reconstituting or even reconsolidating the economic situation of the Eskimos. Rather, acceptance of one form of southern exploitation gave way to faith in another: the fur trade is to be replaced by extractive industries, as the mainstay of Eskimo economic life. It need hardly be said that participation in extractive industry requires radically different skills. The education program came to be seen as the road to such skills. Thus Jenness also wrote: "but Canada must greatly improve both the formal education and the vocational training of her Eskimos before they can enter her skilled labour market, and become integrated into her national life"².

¹ See Jenness, 1966, It is worth noting that the passage continues: "but progress has been disturbingly slow, and nearly 20 years of effort have aggravated her problems rather than solved them.

² Ibid. P 26.

New preoccupations with the north were nonetheless direct causes of new white communities, with their distinctive white northerners. It was felt that more services should be extended to the Eskimos in even the remotest corners of the Arctic, and a policy was begun which necessitated a much larger scale recruitment of whites who would go to these corners. Maybe policy designers in Ottawa were themselves steeped in a vision of the savage north, scarcely fit for human habitation. Certainly they seem to have been convinced that whites would only go north in sufficient numbers if material incentives were considerable. It followed quite naturally from this attitude that large salaries, accommodation scarcely second to any in the south, good transportation and communications, all had to be established. Then whites would go north for the money, as well as for the experience, novelty, and maybe an additional touch of adventure. At any cost, however, it was to be made sure that those whites could choose their moments for adventure, and basically in southern comfort. With this policy, the era of the short term northerner was initiated - the obnoxious "bird of passage". It became possible to have a middle-class lifestyle, a middle-class occupation and yet live among Eskimos.

It is the blend of material abundance and family life which reveals most typically middle class lifestyles. Material comforts, and the protection they afford against the ever-present arctic conditions, make possible family life; family life reinforces the need for material goods. The hard data indicates the extent of the syndrome: high earnings and a

large proportion of married people working in the settlements. A casual visitor to an high arctic settlement, newly arrived from a middle-class suburb in Ottawa, might be struck by the differences between his home and the home of his northern hosts. Most certainly the hosts would be at pains to describe the multitude of special features which adorn ^{their} his life in the arctic. But the main structures of life would not, after all, be very different: the home would be evidently prosperous, and the commitment to a specific form of family life very deep, while abundant details of life - many of them symbolic and extraneous to any geographical or ethnic niche - would reveal plainly enough the location status of his hosts in ^{relation to} mainstream, southern society.

The large majority of whites living and working in those small settlements are occupied in one or another of a small number of key institutions. It is worth giving the profile of one typical white sub-community. The hard data are instructive.

Among a total population of 430, the whites number 34. Of those 34, 18 are people who have permanent positions in the various agencies; there are 7 spouses and 9 children. The range of institutions in which they are employed is typical for the entire Eastern Arctic:

- Administration: 2
- Education: 7
- Health and Welfare (Nursing): 2
- Hudson's Bay Company: 2
- RCMP: 1
- Missions: 2

Social Welfare: 1
Local Co-operative: 1

Between them these 18 people earn a total annual gross income of \$201,190, an average of very slightly more than \$11,177 per employee. The salary range is from almost \$18,000 to \$4,000; the least well paid are the missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company clerks, while the best paid are the most experienced school teachers.

The average age of these whites is 31.9 years. By January of 1973 only two of the whites in that community had been there for more than five years; 14 had been there for less than one year; two had been there for more than a year, but less than five years. Nine of the whites were for the first time working in the north; five others had between one and five years. experience of work in the north before taking their present jobs.

It is therefore striking that these employees are young, well paid, and for the most part comparatively new to the environment in which they are presently working. High pay combined with newness to the north in general or to an Eskimo community in particular mean that the distance between them and the community as a whole is likely to be specially large. With such brief experience of the north, there is little chance that they have acquired any fluency in the language; with such large salaries it is unlikely that they will enjoy a lifestyle that bears much resemblance to the ways and conditions of the people among whom they live and work. Seven of the whites are married, and it might be expected that single men and

women would have fuller and easier contact with the Eskimo community. In fact only three of the whites had sexual attachments to local people, and one of those was encouraged to leave the settlement when his liaisons came to the attention of a more senior employee. And there was only one white who, with his wife, regularly visited Eskimo homes; and they did so with nervousness and confessed ill ease, saying that the language problem rendered it all but impossible for them to make contact with any older people unless they took an interpreter with them. Only four of the white homes received regular visits from Eskimo people, and two of them were the homes of missionaries with whom local people feel they have a special (but procribed) relationship.

The data for that one settlement need to be compared with that for other settlements in the same region. Comparison may indicate to what extent the above profile represents a more widespread pattern. Obviously, in so small a sample figures can easily be distorted by a few atypical instances. The time spent in the settlement by the agency whites may, in the case of any single community, be a consequence of bizarre or idiosyncratic circumstance, yielding therefore no sound basis for generalization. Since generalizations about whites in the settlement are so central to this study as a whole, it is necessary to scrutinize a larger sample. Gathering data of that kind, however, is far from simple and the following facts and figures are consequently limited. Limited in effect by category rather than detail, they are still broad enough in scope and comprehensive enough within each single category to allow a sounder basis for some general remarks.

The data are, in the case of government personnel of each type (for example teachers, administrators, nurses), complete for one administrative region. They are incomplete in the case of non-government agencies (for example traders, Anglican and Catholic missionaries). The teachers, who constitute by far the largest group, offer the most valuable information. In the administrative region as a whole there are just 60 of them. The bare facts are these:

	<u>Regional District</u>	<u>One Settlement</u>
Average age:	30.5	29.5 years
Percentage unmarried or separated	40%	42.86%
Percentage women	61.66%	42.86%
Average earnings	\$12,590	\$13,500
Average number of years in present settlement	1.75	1.14
Average number of years in north	2.5	1.29
Percentage of non-Canadians	21.66%	28.55%
Average number of years teaching experience	6.32	4.12
Percentage who have been five or more than five years in the north	18.33%	14.28%
Percentage who have been 1 year or less in north	41.66%	71.44%

The administrative personnel tend to be older and more widely experienced in northern life than teachers. Thus, for ten Settlement Managers in the same administrative region, the following are the facts:

Average age	35.7 years
Percent unmarried or separated	10%
Percentage women	10%
Average earnings	\$14,036
Average number of years in settlement	1.64
Average number of years in north	7
Percentage of non-Canadians	30%

Five of the ten Settlement Managers had begun their careers in the north working for the Hudson's Bay Company, as clerks and assistants in northern stores. Furthermore, only one out of the ten went directly into administration; the four who had not come north as Hudson's Bay Company employees were first school teachers and moved into full time administration only after several years. (Some were both teachers and administrators in the settlements where there were no full time administrators). In the one settlement for which details have been given in this chapter, the Settlement Manager moved into the present administration by way of teaching and, in an intermediate period, from a position in the administrative structure directed by the central government (prior to the devolution of overall administrative responsibility) to the Territorial Civil Service based in Yellowknife. He was, therefore, among the more experienced - and more successful - of northern employees. In contrast, the Settlement Manager whose difficulties provide the heart of Chapter 9¹ came directly into administration after a career in the armed services².

¹ See especially page below.

² He, in fact, was in a different administrative region, which appears to be distinctive for its comparatively great readiness to fill administrative positions with men who have finished long careers in the armed services.

6-8

He had no experience of the north, and was, as the account of his fortunes may illustrate, bedevilled by that blend of naivety and inexperience which exacerbated problematical conditions in his host community - conditions which derived from the material level of his lifestyle.

The Hudson's Bay Company store clerks are young, often from the United Kingdom (there remains that tradition of recruiting clerks in Scotland). Some arrive in an arctic settlement with only the vaguest idea of what to expect. But they are often more ready than virtually any other group to be drawn into friendship with young local people; indeed they are often the objects of much criticism for introducing young Eskimos to alcohol and themselves to young Eskimo women. At the very bottom of the white social hierarchy, young and independent of government agencies, junior Hudson's Bay Company employees are at a clear advantage when it comes to having Eskimo friends. The Hudson's Bay Company has evolved a number of policies which perhaps derive from their consciousness of a clerk's independence from the prevalent sanctions and restraints. A clerk who marries must leave his job (sometimes on the grounds that staff accommodation cannot be provided for junior's wives and families even though the young men wish to live in their wives' families' house), while clerks who fall too deeply into disrepute are soon moved on to another settlement.

Hudson's Bay Store Managers, on the other hand, are invariably men with some years of experience in the north - invariably, for they can become Managers only after some time as a clerk in a northern store. Those men rise to the Managership of a store by dint of their virtues: the wild, overly joyous clerk who fails to educate himself in the nice blend of

6 19

actuarial and social skills which are held to be basic qualifications for store management, are weeded (or more likely weed themselves) out. Although it is unusual for a Hudson's Bay Company Manager to gain in a settlement of today the social esteem achieved by teachers or administrators (the opportunity for which esteem is, of course, largely the province of the latter two groups), the selection process surely guarantees that the H.B.C. residence is occupied by men covetous of their respectability. There can be little doubt but that H.B.C. factors have suffered to most marked decline in influence and importance vis-à-vis both the Eskimo communities and the whole fabric of southern encroachment; whereas in the past those factors were often the spearhead, and invariably a bastion, of northern development, were the conscience of northern life and northern people, literally holding the fates of many hundreds of families in their direct sphere of influence, there are now supermarket store-keepers with a small sideline in the purchase of local crafts and furs. If the reminiscences of old-timers and a reading of back issues of Beaver magazine are ways to an accurate view of the past, then the former isolation and importance of the factors tended to stimulate a remarkable genre: they appear to have been exotic characters, as committed to long established idiosyncracies as to the north itself. Today, however, they are more like second rankers in a strikingly conventional, not to say stolid, community; they are good participants in a little society more conspicuously endowed with the social details of an urban petty bourgeoisie than with the richness of unusual or compelling personal traits. In the contemporary north (developing hinterland of an

industrialized metropolis) a shopkeeper would be expected to find his customary place. In the profile of the one typical settlement the Hudson's Bay Company trader does find that place.

Similarly, the nurses in that settlement are neatly absorbed into the white community. There is, of course, much preoccupation with single white women on the part of single white men in any settlement. It appears to be a rather keener concern with physical graces and availability than elsewhere. but the appearance of keenness is probably just that, and derives from a tendency, widespread in the north, to be vocal and blunt. There remains a touch of the frontiersman in many northern whites, a touch which appears most strikingly in a rampant sexism dominating attitudes to women. Going north is, after all, going away - not away from a class position or a sure and prestigious role, but away from a number of constraints and inhibiting social forces which restrict expression and practice "at home". Studies which follow southerners' moves north, tracing individuals attitudinal and social changes, have never been carried out¹, but I suspect they would reveal something of a rush for freedom, at least among the men. So it is that young nurses are regarded as a resource, suited by young men who - in their southern lives - would almost certainly be more inhibited. This means that nurses are strongly encouraged to be active participants in the everyday social life of white communities. Refusal, or even slight disinclination to so participate,

¹ Though Parsons' Northern Newcomers (Ottawa 1970) does begin to do that in looking at attitudinal changes over time in the north, from first arriving to being a relatively "old hand".

can easily generate hostility, while more ready friendliness than is expected tends to be seen as discreditable if not remarkably disgraceful promiscuity. A particularly distasteful anecdote illustrates the first of those reactions.

A nurse, young and attractive, was quite open about restricting her friendships to a definite group of whites in the settlement. Unusually interested in intellectual pursuits, she inevitably built up a circle of good friends from the more intellectually sophisticated of the community - notably from among the teachers. With others she was affable, professionally competent, but by northern standards a little remote: she did not attend social gatherings when they included other than her friends (did not, that is to say, attend for amusement or to show solidarity), and was quite unambiguous in her rejections of advances by young men with whom she felt she had nothing relevant in common. Some bad feeling grew, but never erupted very directly into her life until one single man precipitated a small scandal.

Somewhat drunk the resentful man telephoned the nurse late one night and in the most forthright way reproached her for disregarding him and other suitors' attentions: obviously, he told her, she was homosexual. He selected one of the nurse's friends as the key partner in the supposed offence, and remarked that he was not alone in his view of the matter.

The nurse was indignant at the caller's allegations and troubled by his having suggested that he spoke for "others". The whole matter was brought to the attention of others in the settlement, and inevitably became for

a time the most central subject of gossip and discussion, and resulted in a degree of polarization. There were people other than the midnight telephoner who felt unfriendly towards that nurse, and who - although they hastened to disassociate themselves from the specific charge, - revealed in their comments and discussions that they had been made unhappy by her firm discriminations. The matter, like most settlement crises, quite rapidly subsided and soon merged into the great body of things widely regarded as best forgotten. The process was speeded up by the man's decision to move back to the south.

The average age of sixteen nurses in the administrative district in which that incident occurred is 32.7 years. Ten of them are 30 or under; all are single. The average experience of life in the Eastern Arctic is a little over two years, but three were for some years in other administrative districts, in the Western Arctic. It is interesting to notice the comparatively high proportion of nurses with English qualifications, in this case six out of the sixteen¹. The average earnings of those sixteen is \$7,492 per annum, in addition to which they receive annual supplementary income of approximately \$1,500. Income, age, and degree of experience does tend to emphasize the place which nurses are expected to take in the community.

Since the majority of men and women working for southern agencies are young, and since those incentives aimed at attracting southerners to the north are themselves the result of young policies, it is hard to predict how

¹ Some preference may have been given to U.K. trained nurses because of their basic training in midwifery, which is important for work in isolated settlement and is not a necessary part of American or Canadian nurses' qualifications,

long and in what manner the present northern whites will continue to live in the north. The policies may bring people to an Arctic settlement; they do not appear to be able to keep them there. Of the sixteen nurses in the one region, only one has been in her present job for more than three years; ten have transferred to their present job in recent months¹; three others are seeking transfers to positions in other regions. By comparison with teachers, however, the nurses are more inclined to stay in their jobs. Of the sixty teachers for whom some figures have already been given, only 31 wish to remain in their present jobs; 12 are hoping to be transferred to other settlements in the north; while 17 are resigning from the Northern School Service altogether.

The situation for the one settlement is probably more relevant and revealing: there, between 1971 and 1973, the entire teaching staff of seven changed over, and of those who first came to the village in 1972, one is transferring to another region and three are resigning at the end of the 1973 school year. During the same period there have been four Hudson's Bay Company clerks, never overlapping their periods of work; the police detachment experienced two changes of staff; the Anglican missionary changed; a Social Development Officer arrived; there were three Settlement Mechanics, each staying a few months; there were altogether five nurses, with a permanent complement never exceeding two; there were two Settlement Managers. Of the whites working there at the end of 1971, one one was still there in 1973; of those working there in the summer of 1972 only seven will be there at the end of 1973. Only one such change has been the result of institutional rearrangements.

¹ As of May 1973.

Obviously there is a difference between moving from one Arctic settlement to another, but remaining within the pale of northern employment, and moving from the north to a southern job. Of the 18 employees who left the one settlement between 1971 and 1973, nine moved to other northern positions and nine left the north altogether. It is perfectly possible, however, that the period of very short-term northern employment is ending, and that it will in the future be seen as an awkward transitional phase between those long-term old timers and the new long-term real northerners. Three factors are at present urging events in that direction. There is beginning to be a pool of northern whites married to Eskimo girls who are usually deeply reluctant to move south. Those men tend to be in, or to move into, administrative positions, and often met their wives when working as Hudson's Bay Company clerks (i.e. in roles which more obviously encouraged contact with local people) and have really made careers (monetary and class advancement) in the north. As more Eskimos are formed by the new social milieu, by schooling and a plethora of modernities, so marriage between them and whites in middle-class roles becomes more likely. This is already evidenced by an increasing number of young teachers who marry Eskimo girls. Secondly, the employment situation in the south is at present radically increasing the number of candidates for job opportunities in the north, and that is a trend which is likely to continue, at least in the medium term. Thirdly, there is a large and recognized need in the north for employees who are sophisticated about those problems peculiar to the northern situation. There is a growing emphasis in the Eastern Arctic on the Eskimo language; employees in government agencies

are encouraged to acquire some competence in the language. Sophistications of that kind will no doubt attach the whites more profoundly to their work positions in the north.

But there are few reasons for thinking that the northern "bird of passage" will cease altogether his short visits. Whereas old times were restricted by poor communications and supply services, and were simply not able to try a month or two in the north, today northerners can (if they have the money) leave any week they feel they must. No one who goes north today need fear becoming trapped in an environment which he finds, albeit quite unexpectedly, insufferable: he can - thanks to a large salary and good communications - easily and securely make his escape back to his home in the south. The figures do in some measure reflect the sizable number of whites who, after a few months in a small northern village, feel oppressed and homesick. There will no doubt continue to be for many years a complement of such people, people who take the opportunities the north now extends to them, people who want to have a try at it, see it, or merely save some good money for a year or two.

The discussion at this point leads directly into one of the thorniest northern questions: why do whites go north? Behind that question is concealed an assumption, from which the question itself derives its apparent importance. The assumption is, in brief: no ordinarily motivated, well balanced, happy person would want to go north. The question usually points accusing fingers at pathological conditions; questioners are concerned to imply that northern settlements are composed

of sick and troubled refugees who seek in the north some escape from disturbances in themselves or in the milieu they are fleeing. A crucial implication is, of course, that they bring their disturbances with them - an implication which is frequently adduced by way of explanation for difficulties recurrent in settlement life. The charge is, in plain words: whites in the far north are too crazy to do anything but harm - if they were not crazy, they would never be there. The charge is crude, but nonetheless deserves answering. It could, after all, be true.

A white does occasionally talk about why he came north, but much more often is eager to explain why one or another of his colleagues came north. Probably the most frequent comments by one settlement white upon another's motivations directs us to money. The "bird of passage" is said to be seeking the quick and easy dollar, and so found himself a northern position. Such allegations have basis in one set of facts: northern positions are relatively remunerative. Pay levels for many occupations are the same in the north and south - teachers, policemen, or nurses, but jobs under government aegis offer special payments and income supplement. Nurses, as has already been remarked, receive such additional payment of around \$1,500 per annum; teachers receive similar yearly additions of between \$2,000 and \$2,500; administrators receive a "settlement allowance" of \$1,300 per annum. Some teachers are able to work additional hours for adult education, which has a permanent but overworked staff in many settlements. For such work they receive approximately \$9.50 per hour, as an overtime rate. Teachers also benefit in some instances from the

possibilities of employment for both husband and wife - a practice encouraged if only because it reduces pressure on limited staff accommodation in smaller villages.

But the real financial incentive for employment in the north lies in the high rate of savings. Rents are not lower than elsewhere but furnishings are provided; the limited range of retailers and entertainments sharply increase families' savings functions. Whites tend to insist that northern life is expensive, and complain about the financial burden on their lives. That must however be regarded as their version of a much wider phenomenon - middle-class pretence of poverty. Northern whites are in a situation which definitely permits much saving, and no doubt most save far more in the course of a year's employment there than they ever would working and living in the south. And even if that does not constitute a motive for their first going north (many may not even realize the scale of savings they could achieve) - it probably is a rationale among many who decide to delay returning south for an additional year. The middle-class permanent whites do not speak of their financial circumstances nor do they place money among the advantages they say they find in the north. But there is a ring of truth to the gossiping attribution of monetary greed to their colleagues and friends' decisions. That ring is not very loud, however, and is especially mellowed and quietened by less mundane material factors. It must never be forgotten that the white community I am describing is made up mainly of professional people in relatively high status positions; they are the representatives of southern culture,

and embody - if sometimes unwittingly - its intentions and purposes. They are, very often, precisely concerned with development in its social, economic, or religious aspects. In effect, that development maintains assimilation as its guiding principle. As was argued in the last chapter, the whites are, and have been for a long time, concerned with incorporating northern native populations. To go north is therefore, for the most significant sector of the white population, to play a definite part in changing people. Moreover, they are a people living in a remote place. There is a doubly exotic quality to many northerners' roles: by virtue of an exotic milieu there is an exotic local population. This will be returned to at length in a later chapter¹, but that discussion must be at least adumbrated here.

The whites enjoy the idea of being in contact with Eskimos. Only very few are unqualifiedly idealistic or optimistic about the part they can play in the future of the north, but most are nonetheless compelled in some measure by special features of the place and the people. There is a romance woven around northern life, a romance nourished by old-timers' myths and legends as much as by knowledge and experience of things contemporary. That romance is important to many of those who live and work in the settlements: aspects of it feature often and large in their conversations, and it certainly provides exhortative and enriching qualities to being in the north. There is no denying that such romance gives in some way an aura of idealism to the doings of those who enjoy and perpetrate it. It is idealism in the sense that it rests on ideas which

¹ See especially pages below.

yield enthusiasm or even purpose. Such enthusiasm and purpose may be confused or limited by contrary currents in northern whites' views on their situation, but they do introduce factors which are far beyond the matter of a savings function. To advance a limited thesis: high salaries and good material conditions may be a necessary condition for going north, and equally necessary for staying north, but enthusiasm for and complex involvement with the north, its land and its people, is important to many, keeping them in the north, and often a part of taking them there in the first place.

This complex involvement also includes the attractions and gratifications of being important. Not only do many settlement whites live the good material life they also have power to which they were never likely to have had a chance to become accustomed had they remained in the south. They may be big fishes in small ponds, but - more apositely - they are big fishes in a pond of small fishes. Once again, that may not have been part of the package of attractions to the north in the first place, but for many it has evidently become a very real benefit. The material aspects of middle-class life are thereby compounded by access to and participation in the circle of a group which is, by much self-assessment, a ruling group.

It is thus apparent that the bourgeoisification of northern whites has a multitude of significant ramifications. Composed of material goods, family life, socially reinforced identity, and active influence, it is a complex of elements which is put together in a definite role - both for each particular man, and for the resident white group as a collective. Perception of those roles is worth looking at more closely: it can at

once reveal both attitudes to the north and deal with a possible significant objection to the argument thus far.

That objection could lie in pointing out that idealism among those individuals who act out in colonial hinterlands the purposes of their colonizing nation or metropolis are often themselves infected with highly developed ideals of service to humanity and to the colonized peoples. They often have felt charged with a very real responsibility for the fate of peoples whom they administer, teach, evangelize, or bring within the web of trade. They have been idealistic, that is to say, about equipping primitive peoples with southern style souls, minds, and goods. Such idealism may at last be becoming discredited, but it could still be an important element in the attitudes of whites in the far north towards their jobs and social roles there. In Chapter 9 it will become evident that such an interpretation of the whites attitudes is supported, but at the level of the whites' own consciously articulated views it needs much qualification.

During the summer of 1971 a study was made of white attitudes to their roles and to the future of the north. That study was carried out in Frobisher Bay, an administrative centre in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. The findings were striking, revealing a very high degree of unease and despondency. Respondents were asked by the interviewer carrying out this project to talk about their role in the north, and "to offer generalizations about the directions and success of various government programs"¹.

¹ This and subsequent quotations are from the unpublished report written by Arnold Cragg in fulfillment of a contract with the Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa, 1971.

The general comment the author makes on the basis of more than one hundred interviews is particularly striking:

"the majority of whites interviewed... were gloomy about the present situation and future prospects of the native peoples. Roughly 75% of them believed that native people in general had serious problems of adjustment which they seemed to be making little or no progress towards solving. Less than 25% expressed confidence that the enormous Government effort in the North is effectively helping them towards solutions. A significant minority, perhaps 20%, delived that Government activity as a whole was exacerbating rather than improving the situation."

Hence a focal problem for the report lay in "an examination of why so many whites are as gloomy as they are." It was concluded that many of the whites living in administrative centres found their principal satisfactions in the social life which such a town maintained: they enjoyed, that is to say, the benefits deriving from smallness, from easy conviviality, and from being in a milieu which manages to avoid many of the oppressive features of much southern life. The role, therefore, was not valued for those of its features which correspond to bringing the benefits of civilization. In general the whites of that community felt that they had not really engaged in bringing a good civilization to the Eskimos, but were instead part of a tradition - now well established - of destroying and disrupting Eskimo livelihood and well-being.

It is dangerous to build generalizations on the basis of fieldwork carried out in administrative centres. Frobisher Bay bears a relationship to remoter communities of Baffin Island which a capital city often bears to its hinterland. It is, that is to say, associated with high and rough

living, with drinking and novelty; it is conceived by imaginations which are replete with discontent, and is invested with qualities which are systematically opposed to the qualities of life in the small home community. And those features are not altogether fictional. Frobisher Bay is notorious for its high rates of deviants, and whites who live and work there are bound to be preoccupied with and influenced by the social pathology which surrounds them. They are most likely to be depressed by it, inclined to call into question their roles, especially when they see their roles in the wide framework of modernizing of a traditional people. Widespread pessimism of that kind is well encapsulated in two quotations from interviewees' observations:

"Maybe we should go right now... all we're doing is getting them keyed up to our rotten way of living...the idea behind it is one great happy family - different cultures all living side by side. Maybe it's unattainable. Maybe it is just a crock of horseshit. I don't know. Maybe they'd be happier if we just left them alone."

"This may be a doomed culture but we're not replacing it with anything worthwhile... the development of the north has been disastrous. They've made every mistake made in the British colonies and then some... If we reappraised the whole thing and said to ourselves - let's dip in the bucket and see what we can offer them - if we asked ourselves that honestly I can't believe we wouldn't get up and leave."

In the remoter, more northerly settlements, such cynical views are less often heard. Whites there are indeed unhappy about the outcome of the sort of activities which their roles represent in the long-term, but most of them feel that some good could come of a somewhat reformed operation of the agency which employs them. But there is cynicism enough to

establish that for for most the gratifications of living in the far north do not derive from bringing anything that might be labelled "the treasures of civilization". Settlement whites of today live in material comfort, enjoy high standards of life in almost every regard, and are men of influence. They also are able to enjoy the romance of being north - a romance plainly enhanced by their mobility. Those are the bases of the white community, and they are the very things which secure the community in its middle-class fortress, barricaded whether they like it or not by abundance of goods, privacy of family, and influence. The remainder of this part (the next three chapters) will look at this distinctive group in its social, attitudinal, and political dimensions. A number of themes will recur throughout, but the recurrence should help elucidate the remarkable degree in which the whites are isolated among themselves, split off from the people they live among, by the main features of their little sub-communities.

Chapter 7

Whites in the smaller settlements are inclined to exaggerate the rigours and hardships of the life they live. Distance from civilization, limitations of diet, and the absence of various amenities, are forever emphasized. The suggestion is that life is hard for them, and only because of an almost heroic blend of self-sacrifice, discipline, and devotion to the far north, are they able to endure at all. Indeed, it is said that many do not endure, and under the duress of such a problematic and impoverished existence, begin to develop peculiar attitudes and behaviour. There is thus a picture of the society, and an aetiology of pathological conditions which the circumstances of that society engender. Members of the permanent white sub-community are alert to deviance, and like to explain it by reference to the intrinsic hardships of the life they all claim they are forced to lead. The pathological condition which precipitates deviance has a name: the white who is failing to endure the difficulties of environment and lifestyle is said to be 'bushed'.

A man is 'bushed' who fails to live up to the expectations of his fellow whites. Examination of that term's usage therefore lets us into the prevailing idea of normalcy, revealing just what kind of society northern whites expect to maintain, and what sort of behaviour can and cannot be tolerated from members of that tiny community. To call someone 'bushed' is to express hostility, but it is also to discount. A person who is bushed cannot be taken seriously, he is no longer held truly responsible

1-2

for his actions, he is thought to have partially lost his reason. Thus his protests and allegedly anti-social disposition are of no more relevance than the supposedly irrational meanderings of the mentally disturbed, In this way the white community protects itself against the possible critic from within, collectively insisting on the feeble-mindedness of those who do not conform to its customary proprieties. But in this way it also asserts the norms.

The whites expect solidarity. Each member of the community is expected to show goodwill and friendliness towards others. Any failure to "get along with others" is regarded seriously, evidently constituting a breach of an informal social code. A man who insists on expressing hostility very openly, or allows his resentment of others to determine his everyday social life, is categorized as 'bushed'. In one High Arctic settlement, for example, relations between the teachers degenerated. By mid-winter of one year the school principal was so hostile to one of his colleagues that he felt unable to have any social dealing with him. Most strikingly, he avoided talking to him, and even when they passed in the street would not go through customary little greetings or exchange of social niceties. In school that principal preferred to communicate by way of cryptic written messages. Other teachers sided with the man who had thus become an object of the principal's animosity, saying that their principal must be 'bushed'. As much as a year later they reminisced about the time when the school principal had been 'bushed'. They did not reflect on the sources of the anger, nor did they seem willing (in the

course of ordinary conversation) to consider the possibility of some justification lying on the principal's side. Rather, the combined view was that no amount of justification could make sense of the expression of anger. That is, the principal's anger was one thing, but his refusal to maintain his social face was another. It was this latter breach of social convention which put him beyond any possible justification. He was 'bushed' because he allowed his anger to intrude into everyday life, not because he was made angry. He had failed to effect that degree of social repression which alone could facilitate the maintenance of easy social relations within the white community as a whole. And even the closest friend of that school principal, when recalling the situation later, simply commented that "poor old X had been a bit 'bushed' that winter." It was much the same as explaining some social indiscretion or unusual excess by reference to particularly severe drunkenness. The very abnormality of the behaviour was, in its way, the excuse. By being 'bushed', the offender was beyond the range of normal judgements. The criticism meant that forgiving and forgetting would be easy and quick.

Another example illustrates the point. A young man arrived in a settlement to take up his first job. A number of arrangements were badly mismanaged, and he found his house had not been prepared and his possessions had not arrived. Consequently he was obliged to stay with another official. Very quickly relations between them became strained, and the newcomer was subjected to a series of social snubs. On one occasion he was conspicuously not invited to a dinner party, even though it took

place in the house where he was living, and included all the other whites in the settlement. He made no secret of his anger, and certainly did not conceal his hostility towards his host. Subsequently he was treated with disdain by two other whites in the community, and once again he reacted openly and vocally, asking them to discuss with him why they were behaving in such a disagreeable manner. When he found that they were unwilling to discuss the matter with any seriousness, he avoided them and made a point of not attending social gatherings at which they were likely to be present. Since most of the social gatherings in that settlement included all the whites living there, it followed that he was conspicuously absent from almost all parties and festivities. As the disputes between this newcomer and others in the settlement became intense, sympathies were expressed for one or another's attitude. But the newcomer ultimately found no sympathy, and repeatedly was dismissed as one who had been 'bushed before he got here'. Of course it was freely admitted that he was quite right to be indignant at the way he had been treated, but that in effect was no part of the final judgement. He was said to be 'bushed' because he had caused confrontations. But a few months later, when the newcomer had adjusted to the settlement milieu, a strong friendship grew between him and the official who had initially precipitated hostilities, and who had been most vocal of all in deprecating the young teacher as 'bushed'.

In similar fashion any white who is thought to be turning his back on the white community as a whole is held to be 'bushed'. Sometimes someone can no longer endure the round of parties and dinners which occupy such a central place in the community's social life. It is not easy to refuse the invitations, but it is harder still to make a show of having a good time. The result often enough is a token appearance, a subdued manner, and evident withdrawal from others. Such withdrawal is not readily tolerated. The quiet guest is quizzed, teased, lured by every possible device to fuller participation, fuller sharing in the sociability. Should the troubled guest insist on maintaining his distance, and should he respond to the lures with quiescence and adamance, he is quickly stigmatized as one who is on the verge of breakdown. Other whites become urgently anxious about his condition, moot disaster, suggest that perhaps it is about time for him to "get out of the north". Because he has repudiated the white community he is 'obviously bushed'.

This repudiation of the whites is, of course, often combined with involvement with Eskimos. Northern whites' disinclination to encourage too much fraternization with local people has been well documented¹. More precisely, it is participation in the detail of Eskimo life that has been seen as a threat to the purposes of the white presence in the north. Such an attitude is a likely correlate of white concern with reforming Eskimo customs, and a by-product of that missionary zeal which saw in native eating and living habits a threat to health and a source of amorality if

¹ See for example, Smith, 19 , Vallee 19 , Dunning 19 .

not outright turpitude. It was, after all, the impurity of Eskimo lifestyle which motivated much southern attention, and much concern with the distribution of southern institutions and services. Essentially, the white community was conscious of its distance from the Eskimos; it likely followed that too much interaction with Eskimos by any one of its members threatened that community very profoundly. Of course very few of the permanent resident whites do spend very much time in association with Eskimos, but there are men who work in research of various kinds who have chosen to, or feel that they must, mingle freely with local people. Such men are said to be 'bushed' if they have much contact with the white community; but also tend to be excluded from the start by virtue of their occupations and their less certain place in year round community life.

But there are two contexts in which more conventional community whites are much criticized for their contact with Eskimos. Those are alcohol and sex. Drinking and drunkenness are an important part of northern life. White newcomers are expected to drink; shortage of liquor in a settlement invariably gives rise to much lamentation and a dearth of alcohol discovers among whites their deepest sense of isolation and disadvantage; abundance of alcohol provides the basis for those parties and dinners on which the most important social life within the community is based. Yet there are, as in most societies, quite developed and exacting conventions surrounding drinking and drunkenness. The community maintains perimeters beyond which liquor should not spread. Thus, a man who drinks during week days or who is ever drunk at work, becomes the object of disapproval. And the

drunk who becomes either conspicuously mournful or very aggressive is frowned upon at first, and should his behaviour recur, is eventually dismissed as 'bushed'. But the most important sector of this social perimeter is between whites and Eskimos. The white community strongly discourages inter-racial drinking. So the white who drinks with Eskimo friends, or invites Eskimos to drink with him, is suspect. Should he drink with Eskimos 'indiscriminately', that is with any Eskimo who visits him, rather than with those one or two who are close to a fuller acceptance by the whites as a whole, he is abhorred¹.

Jim arrived in the settlement during the winter. From the first week of his stay there he was under suspicion: he had arrived with a case of hard liquor, and proceeded to drink it in a style which showed scant regard for local white convention. He was drunk some weekday mornings: he shared his liquor with any one who chose to visit him. The longer he stayed, the more flagrant was his apparent disregard for customary perimeters to drinking. In effect, Jim was a spree drinker, and like all spree drinkers he enjoyed the liquor while it was there, savoring conspicuously, abandoning for the sake of a party all other aspects of his life or work. Sometimes he was away from work for two or three days. Gradually the other whites developed a keen dislike for him. He was pointedly not asked to parties. He was treated with a polite disdain by the majority of the white community. But disdain and dislike turned into bitter hostility when it became apparent that Jim had no intention

of curbing his tendency freely to share liquor with all comers, and hence with Eskimos. One white official tried to persuade Jim that he should change his ways, arguing that he was in effect a dangerous influence on the Eskimos with whom he habitually got drunk. When criticized in this way, Jim readily acknowledged his perfidy and swore he would mend his ways. But the next case of liquor to arrive seemed to blur the memory of such assurances, and the attractions of another all-comers' party were not easy to resist: a spree was quickly got under way. As it became evident to all the Jim's ways were not amenable to socially originated reformations, he was isolated more completely. Moves were made to have him transferred to another settlement, though throughout his stay it was said by some that he would be better off out of the north altogether, since he was so conspicuously 'bushed'.

Far beyond the perimeters of acceptable white behaviour are most sexual relationships with Eskimos. A man who discreetly woos a local girl is indulged, while a man who selects the prettiest and most acculturated girl for his wife is encouraged to introduce her into the white community. But anyone who dedicates himself to an Eskimo girl on her terms, who allows that relationship to lead him away from the society of other whites and into the Eskimo world, is said to be 'bushed'. More particularly, any white who prefers to leave his job and to remain in the north with his Eskimo wife or girl-friend without an accepted place in the white community, without an acknowledged role in one or other of the white institutions, is seen as one who is in dire trouble. Such repudiation of the white enclave can easily result in withdrawal of all that enclave's support and

services. One man who did so marry and decide to go and live in the village of his wife, with his wife's family, in the hope of finding there some way of living, entertaining the possibility of becoming a trapper, found that he was not given access to information about aeroplanes. Many whites seemed to take special and malicious pleasure in the difficulties he encountered when trying to arrange his travelling. They also made a point of telling one another that no white agencies would be prepared to give him a job; after all, he was thoroughly 'bushed'.

In the most general terms, quietness and withdrawal of any kind as taken as symptoms of a morbid emotional conscience. In the western Arctic at the height of the fur trade, there were many white trappers who lived far out in the bush, well beyond the reach of 'civilization'. It was these men, living in very real geographical and cultural isolation, who were often said to be 'bushed'. Unmotivated and unconstrained by the demands of social conventionalities, they 'let themselves go', became dirty and profoundly anti-social, became absorbed by their isolation so profoundly as to repudiate society even when they did encounter it. They no doubt did assume a quiet and withdrawn attitude towards the other whites and evolved various idiosyncracies, and no doubt often spurned company despite the solitude of their lives. In the Eastern Arctic today the term is thus an inheritance. No longer applied to solitary white trappers, cut off from both native and white societies, and no longer identified by a physical decline, it has been transferred from the true bush context to a more definitely social context. A white is 'bushed' when he lives in the

settlement but not actively within the white community. In this way that community draws a tight circle round itself. There is a main-stream to the isolated northern settlement, from which the deviant who does not respond to its pressures and conform to its standards is systematically excluded.

It is evident that deviance is explained and discounted by a device which bears a remarkable similarity to devices prevalent in Euro-Canadian society as a whole. In essence it is on the model of psycho-analytic explanations of behaviour, where anti-social or a-social behaviour is seen as an indication of personal disarray. That is to say, anti-social behaviour is explained in terms of para-social or non-social factors. For a simple example, the school child who exhibits aggressive attitudes towards his teachers or his school work can be said to be developing a syndrome the essence of which is the way he has been treated as an infant. In that manner, the burden of explanation is shifted from the actual context of his behaviour to some other sphere, and no part of the explanation concerns the measure in which his teachers and his school work systematically may be eliciting aggression. In the same way, Euro-Canadian society as a whole has tended to see any unconformity as evidence for personality distortion rather than as a product of socially induced stress. At the level of this argument, that attitude tends to discount the opinions of those who oppose or resist the social norm, alleging irrationality which is taken as evidence for emotional disturbance. Similarly, northern whites dismiss nonconformists of many kinds as 'bushed', implicitly attributing nonconformity to rigours of northern life which have become

101

too much for the individual concerned. It hardly needs to be said that this dismissal proceeds by exaggerating those rigours of climate or geography as well as underestimating the tight control which the white community seeks to exert over each of its members, irrespective of what a particular member may himself wish to achieve from his life in the north.

In his study of Baker Lake, Vallee comments on the strong pressures the white community exerts on newcomers. They are expected to conform to an exacting code of behaviour, while failure to conform "toucher off immediate reactions, such as gossip, scolding, ridicule". Valle does not discuss the notion of a person's being 'bushed', but he emphasizes the relationship between demands for conformity and that deviance which is feared essentially because whites feel it will "make them look bad in the eyes of the Eskimo". He links this to the whites' role in socialization, or as "exemplars", vis-à-vis the Eskimos. Having defined "socialization" as the operation of a sanctions system on peoples who are held to be socially inadequate and evolutionarily inferior, he writes:

"We can say that nearly all Kabloona in the Baker Lake region assume the role of socializer vis-à-vis the Eskimos there. With the exception of a few individuals who are not directly involved in Eskimo affairs, every Kabloona encountered feels impelled to change at least some features of Eskimo behaviour and bring them into line with his or her conception of the desirable person..... We refer here to the missionaries, teachers, nurse, N.S.O. (Northern Service Officer, i.e the administrator), and R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police). However, other Kabloona, such as the spouses of these persons, some D.O.T. (Department of Transport), and H.B.C. (Hudson's Bay Company) personnel, also feel impelled to adopt a teaching and protective attitude with the Eskimos, young and old."¹

¹ See Vallee, 19 , pp and .

Vallee's research was carried out between 1959 and 1961. My findings suggest that whites in small northern settlements of today are given homogeneity and solidarity by virtue of sharing much of the same kinds of attitudes towards their role in the settlements as Vallee describes. It is that solidarity and sense of role which in many respects determines their resistance towards any member of the community who appears, on those criteria, to be deviant.

In a small community interaction between the whites is necessarily multifarious. Most simply, they constantly meet one another as they go about daily routines; some means of mutual aid and co-operation remain despite the radical technological elaboration of northern lifestyles. Whenever whites meet each other they tend to stop and talk. In similarly convivial manner, one family or household is usually quick to look to others for aid or provisions. Also, there is much casual visiting. It is indeed surprising, therefore, to find that a large sector of the whites' social life is self-consciously organized. Parties are very important. They reveal the devisiveness of the community as well as expressing its tendency to be a bloc.

New hands to the north are likely to be very surprised by those parties which are explicitly, 'for the whites'. and which deliberately include all the members of the white bloc. Should a particular member be excluded from such a party, it could only be seen as a very considerable slight, and likely an expression of severe collective disapproval. Often these parties are occasioned by visits from senior officials, or by the

departure of a member of the community, or by a seasonal event (Christmas or the end of a school year). In contrast to such collective occasions there are also parties which remain very carefully limited to circles of friends or colleagues. Thus the teachers might have a party, or two families may get together for a dinner. It is this latter kind of festivity which is very much the norm, and which occupies many evenings of each month. Often these restricted parties follow closely on the arrival of liquor in the settlement, and heavy drinking is more a part of their routine than in the case of more inclusive occasions. It need hardly be added that both inclusive and exclusive party-going are almost exclusively limited to whites. Only very occasionally did I see local Eskimos at these events, and then their presence was obviously felt to be exceptional and uneasy by whites and Eskimos alike.

In sociological terms, parties are often the occasion for some relaxation of established convention. Or, if not so much for relaxation of conventions, then they can be seen as occasions for displacement of restraining conventionality by releasing conventionality. Given the dominant role played by alcohol on such occasions, the party is an opportunity for contravention of those inhibiting restraints which order everyday life. Drunken behaviour is itself ordered, of course, but its orderings are often different, and often make clear opportunities for behaviour which in everyday terms (or in sober terms) would be characterized as profoundly uninhibited. A party, or a drunken spree, is thus the escape - though it is as much an escape into as from. It might be expected, therefore,

and raised voices, as if volume would eventually be able to prevail against ordinary barriers to understanding. But the shout is only one of many ways in which people strike out against confusion and personal disarray which so often arrives from being in unknown or unfamiliar situations. Such behaviour does not, however, in the Canadian north, reveal very much about attitudes which whites have towards Eskimos. It is the whites' excruciation, their embarrassment, their much more general unease which do indicate aspects of their attitudes. In those encounters there is a strong desire to please, to be sure that the Eskimo feels liked and respected. This is probably, at least in part, a consequence of whites' anxiety about being liked themselves.

That anxiety receives many expressions: whites often reveal their competitiveness over the Eskimos' affection for them. They repeatedly denigrate a colleague by saying "the Eskimos don't like him you know". And they are anxious to hear from any Eskimo speaker news about who Eskimos have in fact been criticizing among themselves. In some general, almost metaphysical sense, whites have an obsequious attitude to Eskimos; what the Eskimo says and believes about them is a matter of real importance. It is an obsequiousness which obviously enough manifests itself in dealing between a white and an individual Eskimo; but it is a consequence, or attitude towards the Eskimo in general. Response to the individual is moulded by a concern with or anxiety about phenomena which transcend that individual. The individual, like all individuals, is a representative of a class, or a race. But in most familiar social

situations, in the everyday world, recurrence of encounters means that eventually a person's individuality becomes an effective thing, temporarily qualifying the collective to which he is seen to belong. But in the Arctic, in an informal situation the white is faced with an Eskimo out of any familiar context. Such encounters, however, are atypical, and consequent unfamiliarity effectively means that there is no formula for handling the encounter, no procedure which contact can be made to follow, and little contact with particular personalities. It thus happens that an Eskimo is seen qua Eskimo. He is not employee, colleague, or friend; rather, he is simply a representative of the Eskimo people; he is an abstraction. Anxiety and unease are therefore functions of an encounter between a white and an abstract Eskimo.

Such an abstraction is bound up with stereotypes which northern whites have of the Eskimo, his personality and culture. Those stereotypes are worth detailing. They are stereotypes which are not coherent, the elements sometimes being mutually irreconcilable and the exponents embracing now one and now another perception of reconstruction of things Eskimo. But a number of features predominate: fully traditional culture is widely believed to have endured essentially intact, suffering disorganization at the hands of the present institutional situation. It is a society much respected for its effectiveness in adversity, built on toughness, endurance, and an ability finally to go beyond endurance to actual indifference to privation and pain. It was, on that stereotype, self-contained and nomadic, with bands of people drifting across immense

distances, beset recurrently with starvation and disaster. There was an absence of social organization, no leadership and no authority. The people that way of life created are said to have been tough and benign: they smiled and laughed, yet were able to endure and struggle with tenacity. There was, it is widely believed, an indifference to or acceptance of death; it was allegedly a world in which the niceties of human sentiment could never have taken root: with supreme acceptance of necessity, in a mood of undilutable pragmatism, they abandoned the old and killed the young girl children. The weak and incompetent, being burdens on a group already (or always) overloaded by adversity, had to be ruthlessly eliminated. The entirety was simple: the individuals and their collective adaptation had not developed subtlety or complexity. Nor had it developed refinements to sexual practices. Clear and simple-minded, the native was - according to the stereotype - in a state of nature until the whites brought confusing and unmanageable innovations. The 'real Eskimo' is thought to have been brutal, too, able to kill with equanimity and face death without fear. There was an equanimity to his spirit which received emphasis in deep reluctance to discipline children and in a refusal to become angry. But, it is said, such simplicity had its counterpart in naive improvidence: surplus was never saved, and uninhibited consumption or waste was evident in times of plenty. And such improvidence revealed irrationality as well as naivety: stories are told which are supposed to show how Eskimos would not deviate from conventionalized techniques and movements in order to avoid starvation. Such stories aim to reveal the degree to which irrationality was irreducible: it would not even yield before the threat of death.

According to these stereotypes such traits were bred into the very marrow of the people, and are not easily displaced by modernization. They are thus a direct counterpart to a familiar view of our own circumstance: it took us three thousand years to get this far. And the correlate is at least implicit: how can you expect them to make it in ten or even fifty years? It follows that every Eskimo is thought to contain, albeit invisibly, the fine thread at the centre of his being, the essential Eskimeness, a thing which can be dissipated finally by evolution alone. Meanwhile, in the shorter run, for the present millenium or so, there remains somewhere in him the tough, smiling, naive, ultimately irrational soul, which is deeply attracted to roaming the limitless tundra and ice.

These stereotypes and the broader theories of human life by which they are reformed, are developed and maintained even in casual conversation. The whole question of the original or true Eskimo is a main preoccupation among northern whites, revealing in some part their enthusiasm for the place, touching the banal mundanities of their everyday roles with some magic. Many of the features they attribute to Eskimo society and its people figure often in books and articles about Eskimos. But the most important arena, the context in which these stereotypes are given their real life, is the northerners' story swapping. Exchange of stories is a significant part of social life in any community; in the north the exchange of stories about Eskimos is a recurrent and vital feature of whites' being together.

Those stories are usually second or thirdhand, and aim at revealing the exotica of the place; they are redolent with wonder at the bizarre ways of the Eskimo and focus on revelation of the true Eskimo character. They are illustrations. Repeated, retold, reworked, they possess the character of much folklore: each storyteller shapes events and meanings by his own preoccupation. Too young to be true myths (they have not yet achieved stability in form) they nonetheless are mythical; their significance does not lie in whether, or the degree to which, they are objectively true or false. Seen alongside the accounts of traditional Eskimo life, or viewed in the light of recent and complex northern history, they may be judged to be lacking accuracy. But the teller of such stories does not attempt to judge the matter, is not concerned with the possibilities or niceties of objective validity; he has not carefully scrutinized the books and articles. The stores and views expressed by northern whites are the product of a living social context; they are a feature of the context, informing and being informed by it, albeit by process of oblique and indirect causation. The views and judgements of social scientists are at odds with that context; they have a place, and help give life to, a distant and very different social world.

Stereotypes of Eskimo personality and culture are much enriched by the whites' view of the northern land and climate. Indeed, the efficacy of that personality and culture are judged with close regard to the locale. And that locale is a further stereotype, as detailed and as mythic as the whites' conception of the Eskimo.

The north is regarded by most northerners as the margin of the universe; it is at the edge of the possible extension of life, and at times or in places goes even beyond the possibilities of life. It is believed that each degree northward is a degree closer to the margins, or beyond them. Whites are accordingly preoccupied with how far north each place is, and who has been where; there is a special attraction in going farther north, and there is a note of pride in those whites' reminiscences of the farthest points north they have been. They reveal in this a general acceptance of that conception of the world which identifies gradations in climates northwards and southwards, and then accepts their measures (numerical and exact) as measures of harshness (culturally ethnocentric and inexact). Although this is a step beyond the present chapter, it is worth emphasizing here that such a view of northern conditions does not correspond with Eskimo judgements nor with the comparatively hard data on game resources. It is a view which nonetheless receives support from one kind of data: details of temperature and winter darkness both do give measures of northness. It is with such details that whites are very much preoccupied. Officials from settlements in the High Arctic boast to people from settlements in the Central Arctic of the lowest temperatures they have recorded, about the length of winter dark or summer light, and about the late date on which ice breaks and open water begins each year.

In their stories about Eskimos and Eskimo life, however, storytellers emphasize coldness and wildness in its more directly human aspect: the snow, ice, storms, like the darkness and bleakness of the place, make

8 - 3

life scarcely possible. Whites often recall journeys they have made, during which they encountered terrible difficulties; there are of course many stories about people who encounter difficulties and survive them. Such stories build up the impression that the Arctic land has claimed many people, that the wise and civilized man would hardly venture out in such a place, leaving journeys to the brave, or to the natural Eskimo. The land of the far north is therefore regarded as a place scarcely fit for human and plainly unfit for civilized habitation.

As whites tell stories of people and land they draw pictures which they urge on their colleagues in northern work. The pictures are broadly accepted: there is a high degree of consensus over the images and stereotypes which the images display. Since newcomers are not able to discover for themselves any counter-pictures of the north, and since also the prevalent views establish themselves by way of much repetition, such consensus is only to be expected; its basis is most surely established, however, by virtue of the similarities in lifestyle and interest among the white community as a whole. Stereotypes establish the vast distance between whites and Eskimos. They do so by emphasizing the wildness of the land and accordingly the closeness of the people to that land: the harsher the environment, the closer to nature are those who risked inhabiting it. Newcomers to the north are shown the distance between themselves and the Eskimos by being regaled with the mythic expressions of stereotypes. While at the centre of the views of people and land is a mythic creature - the real Eskimo, a strange and wonderful thing, who lives at a vast distance

from the place of the storytellers, in the heart of the land and nature, taking their rhythms and making them his own, a thing of romance and wonder, a thing most certainly different from the closer reality of the settlement and protective home. Out there on the strange northern land remains the image of that real Eskimo; he was there, everywhere, in the past, and lives on in a spectral way in every Eskimo today. That is the romance conjured up by stereotypes, and is the romance which deeply affects whites who are brought into informal contact with Eskimo people.

The shape and intensity of such views cast the very presence of whites in the north into a curious relief. They are there as socializers, as men bent on effecting change or consolidating changes that have already taken place; yet they maintain an attitude of romantic awe towards the place and the people they are changing. That is a contradiction embedded in many, if not most, colonial situations, and has been the subject of some speculative writing in the past. It is a contradiction to which this discussion will shortly return. At this point, however, I wish to suggest one theoretical formulation which might offer some special insight into the overall nature of whites' attitudes towards the Eskimo.

It is of course not possible to discuss white attitudes towards Eskimos or towards the strange land they find themselves in, without reference to their attitudes towards themselves and their own "place". Comment and response made by any traveller, any person who has in some way distanced himself from his home and familiar milieu, is formed by virtue of contrasts: the things noticed are striking or significant because they

are different from or even in opposition to things they have, in the past, taken for granted. In the colonial situation that is especially striking, for anyone with a definite role within a colonial endeavour finds differences which are obstacles, and to some extent sees the entire new environment (human and material) in terms of its plasticity, in regard to how and within what limits it is amenable to being reshaped. Those colonial endeavours which have occurred in remote regions, among non-literate and technologically uncomplex peoples, have special features. To some extent most encounters with foreign peoples elicit a tendency to disregard the humanity of the strangers; since they evidently do not subscribe to conventions and codes of conduct which are held to be almost identifying features of society, the stranger is often seen as being without society, as being savage and wild. That sense of the wildness of a colonized people inevitably has dominated attitudes of many colonizers towards the colonized. It is especially the case when the colonizers come from urbanized, technological societies, and the colonized are non-literate and nomadic.

The white presence in the north falls into that category of colonialism. Representatives of the most advanced societies went as agents of social and moral change among peoples who, according to the stereotypes of the colonizers, lived at the very edges of possible human life. That edge is, as we have seen, geographical and technological: life there is just possible. Further, Eskimos live on raw food, with a great simplicity, highly mobile. They are thus seen as one embodiment of nature. They

are blurred with the land, and the land is blurred with them; they are beyond the pale of "culture" (which is what the colonizers bring with them and seek to instil in the colonized).

The opposition between culture and nature has enjoyed much elaboration in anthropological theory. In such discussion it has rightly been pointed out that the distinction is at the heart of all theory about society, from Rosseau's abstract State of Nature, to the theoretical foundations of 19th century social philosophy. In the work of modern anthropologists, most importantly of course in the work of Lévi Strauss, the distinction or opposition between nature and culture has figured as a way of schematically designating an important feature of the structure of some peoples' intellectual life. It is, on those theories, a feature concealed by the opacity of detail, hidden behind surface elements of actual myths. Scrutiny of myths, in the light of other related myths as well as of the details of culture in which they are found, is said to reveal the structural oppositions embedded there. The use of such analysis focusses on the mind of the people in question, and most ambitiously on the nature of all peoples' mind¹. It is evident that striking analogies exist between the formulations of that part of structuralist theory and the way in which whites in the north in particular colonialists in general regard themselves and the colonized. The structuralism of Lévi Strausee, at least in the use of the culture:nature opposition, may well help throw a new and valuable light on the data at hand.

¹ See opening sentences to The Raw and the Cooked for the statements of the most ambitious aims of Lévi Strauss's work.

6-12

The argument could be stated very simply: the colonist regards his own society (or societies very much like it) as synonymous with culture, and regards the colonized people as part of nature. The colonizer sees the progress of humanity in terms of cultures successful vanquishing nature; inside culture a man has protection against nature - it is to that end therefore which much of his technology and knowledge is directed. The colonized is seen as someone who is barely able to protect himself against nature (hence the emphasis which colonizers place on the colonized's need for "the benefits of civilization", and insofar as he can protect himself it is because he is part of nature. Many colonials are nevertheless conscious of and enthusiastic about technological and other achievements of the colonized. But those achievements are not generally regarded as sufficient in themselves nor as qualifications for being in no need of culture. Also, whites of the contemporary north, like many colonials, are enthusiastic about the land: it is something wonderful, something they are proud to be associated with. It is not the case, therefore, that colonials denigrate the colonized in virtue of the latter's being regarded as close to a part of nature. But this theoretical question should be delayed by a closer look at the northern whites' attitudes to Eskimos.

The most coherent, if only because the most explicit, expression of that attitude is to be found in the way whites talk among themselves about particular Eskimo people, when it is evident that most whites have definite negative feelings about most Eskimos. In the majority of instances, when whites do discuss one person, they find fault and seem predisposed to

discern weakness. A man is said to be incompetent at work, to be good at neither settlement activities nor at hunting, to be untrustworthy, or stupid. Whites tend to pronounce judgements on areas of competence about which they can have at best a most limited knowledge, and usually are in ignorance of altogether. Thus they discuss a man's effectiveness as a hunter, as a traveller, as a father of a family; or a woman's way of dealing with children, or her sex life. These provide bases for criticism and complaint against individuals with whom the critics have no on-going contact, and in many cases with whom they can never talk. Furthermore, the range of criticism is so wide as to put the Eskimo in a series of double binds: a young man who is uneasy in a settlement, unwilling or inexpert at settlement job possibilities, tends to be characterized as "stupid", yet if he opts for life on the land and tries to make a go of hunting and trapping he tends to be ridiculed for trying to be the 'real Eskimo' he is not, or for attempting to make a go of an activity which is economically without real possibilities. Much of the same kind of bind is apparent vis-à-vis Eskimo young women: if they are expansive and friendly, sociable and eager to live the settlement life, they are often regarded by the whites as "loose"; but if they are shy and withdrawn, avoiding contact with whites, and staying at home in what is seen as a strictly domestic role, they are likely to be regarded as "nice, but stupid". Younger men who do speak English, and are enthusiastic participants in things modern, like to dress in the latest styles, like to know about and listen to pop music, wish to introduce more such things to the people of the settlement, are often described by whites as "the delinquent

8-14

element". Teenagers who do not participate in things modern, who are retiring and inclined to spend most of their time at home, are said to be "stupid". In the case of teenage girls, as in that of younger married women, there is also a sexual dimension to whites' attitudes: the "modern" girls are 'promiscuous', while the shy girls are 'dumb'. Older men who stay in the settlement, who do not like to go out hunting too often, who are happy to live off their families (often because they are short of the cash which is necessary for a hunting trip) also tend to be seen as silly.

Behind virtually all the negative attitudes towards particular Eskimo lurks the spectre of the "real" Eskimo. Whites seem to judge any given person against that mythic standard and feel dismayed each time the standard is not attained. No one who lives in the settlement most of the time, and who is dependent on a regular and comparatively substantial flow of cash, can attain the idealized realness of Eskimeness. The feet of every Eskimos are heavy with the clay of settlement social life and quite ordinary economic activities. And so long as failure to be "real" in that sense, on those exacting standards, continues to be the essential source of hostile and critical attitudes, the vast majority of Eskimos will inevitably remain objects of whites' hostility and criticism. The series of attitudes and kinds of criticism most often voiced against the "failures" can be indicated schematically. The schema indicates three possible adaptations to modern settlement conditions throughout the Canadian north, and briefly indicates the nature of attitudes each

8-75

adaptation tends to elicit from settlement whites towards six obvious categories of local people.

Prevalent attitudes are thus obviously negative; most whites express various degrees of hostility when they talk to other whites about particular local people. Yet most northern whites also express a general affection for Eskimos, emphasizing the distinctive excellence they have found in Eskimo culture and personality. There is, therefore, a striking contradiction between white attitudes towards Eskimeness in general and towards Eskimos in particular: all Eskimos are wonderful in virtue of being touched with the magic of real Eskimeness, while any given Eskimo is likely to be criticized for stupidity, incompetence, or delinquency. The source of the contradiction is obvious enough: odd Eskimos are failing to live up to standards of excellence implicit in the whites' ideas of the 'real Eskimo'. A majority, perhaps the vast majority, are therefore in some degree deviants - they deviate from the paths of essential Eskimeness. In the simplest terms, they fail to live up to part of the accepted stereotype. The northern whites of today like and respect what they regard as the real Eskimo, and are accordingly disrespectful towards the real, living, modern Eskimo they encounter every day.

Not all whites express hostile attitudes towards every Eskimo they know. But, as has already been pointed out, the Eskimo who receives greatest praise is the older man who in some way is still thought to embody traditional modes and disposition. A missionary once lamented to me the passing of all things good about the far north, remarking in the course of his

7-10

that parties given by these northern whites be characterized by deviation from the conventionalities of everyday settlement life. For example, it might be expected that parties would allow some greater conviviality between whites and Eskimos, would effect some reversal in the everyday white dominance. Instead, parties are the clearest and most forceful affirmation of southern ways. At parties the whites are on show to one another, and accordingly are anxious to affirm their 'good qualities'. Those qualities include willingness to 'have a good time', exchange jokes, make amusing conversation; but, more significantly, they also include ability to drink a lot without becoming too drunk, be drunk without becoming anti-social (i.e. violent, mournful, or aggressively sexual); and for a host or hostess they include providing an abundance of that style which impresses. It follows that Eskimos have no place at such functions.

Parties are thus heavily middle-class in style. If they are centred on a dinner, the dinner will usually be elaborate, and somewhat formal. The table is laid 'tastefully'; there may even be candles and a French wine. The food is good and the cooking relatively subtle; it is not unusual to begin with an aperitif and end with cheese, coffee, and brandy. Shortages in one element or another often make the meal incomplete by the standards of middle-class haute-cuisine, but such gaps in the ritual are not overlooked, and possible social failure is obviated by dropping a comment on the rigours of northern life which reveal to guests that the host is 'failing' because of circumstances rather than ignorance. If the party is centred on drinking, it is a restrained and ordered drunkenness which

the participants usually try to exhibit. In one settlement it was customary for the whites to dance as they drank, but even when the dancers were in advanced states of drunkenness, they scrupulously refrained from either sexual or physical aggression. Emphasis was always on that order which is typical of middle-class southern lifestyles. Since these communities have such a low tolerance for deviance, that order is exacting indeed. A Hudson's Bay Company employee once remarked that he found the restraining and inhibiting atmosphere unendurable during parties where people were drinking and dancing, He in fact developed a habit of becoming inert when drunk.

In general, whites are anxious to give an impression of solid middle-classness. This is an easier task for some than others, and introduces to much casual social life a special tension. The community is beset with gossip, and everyone knows that conversations among any given group of whites are usually taken up with criticism of other whites. Gossip and criticism being so widespread, attempts at maintaining or creating appearances are anxious and often founder through overstatement. The nature of the social situation this militates against much general social ease. It is therefore not surprising that the white community tends to be divided into a number of cliques. Nor is it surprising that members of those cliques tend to be joined in much the same way on much the same kind of bases, as people elsewhere in Canadian society. Educational levels, class origins, and ethnicity thus play very important parts in the formation of cliques within the white sub-community. And there is much

104

evidence for thinking that class position (or aspirations) of a white more surely determines who his friends are than any other factor. This evidence includes the fact that traders and police (who are usually from lower-middle or working class backgrounds) have less status within the white community than other agency employees. Adequate friendliness may exist between the two, and between other groups, but the policeman is usually not invited to those dinners and parties which are given by the more certainly middle-class whites in the community. It must be said that such generalizations are uncertain when applied to so small a population. It is perhaps all the more surprising that they do have a basis in the realities of settlement life, and that I found surprisingly few counter-instances.

More evidence for the discriminatory attitudes of whites can be discovered in their reactions to transients who pass through the settlements. Inevitably there are numerous officials who come from regional headquarters to visit either the agencies or the Eskimos for whom they bear administrative responsibility. Often officials come in groups, and they usually stay in a settlement for remarkably short periods. A plane arrives bringing a cluster of important people, meetings with Council or Settlement are arranged, issues are discussed, and the plane leaves again. Often these are day trips; rarely do they last much longer than over one night. Yet they are attended by much minor ceremony. In order to understand the nature of such visits, it must be remembered that in virtually all the small settlements communications are entirely under the control of whites. That is to say, information about aircraft, like the air-

craft themselves, are essentially within the province of the white community. Also, accommodation tends to be arranged by whites. Thus it is that the officials' plane arrives, is met by members of the white community, and the officials then are escorted to one or another of the white enclaves within the settlement - the home of some local agent - or to transient quarters. Then the officials are entertained, given food, perhaps a somewhat formal dinner party, and escorted to whatever encounters they are expecting to have with the local Eskimo people. Should they be staying overnight, it is likely that one of those parties for all the whites in the settlement will be arranged.

The more important the official party, the more elaborate is the response of the white enclave. When the Commissioner of the N.W.T. makes one of his official visits, for example, the white community feels collectively obliged to entertain him and his entourage. Less senior visitors find a less royal and less collective reception, but the tendency remains for the white community to affirm its solidarity to institutional visitors. So strong is this tendency that it persists even where it clearly interferes with the manifest purpose of officials visiting, where it clearly inhibits and limits the possibility of officials' contact with the Eskimos.

It is of course perfectly normal for lower personnel in hierarchical institutions to show much enthusiastic hospitality to their superiors. Equally, it is not surprising to find junior personnel in one agency showing a respectful enthusiasm about visits by relatively senior personnel

in other agencies. In a sense all the personnel in all the agencies are colleagues, and are thus likely to welcome one another with generosity. More elaborate shows of generosity are, by the same token, signs of a quite normal desire to impress senior officials as favourably as possible. These features of social life in the white community do no more than exhibit conventionalities which are found in the south. It might nonetheless be argued that such conventions are misplaced in the northern settlements, if only because their consequences include a widening of the gulf between white agents and Eskimos, and therefore impede the proper achievement of many stated purposes of those agencies.

To this last argument, it could well be replied that the white community, so small and so isolated from many of the sources of mainstream satisfactions, is naturally enough likely to open its doors to any white visitors. And there is some touch of truth to that reply: many whites are extremely hospitable, and inclined to welcome any visitors to the settlement, while the north does have a reputation of openness towards newcomers. Central to the discussion of this chapter, however, are two respects in which their reputation is not quite deserved. There are revealing limits to hospitality: two groups of visitors do not find a ready welcome, and are rather the objects of suspicion, unfriendliness, and come easily to be objects of quite startlingly bitter resentment.

French-Canadian construction workers constitute the first such group. Obviously it is to be expected that prejudices as well as social conventions of southern society as a whole should find full expression in

the white communities of the Arctic. Those problems which divide and bedevil the large society are not likely to be submerged or dissolved by the abnormalities of small settlement life. Rather, they tend to appear there in stark relief.

Construction workers arrive in many settlements towards the early summer. In the Eastern Arctic many of these teams were primarily composed of French-Canadians, and ranged in numbers from one or two specialists to teams of ten. During two summers I was able to observe the reception accorded to these workmen, and was indeed unable to avoid hearing our the indignant complaints against them expressed by resident whites. In most settlements such seasonal workers live in a transient centre, where they provide for themselves as best they can. Usually they bring with them the bulk of foodstuffs they are going to need during their stay, and are anxious to maintain a liquor supply from the south. In these respects they are like all other whites who work for regular agencies. Unlike those more permanent whites, however, migrant workers do not exclude Eskimos from their quarters. Rather, they show a marked readiness to entertain local visitors from the community. Given that the supplies the workmen bring are many and, by northern standards exotic, visitors tend to be enthusiastic. Also the men are often quite young, vigorous, and socially extroverted: visiting them is good fun.

Communication between these workers and Eskimo people is often the object of the most fierce criticism by agency whites. It follows from the earlier discussion of attitudes to deviants that the construction workers are, in

local mainstream terms, profoundly deviant. They do not seek to maintain that face and propriety in front of Eskimos; rather, their life is made more joyous and interesting precisely because they abandon those proprieties (or never in the first place were concerned with them). So the permanent whites are angered by the nature of the contact that quickly grows up between workmen and local people, describing it in terms of their own schema of deviance: they become exaggeratedly convinced that the workers are feeding liquor to all and every Eskimo who visits them, and that the one purpose of this is to weaken the will of the girls who will sleep with their hosts in drunken amorality. Although there are grains of truth in these allegations - it is not to be denied that such parties are indeed often drunken while liaisons do spring up between workers and local girls - the nature of permanent whites' indignation reveals more about their attitudes than about the realities of the transient workers' modus vivendi. Any sign of the party spirit is seen as abandonment; sexual relationship between worker and Eskimo girl are seen as the fruition of cynical treachery, resulting in corruption of the girl (by sex with such a man) and of the community (by the offspring from such a union).

Not all construction workers become involved with local people. Some are unable to overcome language difficulties, others have no interest in liaisons of any kind with Eskimos. Moreover, in the smaller settlements, it sometimes happens that a worker is alone or with one colleague, and is therefore in no good position for maintaining a round of parties. Yet even in those cases it seems that white residents tend to exclude such visitors

from their social lives. More accurately, they remain aloof: construction workers are not merely looked at askance for their dealings with Eskimos, but they are more generally looked down on. They are rarely invited to participate in the social events of the white community, and little interest is shown in who they might be and where they might come from. This is obviously in strong contrast to attitudes exhibited towards more official visitors to the settlements. It is as if the French-Canadian workmen were not quite white. Yet this attitude evokes most clearly the outlines of class consciousness. Certainly that sense of superiority, combined with anxious nervousness, which is the very essence of the attitude towards construction workers, is strongly evocative of mainstream Canadian attitudes towards the French-Canadian working class.

An interpretation of these attitudes in terms of class consciousness and class antipathy is given some reinforcement by another feature of the white sub-communities internal qualities. Although it is a community which exhibits considerable solidarity, there is at least one element of stratification. This is discoverable in the nature of the small cliques into which the community tends to be fragmented. Although these cliques are often bonded by consideration of common interests, (e.g. the teachers), or by ethnicity (e.g. the English), there is a significant division between the cliques of middle-class persons and those which are predominantly lower-middle or working class. It need hardly be said that the majority of whites who work in agencies active in these remote settlements are of strong middle-class origins or occupy positions which are essentially middle-class in nature. It is evident, also, from the

discussion this far that this middle-class dimension to social life and social relations is reinforced by the sense of integrity vis-à-vis the Eskimos as well as by the sense of position vis-à-vis important (more senior) outsiders. It also receives a special reinforcement by virtue of association with the Government and its policies, which many of the agents see themselves as actively engaged in implementing. Yet the Hudson's Bay Company employees and the R.C.M.P. personnel tend to be less clearly middle-class, both in origin and lifestyle. Both the H.B.C. and the R.C.M.P. have established traditions of ruggedness in their northern service, and have not fostered much concern with the comforts of life. Both have recruited their employees from working class sections of southern society, and there is a cult among even the personnel in today's more comfortable settlements of toughness and simplicity in material demands. It is no coincidence that, in this regard, both H.B.C. and R.C.M.P. employees were not given northern positions if they were married, and have always been strongly discouraged from getting married in their northern posts. Indeed, a Hudson's Bay Company clerk was dismissed from his position for marrying a girl in 1971, even though he was successful and enthusiastic about his job and did not intend to move the girl into the Company's staff quarters. Those Government personnel who tend to dominate settlement life regard employees of less middle-class agencies with some disdain. There is a very real social gulf between them, a gulf which seems to be based quite simply on difference in class position. It is evident that H.B.C. and R.C.M.P. personnel tend to enjoy a lesser status for reasons of social class: their positions (in southern terms, shop assistants and

policeman) are socially inferior to those of teacher, administrator, missionary, and nurse. In understanding the configuration of social cliques within the white community, the class factor is thus most important.

This picture of white social styles and self valuation would not be complete without some account of how a visiting social scientist is received into the established community. Obviously that is an area not easy to generalize about, but want of generality may perhaps be compensated for by intensity and fullness of experience. Most social scientists who have worked in the Canadian north in recent years exchange notes about the problems they encountered during field trips. It is not surprising that a social scientist should be greeted with some apprehension. They are, most particularly in the case of social anthropologists, inclined to stay comparatively long periods in one community, and in the second place intend to discover details of social life there which are not apparent to the settlement whites themselves. More generally, the arriving social scientist has no clear relationship to any of the established institutions, and therefore cannot be expected to take any predictable position in the social life of the community. His location in the informal hierarchy is uncertain as his dependence upon the established agencies.

Two difficulties thus arise virtually automatically. Firstly, resident whites become anxious about which circle of friends and colleagues (which clique) is going to adopt this newcomer into its group. And if the settlement is so small as to have individuals rather than groups, then anxiety can quickly arise about whether the newcomer is going to be integratable at all into the white community as a whole. Secondly, and

1-24

much more importantly, resident whites know that social scientists regard full and easy relations with Eskimos as a sine qua non of their work. They are therefore expected to pay scant attention to prevailing conventions about the limits of inter-ethnic contact. Often this anxiety is inflamed by social scientists' competence in the Eskimo language. Obviously disregard for the agreed frontiers between whites and Eskimos is a direct outcome of anthropological field methods, but it also indicates a disregard for the protocol which whites tend to identify with their role as socializers of the Eskimos. The social scientist threatens to upset a number of local applecarts. If the gulf between Eskimos and whites is felt to be a vital and necessary condition for effective realization of white purposes in the settlements, then a social scientist can quickly come to be seen as an enemy of those purposes, and an enemy of those persons who see their job in terms of putting those purposes into practice.

In these respects he is like the man who is 'bushed' or the migrant worker who disregards middle-class proprieties in dealings with local people. But the social scientist cannot so easily be dismissed. He has at least two stamps of approval. In the first place he is, by occupation, a bona fide middle-class person, and commands some respect and status on that score alone. In the second place he is part of a vague institution which does gain respect in mainstream southern society; he is someone of high educational achievement and is obviously in some measure invulnerable to that local social disapproval which is the principal weapon in northern social control. Moreover, whites are

conscious of the social scientist spending his time uncovering information to which northern whites usually have little or no access. That is worsened by the confidentiality of that information, which can only act as an irritant to whites who are in any case made nervous by the role and doings of an investigator in their midst.

It is inevitable, therefore, that investigators should encounter ambivalence: there is hospitality and some friendliness from the middle-class whites, but these are easily and usually very quickly replaced by suspiciousness and outright hostility. With slight mismanagement of so complex and problematic a relationship, the social scientist can all too easily inflame local officials against himself, and can find he is ostracized by the white community as a whole. He can also find that particular white officials express their suspiciousness and hostility by seeking to obstruct the investigator in his work. The mismanagement of the relationship typically takes the form of incomplete participation in the social life of the white community. I have already said that all the whites in the settlement are expected to play their part in the round of parties, and in the course of these events to demonstrate their fundamental solidarity with others. It is scarcely possible for any one whose highest priorities include easy solidarity with the local Eskimos to fulfil those expectations.

Whites often criticize one another by saying that "X just can't get on with the Eskimos" or "the Eskimos don't like X at all". There is in the minds of many whites an invisible hierarchy, on which they arrange one another. Place on this hierarchy is determined by whether or not Eskimos like the whites. Since contact between whites and Eskimos is either problematic or absent, the basis for the judgement is uncertain. Quite simply, the whites do not know who the Eskimos do and do not like. The social scientist may therefore represent a very special and specific threat: It just might be the case that he is discovering who the Eskimos do and do not like. Anxious on this score, whites press investigators they get to know about how they and others are judged by the local population. Social scientists are of course discovered in confidential conversations with the local people. But refusal to disclose information is threatening and disturbing to the local whites.

Conflict within the white community is obviously a recurrent feature of settlement life. Everything in this chapter points to the conclusion that conflict is likely and not easily resolved. Low tolerance for deviance from exacting social demands inevitably gives rise to difficult and uncertain relationships. The tiny communities are composed of people who do not necessarily have much in common. Indeed, there is a likelihood - given the variety of agencies for which they work - that even where they do have class position in common they will still tend to feel in competition. Given also that a principal concern of that community is its appearances, strains are many. These strains are further compounded

by internal criticism. Some whites are not at ease with their role vis-à-vis the community, and tend to criticize others for mismanaging their roles, or even for accepting them at all¹.

It is the main argument here that factors of social class and the class consciousness are important guidelines to understanding the social formation of the white community. But it is not to be forgotten that small communities of this kind are inevitably vulnerable to a range of social difficulties which go beyond those arising from the class factor. Perhaps the point can best be made by suggesting that relevance of class factor will increase directly in relation to the number of personnel in any settlement. That is to say, the smaller settlements will have difficulties which arise from smallness and from idiosyncracies of individual members of the community, whereas larger settlements will form cliques and develop internal problems more directly arising from the class consciousness of the various personnel. Yet the general thesis can still stand: the whites of the far north are class conscious to a remarkable degree, and the nature of their social life is informed by that consciousness. It is discoverable in the minutae of their social life. It remains to subsequent discussion to see how the most orthodox middle-class consciousness informs those attitudes which whites have developed towards contemporary Eskimos and how they in turn mould relationships between Eskimos and whites.

¹ This factor is assuming increased significance; northern whites are no more impervious to criticism of inter-racial and colonial situations than to any other aspect of life in the larger society wherein they have their intellectual and social roots. Self-consciousness and doubt, and ambivalence about the kind of role they have are all likely to foment mutually critical attitudes. See P. below for more precise indication of the forms such doubts and critiques often assume.

Chapter 8 - White Attitudes to the Eskimo

Contact between whites and Eskimos is extremely limited. All the information this far points to that limitation; there is evidently scant basis for everyday sociability, while culture and class differences are compounded by a serious language problem. Circumscribed by the paraphernalia of material ease and social influence, the white community tends to be self-contained and remote from the lives of the real northerners. Beyond the material and political dimensions of the wall around them, there are a number of intriguing and initially perplexing attitudes which settlement whites express towards Eskimo people. A review of those attitudes points towards a discussion of the northern situation in its most general terms. This chapter, then, will proceed from small scale quite straightforward factual matters to much more abstract and theoretical issues, from a sketch of actual details of behaviour to theoretical questions of colonialism and class.

On those rare occasions when whites and Eskimos in the settlements do interact socially or casually, on occasions which are not formalized and ordered by conventions arising from work situations, most whites are exasperated. They do not know how to talk or what manner to adopt; they become confused over the kinds of signals they put out; they suffer from painful embarrassment. They exaggerate their gestures and raise their voices, showing with every ounce of their social being an acute and pervasive unease. Language problems are well known to lead to agitation

lament: "There aren't any Eskimos left around here any more". But that missionary spoke warmly of the older men in the community whom he had known when he had first come to the north ten years before. It is not to be denied that whites are frequently patronizing and laboriously over-friendly when they have occasion to speak with older people. But that particular sign of unease has a counterpart in positive attitudes which are expressed in private. Also, in their dealings with older men and women northern whites are able to maintain only the feeblest contacts. Older people have the most difficulty understanding the broken Eskimo used by those whites most fluent in the language, and simplify their vocabulary and grammar so much as to make real communication quite impossible. Both whites and Eskimos litter such conversations as they have with enthusiastic repetitions of 'Yes'. as if by affirming in the abstract they would magically transform their communication into something real. Between such old people and the whites who claim to admire them there can therefore exist no more than the feeblest contact. This lack of contact makes possible whatever projection the participants incline towards. That is, whites can for their part attribute to an old Eskimo a persona which derives its main features from an idealization or preconception, without fear of discovering contradictions in immediate fact. Old men are provided with whatever qualities, dispositions, ideals, the whites feel old men should have. Whatever the truth of the matter, the white continues to believe in the old man as a living embodiment of the "real" Eskimo who is, at a mythical level, so essential to white enthusiasm about the north. Moreover, given the significance of this mythic Eskimo the whites are unlikely to see too

assiduously for the actual views or aspirations of older men and women. Such limitations to contact as exist are therefore useful: they secure the white against possible disruptions of his ideas and ideals. The old man is said to know the land, its ways, and to feel nostalgia for those ways. Those ways are the ways of a primitive hunter, mobile, with distinctiv vision, with peculiar excellence; the ways of a man beyond, or before, or above civilization and culture. A man steeped in those ways is thought to be interested only in his own technologies, and to accept the canons of only his own wisdom. He is a man without a place in the world the whites are making in the north. It will become evident enough that real contact would disrupt such views: it should be in any case evident that such views are potentially dangerous.

Attribution of a mythical persona to older people is not the only important exception to the preponderantly negative attitudes whites express about Eskimos. There are individuals who slip through the nets laid by stereotyping, providing exceptions to the generalities applicble to one or another category. The exceptional individuals are usually men or women who have played a part in an institution, a part which is judged to be successful and competent. In short, they tend to be the "good workers". In the church for example people of any age who are devout in expressions of belief and reliable in attendance at ceremonies receive approval from missionaries. Although devotion and regularity must be considerable, overcoming with their fullness an increasing tendency among missionaries to be suspicious of "modern" attitudes, there are people who become special favourites with the missionaries. In the same way a young man working in

a government office, as assistant or clerk to the Settlement Manager, may by virtue of willing enthusiasm and a readiness to learn become well liked and genuinely respected by local government personnel. Or a teacher may come to like a classroom assistant; or a Hudson's Bay Store Manager may develop a real respect and liking for a local store employee. By comparison with disaffection for and impatience with Eskimo employees in the particular institutions, however, such benevolent attitudes are infrequent; it is more usual to hear tell of incompetence, slowness, or - lightly touched by the shade of a redeeming feature - inability to work well simply as a result of "being too much of an Eskimo".

Obviously it is the case that each institution sets its own standards and judges employees according to their competence at specific and specialized tasks. It is duly difficult to offer any well-based generalizations about the nature of approval, other than to indicate its restricted quality. But there are a number of values on the basis of which (or on the evidence for which) competence at specific tasks is approved. They are, of course, time honoured values: punctuality, compliance with work disciplines, quickness of comprehension, dependability. Most broadly - indeed, almost trivially - an Eskimo employee is judged to be good insofar as he cooperates with the purposes of the whites and expresses in his work or in the relevant part of his lifestyle southern white ideas of "goodness". Trivial as that observation may be, it points to a perplexing feature of the contradiction already noted between idealization of the real Eskimo (as an abstraction) and the denigration of real Eskimos (as

individuals). Insofar as the ideal Eskimo is embodied in mythic projections of older men, the purpose or ideas of goodness expressed in institutional occupations aim at a person radically different from, and in many respects directly opposed to, the traditional ideal. Frank Vallee has pointed this out in relation to the missionary, noting the irony of a missionary's lamenting the passing of tradition while having as his rationale for being among the Eskimos a commitment to effect changes to tradition. That irony is to be noted in the vast majority of northern whites' attitudes¹.

The issue can be illustrated by a series of events which involved an Anglican missionary in a High Arctic settlement during the spring and summer of 1971. It is worth remarking that this missionary was the man whose lament was quoted in this chapter: - "there aren't any Eskimos left around here any more". He was, therefore, a man deeply involved with the romance of the north, an involvement which over a number of years had made him profoundly unhappy about the course taken by events among the people he knew best. He was hostile to the role of education, perceiving it as a force unqualifiably destructive of that lifestyle most desired and needed by the Eskimo, and inclined also to be hostile to local government officials. The missionary was therefore somewhat isolated from other whites. He was also troubled by possible trends in the future towards the modern phenomena of irreligiousness and deviance which were, on that man's view, causally connected and endemic in the world at large. Evangelistic by style and belief, that missionary devoted every energy to reviving

¹ See Vallee, 19 , p .

faith among the people of his settlement, preaching in the fire and brimstone tradition, arranging additional services, and organizing a special mission by two itinerant evangelists. Over a period of several months a spirit of fearsome religiosity was inculcated. Many people, young and old, became deeply concerned about those dangerous consequences of sin, about hell and Satan, with which the missionary remorselessly and repeatedly abjured them. It became customary for Eskimos to attend church services or religious meetings four or even five times each week; devotion turned into a troubled passion. There can be no doubt that this resurgence of religious feeling and practice was the outcome of massive effort by the one missionary; the second (Roman Catholic) missionary in the settlement certainly felt that was so, and cryptically offered a view of the work - he is "not so much a Christian as a Protestant". Other whites who had lived for some years in the communit- expressed their surprise and some alarm at the success of the Anglican missionary's revivalist endeavour.

The success of that endeavour became eventually most conspicuous among younger people. Groups of them began to organize their own religious meetings; there were Bible readings and much open struggling for comprehension of his messages; a number of men working on an extension of the settlement airstrip, sited above the houses, broke off from work each night in order to make direct contact with God; one young man, accompanied by other young people, tested the power of his faith and their prayer by attempting to walk on water. The intensity of young peoples' response

to the revived message from the church alarmed many older people; but more than the intensity, the measure of younger peoples' independence in their expressions of belief was a source of troubled concern. The young received one important message from the Low Church, duly seeking their own contact with God and thus tending to dispense with the mediation of church and missionary in at least some of their religious activities. The old were accustomed to think of the institution and its white personnel as necessary attributes to religious expression; not so the young. Eventually a number of older men confronted the missionary, and complained about the way in which the young were so flagrantly disregarding the well-established conventions of Christianity - at least as they had been led to understand them.

These anxious representations by older men placed the missionary in a quandary. On the one hand those men were exactly the element in the community who had the strongest appeal to him: traditionalists, yet Christian, they reconciled the irony and contradiction of the missionary role. But as an evangelical missionary, there was a new concern with the outcomes of evangelism; the missionary was sure that young peoples' new zeal was a sign of his success. Indeed he spoke of it as something beyond his own success, characterizing it to me as "a movement of God's Spirit" by which the young are "driven to praise God themselves". That "movement", however, called into question prior attachment to the older people and placed at risk some part of their attachment to the Church. The missionary explained the older people's opposition by reference to an

conservatism ("what is ingrained in the minds of the older people is that you've got to go in that church, got to have the English Prayer Book before you, before you can meet God. And that drives me up the wall".), and to a remaining memory of some religious killings in the past. Thus: "they feel that the young people are being converted and saved and filled with great joy, and they seem to think - some of them - that his is a bad sign. Now some of them had some bad memories of something that happened away back in 1946 or so, or '43, when something went wrong." And he dealt with his quandary by assuring the old that all was well, and by urging moderation on the young: "there is a bit of a reaction, not a fear, and a misunderstanding. But I have not squashed it (the new movement) at all. There are one of two things I have asked them to done down on, but I certainly haven't squashed it by any means because I believe this is a healthy sign. . . Simply to avoid a split which was imminent, I have told them to calm down some of the things which they were doing. But by all means I think it's great".

It must be emphasized that behind his new satisfaction with the young lurked the missionary's less favourable view of modern settlement life, most specifically in relation to the ways of the young. Salvation, therefore, was from the delinquency and deviance which he believed to be the most imminent dangers; he had already discerned those dangers in the shape of some individuals in the settlement and in the new mores of many - perhaps even a majority - of people in other settlements. Salvation, more precisely, consisted in a self-conscious and full

repudiation of things "modern" (on the world stage) in exchange for things religious. The secular aspects of such an exchange are customary enough: abstinence from "illicit" sex, alcohol, even from cigarettes and a proper politeness in dealing with others. To this missionary the exchange in its secular dimension represented a shift towards some traditional (perhaps mythical) Eskimo trait, specifically towards non-violence in interpersonal relations, respectfulness, and opposition to much southernization.

Salvation could thus be seen as a return to the best of the 'real Eskimo'; missionaries are themselves rather strikingly able to reconcile the "real" Eskimo with the Christian Eskimo. So long as there is an apparent revival of those particular characteristics, it is possible for the missionary to feel positively about even a sizable group of the population. Were such a revival to incorporate the majority, or even all of a community, the missionary could feel the enthusiastic goodwill which on a wider scale is more normally limited to dealing with older people or occasional individuals.

To some considerable extent the same kind of change in attitudes is at the heart of other whites who come to feel a full goodwill to particular Eskimos. The characteristics which inspire such goodwill are in part commensurate with features of the stereotype they maintain in myth-like representations of the Eskimo, and in part represent salvation from those things whites seem to regard as the most perfidious features of modernity. It has been argued that many whites are inclined to feel negative towards their role insofar as they hold the view that their role is part of a

modernization which "Eskimos cannot handle". The reference of that expression is in fact to what are often held to be consequences of Eskimo maladaptation to modern phenomena - consequences which include drunkenness, domestic violence, irresponsible spending, and malaise. The few Eskimos who can "handle" modern ways are said to do so by virtue of either an insistent traditionalism (e.g. older men) or by co-operative participation touched by a quiet and outwardly cheerful disposition (i.e. overlap with traditional virtues on the part of occasional individuals).

The same issues can usefully be approached from the other direction, by way of describing in more precise detail the kind of dislikes northern whites so often express towards particular Eskimo peoples. Probably the clearest feature of those expressions of dislike consists in their intensity: it is not at all unusual to hear a settlement white criticizing in startlingly fierce terms characteristics of a local Eskimo. It should be noted that ferocity may sometimes be an outcome of strain arising from that self-consciousness which is a part of a widespread preoccupation with inter-ethnic contact and racism in general: northern whites are somewhat overburdened by feeling that strangers, uninformed and inexperienced outsiders, from a faceless public in Ottawa to superiors in regional central offices, are alert to any and every sign of racist discrimination and oppression. They are consequently nervous, touchy, and perhaps therefore inhibited in quite normal expressions of views about others, yet finding relief from such strain in occasional eruptive bursts of complaint - complaints which are thereby inclined to be ferocious. Yet the forcefulness

or otherwise of whites' criticisms is not at issue here; for the purposes of the argument in this chapter it is far more useful to focus on the kind of person or characteristic which most usually gives rise to complaint. Those categories of people who tend to be objects of negative attitudes have already been noted; it is worth looking beyond those wide categories to more specific illustrations.

Northern whites tend to pay close attention to drunkenness and cleanliness. Eskimo men and women who are known to drink are often regarded as incipient alcoholics. So anxious is this attention to drunkenness that many whites refuse to offer drink to Eskimo visitors. This refusal sometimes persists in the face of very embarrassing situations, when, for example, an Eskimo visits a house where a group of whites are already drinking. I have seen whites continue to drink, refilling their own glasses but pointedly not offering any to the visitor. Such behaviour helps create what many whites - even those who do not persist in such extremes of social gracelessness - are likely to feel towards an Eskimo who is a known drinker. But even criticism of the "drunkard" is more patterned than that. Two illustrations will reveal some of the details:

Alice left her home settlement as a young married woman to take a job in the Federal Government civil service. She was employed as a translator and special assistant to various senior permanent officials involved with Northern Affairs. She was qualified for such work simply because she was good at spoken and written English; she had learned them in hospitals in the south. During her years in civil service work she acquired a

reputation for excellence, and became well known and much respected. But she also began to drink heavily, and gradually habitual drunkenness seriously began to impair the quality of her work. She was eventually encouraged to move to another city, in the hope that a new environment might reduce the scale of her alcohol problem. (It was, revealingly enough, widely believed that her drinking was a direct consequence of "bad influences" in the shape of her associates and friends). The move was unsuccessful, however, and Alice eventually came back to her home settlement. She arrived there with the kudos of having worked in "high places", and having gained the friendship and respect of "important people". Once back in the settlement she was offered a job as key assistant to a white official, but it was a job which had no special importance and placed Alice at an occupational level no higher than that allowed to other Eskimo assistants in other institutions. The drinking problem lessened, however, and there ceased to be any danger of Alice's becoming a true alcoholic. Nonetheless, she drank more than other local Eskimos, and was always at the forefront of those drinking parties which tend to arouse most anxiety in settlement whites. Despite continued drinking, Alice was still invited to occasional parties given by whites, and was not refused drinks if her hosts were drinking: she was allowed special exemption from the caveat applied to other local people. Alice, the only local Eskimo who had anything like a real drinking problem as that might be defined on the whites' criteria, was the one Eskimo not systematically discouraged from drinking. Further, when she did drink heavily and seemed to be slipping into an alcoholic problem, staying off work for days,

becoming violent, many whites were genuinely anxious about her and tried to offer support and friendship rather than enforced abstinence. Indeed, one or two officials made a point of joining Alice in some of her drinking bouts to ensure that no harm came to her.

Contrast with that the case of Annie Alook. She had never left the settlement for long periods but had succeeded in acquiring good English and a professional skill. Annie was employed, like Alice, as an assistant to a white official. Her employment was marked by a series of promotions, resulting from success in examinations. She was known to be good at her job, and was expected to continue to do well. But she too had a tendency to drink heavily, and like Alice would periodically be away from work for a few days, as well as get involved occasionally in fights. Her drinking never became a problem in the medical sense, nor did it ever seem to threaten to become so. Yet whites of the settlement repeatedly criticized Annie for being a drunk, and invariably refused to offer her drink. This refusal was obvious to Annie herself, who found it insulting and came to resent it - feelings she did not always conceal from the whites. So she came to be criticized for her ill-humour, her tendency to be violent, as well as for drinking. There was certainly no expression of concern over the problems Annie might be heading towards; whites' criticisms of her were not tempered by such respectful or kindly sentiments.

It is apprent, therefore, that an Eskimo's drinking is bad if the drinker is without compensating distinctions - distinctions which might carry weight in a middle-class environment. In much the same vein, the whites

criticize Eskimos who are regarded as "dirty". An administrator told a social worker in one Arctic settlement that he would obstruct an adoption because the potential new mother was "a slut"; she in fact was a hunter's wife, and known for her traditional lifestyle, preferring to move with the family between settlements¹. Any public signs of disarray, the smallest evidence of 'deviance', and detail or mere rumour become the rationale for bitter complaint against an individual or a family. Disparagement, it can be said, aims at traits and dispositions which are quite normal in communities where overcrowding, poverty, and low levels of participation with authoritative and mainstream roles, all persist.

What the whites in fact find objectionable is the Eskimo who exhibits proletarian or lumpen-proletarian lifestyle. There is emphasis on exhibits: the whites who criticize drunkenness are themselves very often heavy drinkers, but they restrict the evidence of their drinking, remaining drunk in private. Hence the Eskimo who exhibits middle-class lifestyles is approved, even by men who idealize things traditional. An example is illustrative:

David Stern was a government employee in a small High Arctic settlement. He had been in the far north, in various official capacities, for several years. He was, by northern standards, a sophisticated and well-informed employee, able to articulate his hopes and attitudes vis-à-vis his role in particular and the north in general. During his years in the Arctic, Stern had experienced a wide range of social conditions; he had, most importantly, been in a community at a time when hunting and trapping were

¹ See pages for a fuller account of that case.

still the mainstays of a majority of Eskimo livelihoods, at a time when northern whites were not yet numerous, so wealthy, or so conspicuously middle-class. He was also a man who had participated directly in many parts of Eskimo life, travelled with hunters and having made some attempt at learning the language. It was not surprising, therefore, to hear Stern express great enthusiasm for the old days and for the time of the 'real Eskimo'. He certainly was proud to have glimpsed those edges, had enjoyed spending time in camps, and was glad to have some knowledge of their ways. Equally, it was not surprising to hear him lament the passing of that epoch and his criticism of many features of settlement life which had replaced it. He complained bitterly about the increasing "delinquency" among the young, and was quick to label a man as a "bum",

But David Stern also expressed some faith in possibilities which modernizations are often thought to provide - opportunities for skilled work, social welfare benefits available to other poor sections of the nation. (For example: "I would like a welfare officer to come in here, because with the new structures, all social assistance, unemployment, insurance payments, and things like that - a lot of people are completely ignorant about their rights.") More generally, he frequently indicated his faith in conventional middle-class virtues, not only by derogating people who were not possessed of those virtues, but by strongly approving of any sign that the virtue was making headway. Thus on one occasion Stern heard that a family had given a small dinner party at which a southern style meal had been served: meat with potatoes and peas, eaten at a table with

knife and fork, followed by a fruit pie. Such foods are eaten in the far north, but in the Eastern Canadian Arctic it is extremely rare (I had never encountered another instance) for these foodstuffs to be eaten in accordance with southern customs. The Eskimo custom does not encourage meals at which whole families eat together, nor is the fork used, nor are foods arranged in southern patterns and sequences. So when Stern heard tell of the dinner he was alive to the unusualness of the occasion. And he commented: "When I hear things like that I feel that all our work up here is worth something, and these people are really getting somewhere." He was plainly much delighted by adoption of middle-class virtues.

It is thus obvious that northern whites hold attitudes which are contradictory. But it is the main argument of this chapter that there is a definite pattern to these attitudes, and the pattern is intimately bound up with many white activities in the north which are themselves similarly systematic. It is worth restating the bundle of attitudes which are most apparent, and which can often be found co-existing in one white official:

1. The old Eskimo is idealized.
2. The land is idealized.
3. Those who are anti middle-class in their behaviour are keenly disliked.
4. Those who are quiet, co-operative, and thought to be partly modern and partly traditional are well liked.
5. Those who are not old but still want to go back to the land are scorned.

8

Both favourable and hostile attitudes are expressed often in relation to traditional irreducible "Eskimeness". Thus, as has already been suggested, the co-operative and quiet Eskimo, who is in fact a good employee exhibiting some middle-class or mainstream southern virtues, is said to be "good" partly because he is still 'Eskimo' (i.e. because he is even tempered and friendly). While the person who is a bad employee, reluctant to accept office discipline or is inclined to be spendthrift or improvident, is said to be "bad" because his irreducible Eskimeness still asserts itself, despite its irrelevance or disfunctional quality in a settlement worker. And the Eskimo who is blatantly anti-mainstream lie, who openly and loudly repudiates, condemns, or in any way assaults southern institutions, is said to be deviant because of the difficulty believed to arise inevitably from over-rapid modernization ("it took us 2,000 years so how can you expect them to do it in ten?"). That is also a reference to strongly enduring 'Eskimeness'.

Goven the emphasis placed by whites on Eskimeness it is not surprising to find that reference to it eases some of the contradictions evident in the bundle of attitudes. The "real" Eskimo, truly traditional, lived as part of the Arctic lands, beyond (and in some ways felt to be above) things southern. He had his own integrity, which was the integrity of nature. He was outside culture. Once brought into a settlement, however, placed in its housing and work conditions, sent to school, dressed in southern clothes, using and often profoundly dependent upon southern technology, the man of nature does become a man of culture. But the men of culture who

are responsible for the settlement, who are in practice the authorities there, are not in the same corner of culture as those they administer, teach, and lead in church. The difference lies, of course, in the two groups' separate relationships to political power and the means of production. Northern whites are middle-class by occupation, income, and lifestyle; Eskimos are in the uncertain position, common to most newly colonized peoples, at a crossroads of classes. But two of the roads at that cross are the most important: proletarian and lumpen-proletarian. The point needs some elaboration.

Eskimos who move in from their camps to the settlements are much like displaced rural populations who have throughout the world drifted from country to towns. Such peoples form a group in town or settlement which has no established roots in the confines of culture, social and economic, upon which town life is founded, and around which its future is to be organized. Eskimos in an Arctic village are thus in much the same predicament as were Arabic peasant in North African cities or American Indians in American towns. They have no clear relationship to the economic activities of the new centres, being neither owners nor qualified as workers. Instead, they drift into any role allowed to them, under any conditions, with no clear interest in any sector of the organization they encounter¹. In that distinctive predicament, the lumpen element forms its own community - a community which tends to be in systematic opposition to mainstream ideas of a proper life. They are inclined to enjoy immediate gratification in whatever form is available (or provided by the main-

¹ I have argued this in relation to Canadian migrants; see Brody, 1970, especially page ft.

stream); and they are also likely to be living in crowded conditions, short of ready money. The proletarian is distinguishable from the lumpen element by virtue of its involvement in regular employment, an involvement which gives a family an income, a place in the settled community, and which is made possible by the employees' readiness and ability to adopt ways which coincide with the demands of employers, and thereby of the mainstream society. Obviously it is the case that neither of these groups can make a full identification with the middle and upper-class elements of their society, even if they do adopt some middle-class ways. The majority of the Eskimo population is, like many Canadian Indians, in that predicament. Moreover the whites respond to those consequences of the Eskimos' predicament in a familiar enough middle-class manner.

The nature-culture abstraction can therefore be enlarged by reference to the class positions of the northern people with the hope of providing a theoretical model which takes account of more detail. Whereas the "real" Eskimo is blurred with nature, the contemporary Eskimo is felt by the whites to be part culture and part nature. Insofar as he is in culture, he is at the lower end of the social ladder, and often exhibits tendencies which the middle-class generally find offensive and react against fiercely. As an Eskimo comes into culture he moves, therefore, usually from an idealized status to a low status; he tends to "let the whites down". The occasional individual whom the whites like and respect is regarded as having moved from nature to middle-class culture. Since those individuals are few, it inevitably happens that the majority of the Eskimo population

of today is a source of dismay and growing indignation. Whites come north because they have a romance about the land and its people (in the land), or are initiated into that romance once they are there. They discover, however, a population which is in much of its behaviour and attitudes lower class and not infrequently "deviant". Thence indignation is exacerbated by the wide range of behaviour which the whites have come to regard as deviant in Eskimos; even an Eskimo who likes to get drunk (and is not especially middle-class in status) is thought to have at least an incipiently deviant personality.

It has been argued that whites who go to work in colonial situations are especially attracted to a "world without men". Such theories emphasize the extent to which colonials tend to regard the colonized as "primitive" and therefore not within the world of real human beings. Such colonials, runs the argument, are deeply relieved by their escape from the competitive, highly critical atmosphere which is typical of their home communities, of the "real man's world". Thus, for example, Mannoni wrote in his masterful psychological study of colonialism: "So, then, colonial life is simply a substitute to those who are obscurely drawn to a world without men - to those, that is, who have failed to make the effort necessary to adapt infantile images to adult realities."¹ My own argument in this chapter suggests a similar view. The northern whites want to be in a world of nature, but express dismay at the discovery that the settlement is increasingly a place where men are real. They are dismayed in part because the "realness" is often that of the lumpen-proletarian. They

¹ Mannoni, 19 , p .

express their dismay in the form of hostile attitudes to most sectors of the local population. Mannoni also wrote: "Civilized man is painfully divided between the desire to correct the errors of the savages and the desire to identify himself with them in his search for the lost Paradise (a Paradise which at once casts doubt upon the merit of the very civilization he is trying to transmit to them),"¹

In that observation Mannoni touches on the source of colonial confusion, on a fundamental contradiction which besets the colonial endeavour. To a limited degree that sort of psychological observation fits neatly with some of the phenomena which this chapter has attempted to account. Many northern whites do seek at some level to identify themselves with the "savage", a desire which is revealed in an enthusiasm for land as well as in a keen interest in Arctic explorers and those very early encounters with the land and its truly traditional peoples. And this does conflict with the desire to remedy "savages'" ways. It is my argument, however, that the really determined effort to remedy the ways of the true northerner springs from middle-class aversion to proletarian and lumpen-proletarian lifestyles. The "savage" is discoverable (at least in the fancy of the white) exclusively in the form of older men who are thought to be half buried still in the things quintessentially Eskimo; when talking of such men the whites lament much of their doings and express - albeit implicitly - quite strongly anti-colonial views. Much the same thing is revealed by whites who lament the entire complex of change or modernization in the Arctic, for they express dismay at the replacement of the

¹ See Mannoni. op. cit. page 21

"savage" by the "bum" - of the hunter by the out of work labourer. Once the Eskimo is an out of work labourer, however, his mannerisms and attitudes are inevitably a source of hostile indignation among people determined to effect that other change which is not modernization so much as bourgeoisification. Antagonism towards the Eskimo is understandable, that is to say, on the axes of inter-class oppositions more than on the more recondite matters of unconscious memories of early childhood¹.

A crucial piece of evidence in support of that view can be found in white attitudes towards welfare. If whites are ambivalent about the endurance of the 'primitive' then we should expect to find ambivalent attitudes towards welfare. After all, welfare could be seen as a way of keeping some part of the traditions alive - a man on welfare could be a hunter, could maintain much of his old way of life. The old man who is thought to be the real Eskimo is known to be in economic difficulties - it is simply no longer possible (if it ever was) to live by trading skins and subsistence hunting. David Stern once remarked:

But welfare is widely regarded as a corrupting and denigrative force, making men with determination into despondent hums. In the next chapter one man's attitude to welfare will be explored. But it can be pointed out here that welfare can be thought to corrupt precisely because Eskimos are being urged into middle-class or good working-class lifestyles; they are seen, that is to say, to hover between wage-labour and unemployment, between success and failure as proletarians. It is rare indeed to

hear northern whites urge that welfare be more widely used because it will offset the economic weaknesses of the pseudo-traditional life. Eskimos are really seen as workers, not hunters.

It is apparent that many whites are manipulative and authoritarian in most of their attitudes towards the Eskimo. They tend to believe that they know what is best for northern people, and if northern people themselves do not express enthusiasm for the things whites offer, that is attributed to Eskimo misunderstanding or error. Eskimos are forever urged to want the things whites say Eskimos need. There is literally no part of Eskimo life which whites have not come to regard as within the realm of southern responsibility. Eskimos are housed, schooled, given beliefs, provided with sex education, offered clothes and goods, all of which are white manufacture and design. To some extent that is inevitable (at least in its technological aspects) in a society experiencing sudden modernization. But if we look only at the attitudes of the whites who are implementing and retailing all these innovations there are wider issues than technology which come to the surface. The issue can be raised by way of a puzzle expressed at the ideological level. The northern whites come from a society which regards itself as classically liberal in many of its principles. That is to say, it disavows authoritarianism and more specifically opposes persons or institutions which force lifestyles on people; it insists on the right of all men to basic liberties, to those famous freedoms much celebrated in liberal social philosophy. Yet in its colonial aspect it does the opposite: it insists on the way the Eskimo needs to live and what the Eskimo should want. It proceeds with a minimum of reference to

1-38

Eskimo aspirations and scarcely tries to assess what local circumstances actually require. This is not surprising at the national level, for the country is equipped with majority democracy, and it follows that tiny minorities like the Eskimo are not easily able to secure their own kind of social order. But the men in the north, the actual brokers for the southern or national system, are themselves for the most part committed liberals, but in their northern work are the opposite. The contradiction does exist in them. They do to Eskimos things that they would never do to one another, and adopt attitudes towards northern settlements as a whole which they would never adopt towards their own sub-communities within those same settlements. Indeed, they much resent interference and authoritarianism from their own superiors, yet at the same time are themselves profoundly authoritarian towards the local community and its peoples.

It is here that nature:culture theory is especially valuable. Insofar as the northern white regards the Eskimo as within nature he sets the Eskimo beyond the pale of 'cultured' values. The stereotyping of the 'real' Eskimo sets him beyond men, beyond culture. Eskimos eat raw food. They were driven (according to the stereotyping) to such extremes by the wildness of the land they live in. It is the harshness and power of nature which forces these men to be non-men. It is also the harshness of nature which is said to have prevented them from living in 'real' social groups¹. Thus the Eskimo is in part the embodiment of nature; he is part of it, and is in many respects a surrogate for it. He receives that curious blend of

¹ Anthropologists have often failed to perceive the sociality of Eskimo life - see e.g. Meade, 19

acclaim and revulsion. Acclaim because he has triumphed over nature (thereby achieving the essentially human) but is part of nature (thereby remaining less than human). But northern whites are essentially human in their endeavour, seeking to triumph over nature, despite all their deep involvement with its powers and wonders. And insofar as Eskimos are nature also, the southerners seek - in spite of themselves - to triumph over them too; the mountains must be traversed and the northern peoples must be cultured. And just as the mountain has no rights, neither has the 'natural' Eskimo. In the language of the missionary the Eskimo must be 'saved'; in that of the administrator he must be 'helped'; in that of the average southerner he must be 'civilized'. Each gives reasons for his endeavour by referring to benefits, medical or intellectual or material, accruing to culture. And as the process gets under way, as the Eskimo slips or is pushed from nature towards culture, he is in a problematic position, between social classes, between worlds, half man and half non-man.

In the settlements of today that is the person as perceived by whites. The settlement Eskimo is entering civilization - from the bottom. As worker without work, as villager without land, as employee with few of the appropriate ideological formations. He is thus in his socio-economic status a new member of the lowest classes. That status is confused in the minds of northern whites by residual touches of being Eskimo: there remains some part, perhaps some fleeting glimpse, of the natural man. The whites are unsure as to whether he is the natural man of Hobbes or of Rousseau. When the expression of such 'naturalness' is violent, turbulent, angry, it is the natural man in difficulty, acculturating. (Which is, in

truth, the expression of social inferiority discovering itself.) When the expression is quiet, withdrawn, retreatist, it is the 'real Eskimo', the remnant of the ideal and of the stereotype. Whites are troubled because the drift seems to them to be towards a Hobbesian world, where anger and opposition come to be the ways individuals seek to secure and defend their own purposes. It becomes harder to find embodiments of the old ideals, and it consequently becomes harder for whites to find real excitement about being in the north. They therefore themselves retreat into their roles. But the retreat is not silent. They complain, as they go, about the failures of northern policies and about Eskimos, accepting the more customary benefits of a role - benefits, that is to say, of material prosperity, influence, and whatever else a person with developed middle-class aspirations may discover in northern work. Satisfactions, therefore, derive from being in the arctic in spite of the directions of policy and the new ways of the people policy is aimed at supporting and moulding. In the larger settlements of the north this trend among the whites is well developed. People in Frobisher Bay, for example, like being there for reasons which have little to do with the 'real Eskimos', and have retreated into their discrete world of white middle-classness, and into a routine performance of roles in the main institutions. In the small settlements which I am describing, that is not yet the case. But this review of white attitudes towards Eskimos in such small communities indicates that it is likely to become the case in the near future. Those who cling to their ideals of work in the arctic, who cannot find sufficient

satisfaction in the material and social benefits afforded by a life in the white sub-community, quickly leave their jobs and return south. In the next chapter one such man's relations with his community and his own ideals will give substance to that conclusion.

Chapter 9

Discussion of the contemporary arctic would obviously be seriously incomplete without some careful scrutiny of local political processes. It is not possible to look at such processes, however, without seeing the political operations from both the white administrator and Eskimo council points of view. Interaction is the very essence of the business. Thus far I have looked at settlements through the whites, by way of their social forms and attitudes. This is therefore a transitional chapter, standing between discussion of the whites and discussion of the Eskimos, and bringing both sides' positions into the arguments. It is also an attempt at using a single instance as a way of illuminating a general problem. It proceeds therefore from an account of one man - a Settlement Manager in a small Eastern Arctic community - to the general issue of local authority and problems of local government. I return in the end to theoretical questions, but unlike the abstractions used in the course of the last chapter, questions focus here on theory used for explicating quite definite institutional phenomena, and specific relationships between various kinds of colonial agents and those institutions. This marks a move downwards on the ladder of generality. But the two kinds of theory have one important feature in common: they both introduce larger relationships than any existing in settlement life itself. That is, they both aim at articulating the wider issue of southern:northern or colonial:colonized relationships. It is appropriate that in a discussion of local government and political problems emphasis should be given to how dominant

political figures express national objectives and confusions. The chapter moves, therefore, from the predicament of one political authority, through the responses of his political counterparts and subordinates in the political life of one community, to the matter once again of how southern purposes reveal themselves in social organizations established by the south for northern peoples. It discovers, inevitably, the form which southern attempt at the third stage of incorporation has proceeded, and the contradictions to which it has given rise. The first two stages of that incorporation - the economic and the moral - have been referred to this far often enough. Local government is the means whereby Eskimos are supposed to enter the political arena of southern life. It is the focal point of political incorporation.

Richard Travis arrived at the settlement in midwinter. The Eskimos there had never before had a Settlement Manager, while their previous experience of full-time administrators had been confined to an industrial development officer. Although attitudes towards that earlier administrator had been critical, his enthusiasm and goodwill had inspired a general confidence in the possible achievements of his successor. When Travis arrived, therefore, he received a fulsome welcome. Among themselves, the Eskimos noted his kindly appearance, commented favourably on his readiness to shake hands all round, and on his strong build. The more superficial omens were evidently good.¹

¹ This and some of the following information came from a series of reminiscences, many of which were long and detailed. I have no reasons for doubting their validity.

Indeed, the first weeks passed happily enough. The large suspended basement house where Travis lived was much visited. Quite often he and the Eskimo men played games together, tried each other's strength, and devised acutely difficult or merely ludicrous tests of skill. There was much laughter. Since the settlement has been one of the poorest Eskimo communities, and has recurrently endured privation into quite recent times, such visiting and games gave rise to high expectations among the people. A Settlement Manager, they knew, controls welfare payments and other subsidies. Moreover, he is the man who can represent their needs and wishes to government. Their needs and wishes being numerous, Travis was naturally expected to offer a great deal of new or augmented support. The Eskimos were even at that time under no illusions as to their dependence upon southern munificence.

When Travis arrived both a settlement council and a clearly defined group of leaders were already established. As well as these leaders (who were all but one members of the council) there existed a number of men who were conspicuous for their outspokenness. Furthermore, the community is said by many northern whites to be distinctive for the confidence with which its residents express their views. That reserved or shy manner which is forever attributed to Eskimos, and which allegedly bedevils attempts at political and community development, is apparently not so evident in that particular community. Certainly the council have little hesitation in voicing criticisms and expressing anger. Despite such signs of confidence in the council and the community it represented, a majority of the people

insisted that they were signally in need of help from the whites. Most strikingly, this need for help was perceived partly in political terms: the council and co-operative could be strengthened if and only if whites really did provide information and teach skills which the new institutions so obviously demanded. In general, Fort John people expected much from institutions which had been introduced by whites, and certainly were not going to be satisfied with any tokenisms. Since the whites understood all the ramifications of these institutions, they could and should provide much of the substance. In other words, the Eskimo community had come to believe that these institutions could significantly enhance their lives and livelihoods; inevitably they looked to whites for guidance. Specifically, they looked to Travis.

These signs of development are in need of some explanation. The settlement was among the last Eskimo communities to come to the attention of white Canadians. Its housing, educational, and medical services were among the very last to come into effect. Although the dire need for welfare was evident to northern officials in the 1940s, such payments as were made came much later than that, and when they did come were determined first by people who lived over 70 miles away and subsequently by a school teacher whose competence in the matter was doubtful indeed. Impoverishment and sporadic hunger this continued down to the late 1960s, while the hungry became increasingly aware of possible government support. The Industrial Development Officer (Travis' predecessor) regularized welfare payments, and finally confirmed people's entitlement to governmental support. By

that time, however, local hunters had discovered that in neighbouring settlements there was far less difficulty about receiving this form of support, and had come to feel that they had not been treated justly. This sense of relative injustice combined with the greater need for support among the Fort John people probably gave rise to some of that assertiveness vis-à-vis southerners which was already a feature of community life when Richard Travis arrived.

By the same historical token, welfare payments were a delicate matter. From the first Travis determined to reduce the scale of what he saw as welfare dependence. Indeed, from the first he measured his own success by the size of the settlement welfare budget: the smaller it was, the better he felt he was doing. During his first weeks he tried to discover which men depended on welfare who could be depending on some other resource. In a number of cases, he managed to encourage men to carve soapstone, thereby earning enough to support their families (or to close their claims to welfare payments). At the outset, however, it appears that his strategy against welfare dependence did not arouse any very great antagonisms. In the early spring he left the village for seven weeks, during which time he visited other settlements, and attempted to learn a little of the Eskimo language.

It was during this first absence that I got to know Richard Travis. Immediately striking were his enthusiasm about his Settlement Manager position and the optimism with which he looked forward to working with the community. Less apparent, but more troubling, was Travis' intense

concern with organizational matters; he repeatedly insisted upon casting a net of exact arrangements around others' activities. Although this was usually done with abundant bonhomie, in an apparent desire to be helpful, it was again and again marred by clear lack of sensitivity to what others in fact wanted themselves. Thus, he could and would arrange limited resources into an excellent dinner - but the details of the dinner, its menu as much as its timing and style, catered to organizational principle rather than the tastes or needs of his fellows. Further, Travis tended not to notice the small signals put out by those who were irritated or mildly troubled by his ways. He seemed to have become strangely inured to the subtleties of inter-personal relationships.

By and large, he was able to overcome this impediment to easy contact with others by virtue of other qualities: he was always willing to organize, was not afraid of hard work, and showed much generosity. Moreover he tended to be in a continuous good mood. And those are qualities which deservedly are much appreciated in settlement life of the far north.

In the many discussions we had at that time, it was clear that Travis was profoundly antagonistic towards welfare. This antagonism seemed to have two distinguishable aspects. First, he regarded welfare as money for nothing, and subscribed to some of the most conventional moral views: anyone who lived off hand-outs was in danger of chronic and irreversible moral decrepitude. A man on welfare, he felt, was liable to lose all self-respect, all dignity, and be well on the way to losing all interest in work. It should be said that the exceptions to this were made clear,

and included the old and the sick. Second, he tended to idealize the traditional Eskimo because the traditional Eskimo was able to look after himself in that hard climate with a minimum of material support. Obviously enough, an Eskimo who lived on welfare stood out in stark contrast to that ideal. Somewhere at the very back of his mind, it seemed that Travis felt he could secure some consolidation of that traditional independence, could at least secure it against inundation by the tides of welfare dependence. For Travis, a man more closely resembled a traditional Eskimo (in at least his moral nature) if he scraped a living together by carving and occasional wage labour, than one who sought welfare in order to survive as a hunter and trapper. When it was suggested that welfare payments were the only recourse of many Eskimos, even men who were entirely healthy in body and mind, and that maybe these men should be allowed to judge for themselves what they needed by way of support, Travis became extremely indignant. And when an example was given of a Settlement Manager who did indeed hand welfare out as if it were the right of each and every Eskimo, he scorned and derided such behaviour with fierce invective.

Arguments about welfare are common enough in the Canadian Arctic, and the issues tend to repeat themselves a thousandfold. Hence these discussions with Travis were entirely commonplace, and the positions he adopted were neither strange nor (given the configuration of attitudes and opinions of other northern whites) were they prima facie insubstantial. Indeed, he was able to urge his position on others with much coherence. Yet these

discussions were tainted by a curious ferocity: Travis could not easily brook much difference of opinion. When opposed by an orthodox liberal or generous position on the welfare issue, he quickly became enraged. Further, when he related his conversations to a third party (which he liked to do) he heaped abuse upon invective, apparently aiming at discounting the very humanity of his disputants. Given that Travis in other matters tended to be a man of constant and cheerful disposition, the scale of his anger was doubly striking. Quite obviously, the question of welfare touched on some of the very mainsprings of his mind.

During the weeks that I came to know Richard Travis, there was little opportunity for discovering how he interacted with Eskimos in his professional capacity. In a purely social context, however, he was cheerful and always ready to try and communicate, even where there was virtually no language in common. He was not made too uneasy by the distances across which he sought to communicate, and rarely seemed to patronize or belittle Eskimos he met. Also he was interested in hunting and fishing (and had been long before coming north), and those interests did provide important points of contact. He was always ready to join Eskimos on their hunting trips, and was quite prepared to accept subordination to their knowledge and plans. Once again, all these are good qualities not common among whites. Perhaps the most important element in Travis' attitudes at this stage was also the most general: he was anxious to learn from and be friendly with the people he met. As an administrator this translated directly into his apparently very sincere hope that he would indeed be helpful.

* * * *

82 9

Some four months later I visited that settlement and of course renewed my acquaintanceship with Richard Travis. Before getting to know any of the local Eskimo people, I had a number of long discussions with him about his position in the community, about the way his administrative role was now working itself out, and how he foresaw the settlement's and his own future. During these conversations Travis emphasized what he saw as his successes. Welfare payments were much lower, and were amenable to even further reductions. The village itself was cleaner and tidier than it had ever been. A number of individuals were doing strikingly well in jobs to which they had been transferred from welfare. According to Travis the community council was functioning well, and its councillors were rapidly assuming much greater control of settlement affairs. The larger part of this information was explicitly contrasted with what Travis saw as his predecessor's bungling.

In these conversations, it was troubling to notice the degree in which Travis adopted a proprietary attitude towards the people. This was evidenced in sentences like: "I have a boy doing really well down in Winnipeg", "I'll send my long-liner over to fetch them", "my mechanic is no damn good at his job". The boy was a Fort John Eskimo in further education, the long-liner was the community co-operative's boat, and entirely at its disposal, while the mechanic was an employee of the Territorial Government with functions quite separable from Settlement Manager. Furthermore, it was obvious that the Eskimos had more or less ceased visiting Travis unless it be with a specific purpose in mind. Even

on those occasions, visitors tended to stay in the basement where the office was located and appeared nervous of coming upstairs into the living room. In the first few encounters I witnessed between Travis and local men, it was impossible not to be surprised by the somewhat assertive, almost domineering manner Travis was inclined to adopt. When anxious to overcome the language difficulty, he tended to raise his voice, sometimes almost to shout; he simplified his English by baldly stating instructions. It seemed that Travis' willingness to be friendly despite language and cultural difficulties had somewhat evaporated.

In the following months I heard people of the settlement talking about their Settlement Manager. Confidence in him was extremely low. It was said that he refused welfare to people who needed it, while supporting others who were already adequately provided for by their immediate families. People remarked that Travis tended to believe that he knew who was and who was not receiving support from their families, and would not listen to those Eskimos involved. Furthermore, it was repeatedly pointed out to me that only local hunters could assess hunting possibilities, yet the Settlement Manager sometimes refused to give welfare to a hunter because he (the white man) was sure that hunting possibilities were good. ("He looks out of his window, and sees all sort of birds flying about, and says to an Eskimo: there is good hunting out there, go and hunt, you are not going to get any welfare this month when there are many birds so close to the settlement. But birds do not stay and wait for the hunter. They come and they go again. The Settlement Manager cannot know when the hunting is good by looking out of his window. If he had to live by hunting he would know better and would not say such things.")

A second complaint centred on Travis and the co-operative. Although the Eskimo co-operative does not officially fall within a Settlement Manager's responsibility, the two institutions inevitably impinge on one another. In a multitude of small ways any official in a settlement can indicate his support for the co-operative. The Fort John people were convinced that Travis did not wish to help and specifically they remarked on the extent to which he found objections to co-operative directors' proposals and plans. Again and again I was told that Travis had nurtured rivalry and opposition between the government and co-operative, and was accordingly not inclined to be truly helpful. This was contrasted most unfavourably with Travis' predecessor, who had by all reports offered every support for the co-operative, even to the extent of placing government facilities and equipment at their service.

A third complaint concerned Travis' manner. He was said to be "bossy", forever seeking to demonstrate that he and no one else was the boss¹. Evidence for this criticism came from all the other areas in which he repeatedly found objections to local people's suggestions. But it came also from more personal or idiosyncratic traits: he was inclined to shout, to anger suddenly and fiercely, to disregard the arguments or objections of community councillors or members of the public, and he generally behaved towards the people as if they were children. It was claimed that details of his behaviour, as much as positions he took on specific and

¹ The word used to mean a boss is, in that dialect, 'angajuqqauq'. It seems to have been a word traditionally used to refer to a camp leader (though not to a shaman - angaqq) and revealingly enough was the word widely used to mean Hudson's Bay Company factor.

9.12

important issues, revealed that "he does not want to help the Eskimos". Often these reflections on Travis' character and ways received fullest expression in the light of his having changed. A number of men insisted that his very appearance, his facial structure, had altered since he first landed in Fort John. ("When he came here he was friendly, he was smiling. I thought: how good that this new Settlement Manager is going to help the Eskimos. He sho-k hands with us all. Then later I saw him, and his face had changed. He was not handsome any more. His nose had become much bigger.") Astutely enough, the Eskimos often commented on the extraordinary extent to which whites often change when they come into Arctic communities. So striking is this phenomenon that some men have elaborated schema on which they organize the patterns of such change. With reference to Travis, one such theorist told me that whites who are all smiles and enthusiasm when they first come are the ones who most surely and darkly become troubled, angry, and the first to be anxious to leave.

By September of that year, Travis' first year in the settlement, relations between him and the community council began to reach a crisis point. Criticism of the Settlement Manager was beginning to rub off on his interpreters. People were reluctant to interpret for him. The then chairman of the council, Isaac Tullik, was also the main interpreter, and he confided to me his despair. Since he passed along all Travis' most important decisions, and painstakingly rendered into Eskimo the official rebuttals of one or another Eskimo plan, many people in the community began to think of their **council chairman** as hand-in-glove with their

Settlement Manager. This was much aggravated by the nature of the dual role: as interpreter Tullik first said in Eskimo things which confused and annoyed the community, and then as a comparatively sophisticated man and as council chairman he tried to explain why the Settlement Manager was saying, or was obliged to say, the things he did. As the tensions increased between the community and Travis, so Isaac Tullik's job became unendurable. Moreover, he came to dislike Travis keenly, and therefore found the inevitable contact with him very disagreeable. As his troubles increased, so the chairman tried to identify himself with the faction of the council most hostile to Travis. But the public, the non-council but outspoken people who concerned themselves with Travis and his ways, remained suspicious of Tullik, and maintained some hostility towards him.

During this time Travis himself became increasingly tense and ever more abrupt in his dealings with people in general and the council in particular. At successive meetings he became angry and defensive. Councillors complained that it was becoming increasingly difficult to have any useful dialogue with him. At public meetings the outspokenness of his critics was inflamed by an increasingly peremptory manner. On one occasion, when his interpreter asked Travis to say a little more because that far his words did not seem to make sense, he angrily ordered the interpreter to say exactly what had been said. When the interpreter insisted that he would not translate when he could not make sense of the English, Travis became indignant and simply reiterated the order. The interpreter told

the public that he could not make sense of what was being said, and the hiatus in proceedings was then overcome by Travis' belief that the Eskimo just spoken was in fact the translation he had been demanding. At another point in the same meeting, Travis remarked that he agreed with some of the old people who had been lamenting undisciplined tendencies among younger people, and went on to say that he had in fact spoken to some young people about these matters. At this point an elderly man, who usually refrained from public speaking and was in no way an ally of the established critics, commented: "I do not believe what you say, because what you say is never true. But if this time you are speaking the truth, then I thank you, because what you have said is right". Towards the end of this same meeting one question expressed the mood which had developed over the summer months. It came in response to a speech about welfare that Travis had just concluded. "I want to ask you one thing: what the hell are you doing here?" The questioner did not wait for a reply, but added scorn to insult by walking directly out of the meeting.

Travis reacted to gestures of this kind by criticizing the leading critics and discounting them as incorrigible trouble-makers who fed on the misunderstanding and gullibility of the people. He continued throughout these difficulties to affirm privately his faith in and affection for the people as a whole, while beginning to express the antipathy he felt towards various individuals. By this process he discounted the seriousness of the criticisms themselves, and never even began to try and come to terms with what was actually going wrong with his position in the settlement. Rather, he entrenched himself and even dignified himself by explaining the

625

situation in terms of his having to bear the harsh responsibility for teaching the community and its leaders what self-government was and was not all about. Conciliation or concessions would, by such explanation, be tantamount to dereliction of duty. It began to seem that even good manners or honest endeavour towards coherent discussions could be taken as signs of that weakness which rapidly turns into incompetence.

As these attitudes in their Settlement Manager became more and more evident to the councillors, so they intensified their pressure on him to give ground. By the same token, following the same vicious circle, Isaac Tullik came to find his job utterly unbearable. The crisis with Travis was thus turned into an internal crisis by the chairman offering his resignation. In a speech to a public meeting he explained that it was completely impossible to continue working with Travis, that he had come to realize how the burdens of his many roles were making him worry, lose sleep, and had convinced him that in no way would he be persuaded to withdraw his resignation. The question was put to the vote, and only three people - all closely related to Tullik - agreed that Tullik should resign. (Although Travis was at the meeting when this was discussed and voted on, he did not understand what was happening, and nobody offered to translate for his benefit. Afterwards he spoke of the meeting, and revealed that he 'understood' that the community was voting about who should be dog-catcher in the settlement.) Influenced by the scale of this support, the troubled chairman agreed to reserve his decision until the next council meeting. At the same time he indicated that he wanted to get in contact with a local government officer in Churchill, and ask him to come to the settlement and help them through this crisis.

However, shortly after this public meeting the council met again with Travis, and this time walked out of the meeting in a body when he once more refused to countenance what was being said to him and became angry. The meeting lasted three minutes, and the council decided that they would not again talk with Travis until the local government officer from Churchill had been to visit the settlement. So the chairman began trying to reach Churchill on the radio-phone. For a number of days he tried unsuccessfully to get in contact with a particular local government officer whom he trusted and who had become generally well-liked by Eskimo councillors. Meanwhile a message reached the government officer by way of someone who had to travel from the village to Churchill. It is said that reaction to this message was unsympathetic; officials in Churchill were convinced that all was in fact going perfectly smoothly, that Travis was doing a good job as Settlement Manager. Eventually, the radio-phone call reached Churchill, and the government officer said that he would come as soon as possible. But his schedule was very full, and before he ever got to the settlement he had left Churchill for another position in another administrative district. No one responded to the appeal for help from the council and its chairman by actually coming to the community, and the passage of time was the only balm which eventually eased the crisis. The passage of time was of course much aided by the pessimistic resignation which Fort John Eskimos adopted vis-à-vis the world of white officialdom and their own local embodiment of it. The less resigned, more vehement critics found some hope in a meeting between councillors and administrators which had been scheduled for that fall, and which was supposed to provide

opportunities for airing, discussing and resolving those difficulties which the local government program was encountering in the settlements themselves. That meeting never took place.

Shortly after the final council meeting, at the time when Isaac Tullik was attempting to contact Churchill by radio-phone, Travis left the settlement for approximately two weeks. As he left, a rumour reached him that in another community, in another administrative region, two white officials - the Settlement Manager and mechanic - had been attacked and beaten by local men in their settlement. Like most northern rumours, this one turned out to be entirely false. But, also like many northern rumours, in the telling it had the ring of truth. Travis was clearly affected by it, and it directly led him to talk about his own situation in a new way. The last conversation we had together that autumn was triggered by the rumour, and Travis was for the first time asking himself what he was doing, raising the possibility that he was making bad decisions and exciting justifiable opposition. In some small way he glimpsed the dangers of his position, at least once they had been translated into the idiom of physical violence. Most poignantly, he raised the ultimate (and essentially symbolic) question: was anything to be gained by the Eskimos as a result of his work in the settlement? Travis seemed to stand on the very edge of most painful self-criticism. It seemed possible that he might regain some of the good humour and balance which had characterized his behaviour during his first winter and spring in the Arctic, possible that he could return to Fort John in a spirit of reconciliation.

There is some evidence that the second winter was more harmonious. The community council began meeting again with Travis, and the welfare issue calmed down. Meanwhile, Travis himself went on a few trips with settlement hunters. Some bad feeling arose out of the Commissioner of the NWT's official visit, which was regarded as unduly short, while the Commissioner's time was taken up by settlement whites: he tended to be isolated from the real local people by social activities in the Settlement Manager's house. Most of the evidence, however, points to an overall quiescence. Confrontation having proved unproductive, the community merely held its peace. One or two individuals apparently found the strain of such quiescence greater than could easily be borne, and one or two peculiarly violent episodes did erupt. On one occasion Travis found it necessary to punch one of his critic in the face. On another occasion a man decided to go and shoot Travis, but was prevailed on by his family to stay at home. Both those episodes involved drunkenness. It would appear, therefore, that social quiet, and the functioning of the community council, was effected at the cost of some significant degree of repression. Critics were quieter because they sensed that little or nothing could be gained by the sorts of criticism expressed the previous summer. The harmony was uneasy and, ultimately, unreal.

During the spring and summer I once again had conversations with Travis during a stay in the settlement. His situation was once again changed in important respects. He was now living with his wife. Her arrival that spring was her first visit to the north. Deeply isolated and lonely for her children, she soon became antagonistic towards the community and its

people. Naive as this antagonism was, it introduced new threads into Travis' own view. She felt that the Eskimos had been given too much, and regarded northern whites as under-appreciated people who had in some curious collective way given much and sacrificed much in order to help the unlettered primitives. Against that backdrop, Travis' views appeared relatively moderate and his attitude recalcitrant. Yet his criticisms were now turned on the community as a whole. Travis felt that the Eskimos would not regard the settlement as their own place, as somewhere for which they should be actively responsible. He lamented the absence of that community spirit which caused people to work hard and communally for the general good of all. Instead, he argued, Eskimo men expected high wages for work which should, in a proper public spiritedness, be done on an essentially voluntary basis. He also commented adversely on a widespread reluctance among people to seize initiatives for themselves, to be concerned instead with what he held to be petty and private demands for more money.

Behind this complaint against the community lay a more general impatience with the bureaucracy which employed him. Travis had, in the course of his eighteen months in the north, grown cynical about the policies and intentions of his superiors. During that spring and summer, however, that cynicism turned into outright hostility. He had begun to discover all the sources of this troubles with the Fort John people in the policies of Yellowknife and Ottawa. He charged policy-makers with ignorance of northern conditions, with failing to adapt policies to the special needs of northern peoples, with over-emphasis on educational services, with hiring teachers and

mechanics whose experience was too small and whose natural abilities were even less. More generally, he felt that the administrators in the larger administrative centres acted without that modicum of consistency which makes the work of a Settlement Manager possible; they continually changed their minds, their policies, and their directives. Moreover, it was his view that at every turn and every opportunity they wasted money.

Throughout the spring and summer people of the settlement talked a great deal about Travis. It was evident that his critics had become more numerous and their complaints more damning. Yet their readiness to articulate those complains to him, at public meetings, had become much less. The community as a whole had reached a consensus about their Settlement Manager: the sooner he left the better it would be. Some of the more articulate men had begun to raise the possibility of Hamlet status, for then Travis would have to leave¹. Even the settlement clerk, an Eskimo young man who had worked with Travis since his arrival at Fort John was now outspokenly hostile to him. This view of their Settlement Manager was expressed by the community at a public meeting in late July.

Travis had been informed of the meeting, and had asked to speak at it. The council told him that they in any case wanted him to attend. The meeting was long. The first hour was taken up by people on the council and from the floor making brief speeches against the ways of Travis.

¹ The local government program aims at shifting each community upwards on a heirarchy of local government status. Hamlet status is the first stage after the present class administration of settlement councils, and has among its benefits the absence of any direct supervision by southern officials. See Ch. 4, p

7-21

The condemnations were fierce, turning on his personality as much as on his role. All the difficulties that had been endured vis-à-vis his functions were brought up against him. Once again, nothing was translated for Travis' benefit. During the denunciations he sat slightly to one side of the public, and occupied the time ogling and playing with small children. Towards the end a woman pointed out that Travis could not understand the things being said. A reply came from one of the councillors: he can't understand anything anyway, so there is no point in bothering with interpretation. These exchanges were followed by a speech from a councillor in favour of Hamlet status. After this speech a vote was taken, and the suggestion was opposed by a proportion of 3:2¹. The meeting moved on to a number of smaller issues, and after almost two hours Travis was finally asked what it was he had wished to say.

Travis spoke against the bad ways of the children. They had been breaking windows in the school, had damaged the small dock on the shore, had even thrown one or two rocks at the government truck. This was all interpreted into Eskimo, but for some reason the interpreter did not translate answering comments or discussion from the floor into English. So Travis spoke into a curious void: he was denied access to the effect his words might have been having. During the speech he elaborated an argument that I had heard him use, less directly, at a number of other encounters with the community. It ran: school windows are very expensive

¹ Rejection of the proposal is not surprising, given the extremely negative attitude in the community towards the problems of the settlement. Since the Fort John Eskimos as a whole felt that whites should deal with the problems whites had created, it is impressive that rejection of immediate application for Hamlet status was by so narrow a margin. See p - for amplification of the essential background to this.

because special glass has to be used. In fact, each pane costs \$15. Now, the community will have to pay for damage to the windows, will have to find \$15 for every broken pane. This will come about indirectly: the government will run short of money because it has to pay so much money for new windows, and because it runs short of money it will have to economize in other ways. Therefore, money will not be available for houses, and people will have nowhere to live or at least have houses which are in exceedingly bad condition.

When he came to the end of these warnings, there was no reply from the public. Dearth of response to Travis' words was merely given emphasis when a local hunter followed Travis' speech with a statement of his intention to begin making use of a boat which had been left lying on the beach for some years. This statement was not translated into English. That said, the chairman of the council closed the meeting.

Shortly after this meeting a rumour began to circulate in the settlement to the effect that Travis wanted to leave. It eventually became an open secret that he not only wanted to leave the settlement, he also wanted to leave the Northwest Territories altogether. The secret was open because Travis began to devote the large part of many working days to filling in application forms for various jobs in southern Canada. The news was attended by two more changes in the administrative and local government situation. First, even the more assertive councillors and critics began to withhold expressions of disgruntlement, and found greater ease in so doing. Second, Travis himself began to express more openly and more

vehemently his complaints against the local government program. This increased openness essentially meant that he was willing to say what he thought about any new development in local government policies to, and in the hearing of, Fort John Eskimos. There is a strong, if unwritten, rule to the effect that whites should not criticize one another to the knowledge of Eskimos. Travis, albeit very selectively, began to break this rule. On one occasion Travis announced to his interpreter that as far as he, Travis, was concerned, the new local government program was "a crock of shit".

Travis eventually left Fort John at Christmas time, just two years after arriving there. I do not know what he felt when he left. But the people there were certainly pleased to see him begin his journey to the south. The last summer had been marred by a severe shortage of gasoline. Supplies had run out in the spring and only a few men could hunt as they wished between spring and late summer, when the ship finally delivered new supplies to the co-operative stores. During much of that time government supplies of gas were not exhausted, and many Fort John Eskimos felt that Travis was heinously refusing to sell those stocks to hunters who were in direct need. Every time Travis was seen using his canoe and engine, criticism flared anew. When explanations were offered to the hunters, explanations which focussed on the importance of services which had to be kept going and which would need fuel throughout the summer, he was usually discounted as an inveterate liar. At the end Travis' distance from the Eskimo people was so vast and so evident that even he would discuss it. In

accounting for the problem, he once remarked that it was not possible to have friends among the Eskimos simply because it was essential not to appear to have favourites. Thus talking of the gap between himself and the people he was supposed to be helping towards local political autonomy, Richard Travis encapsulated the vast distance between his situation on leaving and his intentions on arriving.

Before returning to analysis of these events, it is necessary to indicate where criticisms of Travis were without foundation. He was not the liar he was made out to be. Nor did he wish to subvert the co-operative or undermine the authority of its directors. His attitude to welfare payments and the moral horrors of welfare dependency was rigid and conservative; but he did not wish to see families hungry. The moral turpitude attributed to him was not so much real as a direct outcome of an abrupt and unsympathetic manner. If he had a moral flaw, it was self-righteousness, heightened by an exaggerated confidence in his own judgements. Also, criticism and complaints were often obscure in their expression; discovering their meanings involved patience and preparedness to decipher an unfamiliar idiom. It was easy enough for Travis to misread such criticisms, and mistakenly categorize them as misunderstandings on the Eskimos' part. And it was not easy for him to have patience and time when burdened by apparently endless paper work. Scrupulous and organized by inclination, Travis was not able to neglect his desk jobs to make time for every little turn. So when those little troubles turned into major crises, the hostility had accumulated and chances of proper communication were correspondingly diminished. Moreover, Travis was a man who from

previous experience or by disposition was not likely to find communication through confrontation anything other than extremely difficult. So it came about that he was suspected of hoarding gasoline for no good reason - because no one was likely to listen to reasons he gave. In fact he had offered all the gasoline he could spare to the co-operative, holding government reserves at the lowest level he could risk.

And the welfare problem was in large part an inheritance. Provision of welfare to the needy had been characterized for over a decade by inconsistency and capriciousness. Eskimos in the region can remember receiving on occasion less than 50 cents as a monthly welfare cheque. They also remember a series of humiliations administered on those seeking help from a former school teacher who was charged with responsibility for welfare: they say that men were kept waiting in an ante-room, were told not to talk while waiting, were even told not to sniff too loudly, and recurrently were treated to long moralizing perorations on the twin subjects of welfare money and indolence. At one time welfare was in the hands of officials who lived over seventy miles from the community. It is recalled that during that period the officials' interpreter became so unpopular among people that he eventually became literally sick with worry and left the settlement altogether. In the light of this background, it is not at all surprising that every move and every decision made by Travis was regarded in a highly suspicious light. The anticipation obviously was that he would continue the established tradition of welfare officers. It thus inevitably happened that Travis found reactions against his decisions which were, as far as he could see, not commensurate with the decisions

themselves. He did not know the history of welfare officers' dealing with the community, and was in no position to discover it.

As well as these local and individual reasons for some of the difficulties, there remains the intrinsically problematic nature of a Settlement Manager's functions. These difficulties (which are in effect institutional) were occasionally amenable to Travis' own analyses, and some of them were stated coherently by him in retrospect. Also, these institutional considerations not only urge a more sympathetic view of his professional fortunes, but also offer much insight into the workings of the local government program as a whole.

-ii-

A contradiction is to be found at the heart of much administrative endeavour in the Canadian Eastern Arctic. There is a thesis which runs: Eskimos are in need of such and such material provision. Therefore we (the whites) must provide them. Yet the Eskimos should not have everything done for them (by whites), because dependence of that kind is morally and socially corrosive. Moreover, unqualified provision by whites to Eskimos presupposes that in all possible cases whites really do know what Eskimos need. And that is plainly at odds with conceptions of political and social development expected from all other Canadian citizens. Therefore, Eskimos must be encouraged to do things and control some things for themselves. It follows that political institutions must be created and local political leadership encouraged. Then and only then, the

argument runs, will it be possible for Eskimo communities to achieve a proper degree of self-determination and that influence over the quality and course of their lives which is the acknowledged right of all citizens¹. This argument is presented to the Eskimos by way of encouragement; they are told that participation in local government will achieve the shift of control from whites to Eskimos. In other words, it will redress the balance of domination. In practical terms, the message is clear enough: if you (Eskimos) adopt these political ways, constitute the necessary electoral bodies, demonstrate adequate leadership qualities, and all this by following a number of relatively uncomplicated procedural rules, then the things we (whites) control will pass into your (Eskimo) hands.

All the evidence at my disposal points to the conclusion that Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic at least received this idea with enthusiasm. Alongside the development of schooling, nursing stations, as well as the ubiquitous administrative presence, many Eskimos were anxious to reform circumstances and reverse a number of trends. It happened, therefore, that a leader or a council or perhaps an individual requested a change. It was in the nature of things that these requests for change turned on important aspects of the community's life. One or another family should be given welfare; liquor laws should be changed; prices at the store should be lowered; a particular white should leave the settlement; young people at residential

¹ This is of course reinforced by that fashionable concern with ethnic cultures, especially that of the exotic Eskimo, as well as by that equally fashionable rejection of western culture and technology. A false inference is all too easily made from establishment of local government to preservation of things essentially Eskimo.

schools in far-away towns should not be allowed to go to bars. In all those particular examples, Eskimos have to be told that such issues are beyond the possible range of even their new jurisdictions. Community councils cannot decide liquor laws, nor can they interfere with rules governing children in residential schools. It transpired that such things remain in our (whites') hands. Thus the administrators are in a curious position. On the one hand they, or their colleagues, are telling the Eskimo community that every effort is being made to give them responsibility for their own affairs. On the other hand, the administrators insist that a multitude of what the Eskimos regard as among the most important of their own affairs are not to be included in the sphere of Eskimo responsibility. Every verbal encouragement is given to the Eskimos to try and take power; in practice they discover that their powerlessness in a vast range of crucial matters, is to remain. The realization grows that anything more than the trimmings of social life are to remain solidly under white domination. It is not unlikely, therefore, that local government programs - in some measure inspired by a sense of Eskimos' subordinate status - create or accelerate that retreatism which local government programs are specially aimed at obviating. Settlement Managers have the unfortunate role of translating this irony into everyday political realities. The ironies are not lost on the Eskimos.

The problems for Settlement Managers or any other administrator can be formalized:

*Settlement?
not...
...
...*

- 9.27
1. Prescriptive context in which the administrators work:
"Eskimos must take over roles and responsibilities at present
in the hands of whites."
 2. Eskimos agree: "X should be changed".
 3. Administrator (in his educational role): "You cannot change X;
that is not part of your possible authority."
 4. Recurrence of 2 - 3 undermines 1.
 5. Administrator is identified with negation of 1.¹

Of course, the contradiction originates in confusions about areas of responsibility and authority. Such confusions also create a second and converse difficulty. Whites in the settlements have their own ideas about the possible provinces of Eskimo responsibility. Teachers, for example, feel that getting children to bed at night is the responsibility of parents; Settlement Managers feel that apportioning sectors of the settlement budget is the responsibility of the community council. Sometimes the Eskimos do not agree, or consider that they do not have relevant skills and expertise. Obviously, this tendency to leave the whites with difficulties can be much intensified either by retreatism in the wake of recurrent difficulties with white authority, or by resentment against whites for maintaining their dominance, or merely by an impression that in effect the entire settlement is a white creation and should duly be organized by

¹ In larger terms, of course, the entire white or southern society is identified with negation of 1.

whites. In Travis' settlement a number of older people considered that the need for an administrator had grown alongside the difficulties which beset the community. A woman told me: "We are in a fog. The whites had led us into this fog, and it is their job to lead us out again." Attitudes towards the school were preponderantly of a similar kind. The institution, or the rules governing it, the very things taught inside it, were the creation of whites; so the whites should continue to bear responsibility, for its daily routine as much as for the problems it causes. Given the extent to which a settlement, its material form, as well as the ideological and economic forms which have been expected to guard the communities lifestyles, are all the creatures of southern intrusion, it is not at all surprising that many Eskimo people automatically assume that whites will bear many of the costs.

Travis, like other Eastern Arctic administrators, was bedevilled by those difficulties. In the terminology elaborated by Paine and others¹, the Settlement Manager is archetypally a broker. Behind and above him stands the governmental patron. But his position in the community is so central, and his influence so considerable, that he is inevitably something of a patron himself. Paine remarks that an aspiring patron ideally "offers items and services that are new to the culture, thereby actually creating the need for his commodities."² And "what distinguishes the patron from his client is that only values of the patron's choosing are circulated in their relationship."³ Since it is also the case that a Settlement Manager

¹ Paine 1971

² op.cit. 14

³ ibid. 15

is a controller of information, which is an important potential service, he can dispense patronage simply by passing on information selectively. Moreover, as a hirer of men he can choose a labour force with an eye to asserting a patron role. The most important of Paine's observations may thus be: the roles (of patron, broker, client, etc.) are dependent "upon the situational context for their recognition" and "may be embraced alternately or even in combination by the same person"¹. It is worth asking to what extent are the difficulties of a Settlement Manager amenable to analysis in terms of confused or uncertain patron/broker role positions?².

At the outset it must be recognized that subjective factors are of real importance. A man who as a matter of fact (as a matter of objective role) is a broker or go-between can, in a Canadian Arctic settlement, project himself as a patron. There are resources with which he can substantiate this projection, and there is a background of relatively little knowledge (compounded by language difficulties) against which exaggerated aspirations to patronage can avoid detection. Furthermore, there is that tradition of white subordination and dominance which has been built by men who seemed to be patrons. This subjective element will naturally vary from individual to individual, from Settlement Manager to Settlement Manager. But the objective circumstances make it possible, indeed probable, that any

¹ ibid 21

² Paine elaborates (op.cit. p.6) the distinction between broker and go-between in terms of manipulation or processing of messages or instructions - the broker is a less faithful purveyor of the patron's rulings than is the go-between. Thus defined both roles are ideal types. It is indeed hard to imagine how, in practice, a true go-between could exist. certainly a Settlement Manager is in practice more of a broker than a go-between, even if he should in theory be as much of a go-between as possible. In this discussion, therefore, I use the terms go-between and broker almost interchangeably, but am conscious that the distinction between them may be analytically useful.

administrator will tend to be seen as a patron even if he is not personally inclined to emphasize that aspect of his status and functions. In the past, whites have tended to act in concert, and have accordingly been perceived by Eskimos as a single power with unified objectives. By the same token, individual functionaries are likely to be seen in a context of overall white domination (therefore as part of a monolithic white patronage) rather than in an intricate heirarchy of institutional arrangements. This means that an administrator who sought to be perceived by the Eskimo of his settlement entirely as a broker or as a go-between would have to disengage himself from the patron role by dint of self-conscious effort. Ceteris Paribus he will be thought of as a patron at least as much as a broker.

It is possibly the case that Travis was untypically interested in appearing to be a patron. Initially he felt attracted to the position of Settlement Manager by opportunities it offered for a patronage role. Certainly he tended to identify the fortunes of the settlement with his own endeavours and initiatives, while he was gratified and rewarded just insofar as his ideas or suggestions were accepted. Correspondingly, settlement people were inclined to expect patronage, and certainly hoped that thereby they would be able to secure those changes in their community which they wanted; the patron, it was hoped, could be lured and persuaded into dispensing favours according to local aspirations. Perception of the Settlement Manager in a strongly patron role was thus founded in that reciprocity which so essentially characterizes the patron/client relation-

ship. It need hardly be added that it also yielded continuity with a history of white/Eskimo contacts.

As Travis' position became complicated by local rejection of his ideas and suggestions, so he asserted his go-between role. Still more important, it was in the role of broker or go-between that he vetoed suggestions made by the local council. More generally, the function of a Settlement Manager, does in fact centre on the purveying of rules which emanate from government. The limit to possible Eskimo authority, the demarcations of responsibility, as well as changes in these, are determined outside the settlement. Equally the decision to pursue a policy of political incorporation in the settlements, is not within the province of a Settlement Manager's authority. These comparatively trivial observations do indicate the intrinsic brokerage of the Settlement Manager's position. No matter how effectively local councillors denounce such policies or demarcations, irrespective of how accurately they expose contradictions or errors in the fiats of governments, the administrator to whom these arguments are directly presented is in no position to take practical heed of them. Such are the real limits to his patronage. In reply to the critics, he can only affirm his go-between role: yes, it may be that such and such are problematical rules, but they are nonetheless rules, and it is his job to enforce them. He is acting under orders.

The circumstance would be in no way bizarre were it not for the fact that the Settlement Manager had given the impression of patronage. A sudden assertion of limited brokerage is therefore likely to be seen as dishonesty

7-30

at worst or sheer humbug at best. So it happened repeatedly in Travis' case, as relations between Settlement Manager and community deteriorated, that Eskimos would charge Travis with using the rule book only when it suited him. More seriously, it was charged that what suited him was preventing the Eskimos from doing the things they wanted. In essence this was to charge Travis with being an unhelpful patron, which was of course to deny him the right of appeal to his limited role as a mere go-between. In this way the trap which threatens to seize a Settlement Manager, which can so easily isolate him behind a wall of suspicion and resentment, is laid in part by the nature of his position. To a limited extent the trap can be lessened by self-conscious self-definition as go-between, in defiance of the historical and institutional elements which urge patronage. The danger is that the trap is made deep and dark by any personal tendency on the part of a white administrator to enhance his prestige by encouraging those aspects of the situation which suggests he is a patron.

Establishment of a local government system is aimed at shifting power from outsiders to insiders, or, by corollary, it is aimed at obviating some of the worst consequences of persistent domination by outsiders. The trap then lies in the limited degree to which such an objective corresponds to reality. In the case of the Canadian Eskimo, dependence upon white society alongside vulnerability to governmental decisions in the south, is not ultimately relieved by achieving Hamlet status. Eskimos will remain a tiny minority in the total electorate, and a weak pressure group in the context of an advanced industrial society. It thus follows that a

Settlement Manager, qua broker or go-between, is no more able to eliminate the fundamental relationship between Eskimos and the south than an elected council chairman. The limitation of patron/broker analysis, therefore, may be discovered in the light of larger relationships than those which exist exclusively within the settlements themselves.

It is as well, therefore, to return to the starting point of this part of the study, to the discussion in Chapter 5¹. It was argued there that an essential continuity in white/Eskimo relationships over the past fifty years of Eastern Arctic history. Political incorporation has followed economic and ideological incorporation as the latest attempt at changing Eskimos' social and economic life to a form which is thought to harmonize with that of Canadian society as a whole. The aim which this political incorporation hopes to realize is expressed by the Settlement Manager who, in the idiom of the contemporary north, "works himself out of his job". The underlying argument here is that this aim achieved, the continuity will remain. Settlement Managers, like Travis in our example, are caught in the problematic which is the price for this continuity. It may be suggested to the people of the far north that their social and economic formation is to become more their own affair. But the separate development which such a suggestion implies is not at present being countenanced by the patrons who make the rules. There certainly is room for a multitude of economic and political development which could give reality to some of the stated objectives of national policy towards Canadian Eskimos and Indians alike - fatalistic staring into the Medusa face of industrial society is no more

justifiable than it is helpful. Unfortunately, these development appear to be neither secured nor even encouraged by the attempt at political incorporation implicit in the present urge toward local government.

Yet continuity in the history of white presence in the Arctic is at the level of overall southern objectives, vis-à-vis Eskimo communities and culture. Discontinuity can be found in Eskimo reactions to those objectives, and accordingly to individuals and institutions which represent those objectives actually in the settlements. Although Eskimos throughout the Eastern Arctic note without hesitation their dependency upon the society and government to the south, they are also beginning to add hostility to dependency. The direction and form of this hostility was expressed to me by an Eskimo woman of Travis' former settlement:

"Some of the people are still doing whatever the government officials and the white men tell them to do. Maybe that is why government officials think that the people are stupid, because people here sometimes do things for the government even though they are against them. So I think that in the future this should be done: the people here should just decide to go ahead. If the co-operative or the council want to do something, and not do things this way or that way, or want to quit doing something, then we should just tell the government to stop coming here because they are not really trying to help. The people should tell the government to go away and try and fool people somewhere else."

Chapter 1P - INUMARIT: The Real Eskimos

Inumarit, 'real Eskimos', lived in camps, close to the land, not very long ago. They were and residually are people of distinctive skills and personality. The economic, familial, and individual ways are remembered and in some degree celebrated by the Inuit of today - even by younger men and women living under the aegis of whites, in the settlements. The attributes of Inumarit can be discovered quite readily, embedded in accounts of life and of famous individuals. There are also epithets, explicative and ubiquitous, which follow stories and even brief comments about things redolent of those traditional ways - "Inumarivgamik", "because he is a real Eskimo". And, less happily, the mores of the Inumarit can be readily inferred from complaints against their opposites, against modernity and its centres which are plainly antagonistic to the 'real' things - for those real things are, in the conscience of most, the residua of goodness, honesty, and human strength.

The discovery of Inuit conceptions of tradition lies, therefore, in the compass of the term's meaning - 'Inumarit' (or 'Inumaritut' - 'in the manner of a real Inuk', displayed by its usage a prevalent consciousness of tradition. And tradition is the right word: the Eskimo people of the Eastern Arctic are acutely aware of the passing of a way of life, and tend to see it as a fading repository of the best any had achieved. Its replacement by other mores is characterised in precisely the fashion

in both language and moods, by which displacement of traditional elements in southern society is often characterised: it has its sadness, hints of inevitability, and - most significantly - is infused with ambiguity and ambivalence.

The Eskimo are perhaps unusually conscious of and articulate about the old contradiction: traditional life was hard and periodically brought hunger and distress - indeed, many of its devices and some of its dignity turned precisely on resistance to serious hardship; many of the older, most traditional men and women therefore received modernity with open arms. And not that they find new things are no complete panacea, they wish to rediscover the tradition. There is no naivety, however, in this re-discovery: those who really lived on the land are not eager to return to the land alone, and are not quick to forget the land's recurrent dangers. But these ambivalences will be made evident enough in the next pages. This chapter will try and set out the traditional life as that is characterised, implicitly and explicitly, by the Inuit themselves. It should be borne in mind that most discussion of the old days (often not much more than ten years old) arises in the context of "was it better then?" which means that the quotations and anecdotes will often move back and forth between the past and the present: as well as anywhere else in the world, historical accounts and the times in which they are told shine bright lights on one another. The data of this chapter will correspondingly adumbrate those of the next.

The permanent camps were small, often housing no more than two or three families, rarely as many as ten. They used to spread over much of the Arctic shoreline, but with the exception of the Caribou Eskimos were rarely if ever sited inland. They came to constitute bases out of which the hunters made journeys (perhaps to an inland or distant camping place for months rather than weeks), but where they nonetheless had their homes. When the low rental housing programme was introduced in the 1950's, some families elected to have their prefabricated timber frame house erected in camp, rather than in one of the newly growing settlements. The few houses which were thus set here and there on the coast, sometimes as far as 100 miles from the nearest settlement, indicate how the camp sites had become permanent bases. Settlement Eskimos can identify themselves with people of one or another such place and in answer to the conventionalised question: "Nani nunaqarpiit?" "where do you have land?", a man can give a résumé of all the places he has 'had land". Some hunters were evidently more mobile and somewhat equivocal about the primary site, but by far the majority of people would answer that question with "in X I had land", where X is a camp site. In the settlements today there is usually a clear awareness of who comes from where, an awareness which is often a sign of social devisiveness arising from family groupings - for groups of families, being camped in the same place, or in neighbouring sites, over years usually became interrelated by successive marriages.

In many communities of the Eastern Arctic the move from camp to settlement has only just finished: in a very few locations there are still families who remain close to camp life, and who definitely feel that their land is not in the settlement. However much they have become dependent on settlements, or are members of their family who have made the final move to a low rental house in a government village, whatever the problem of isolation arising from any who are the last to stay in the real home, as Inumarit, such men still keep many of their possessions in the camp house, trying still to spend much time there. Some who have been forced to move to a settlement still will insist that the move is temporary, an inevitable consequence of some passing adversity - sickness and poverty being the most frequently cited causes - which will soon be past, and then they themselves will be back in camp again. Such men are widely respected for being Inumarit.

One elderly man moved from camp to settlement during the first weeks of my fieldwork in the High Arctic. His camp was close to the village, and he could walk between the two sites in less than two hours. He had, over the preceding four years, divided his time between his own house in camp and the house of members of his family in the settlement. And the final move might therefore appear to be of no great moment, representing only a slight re-adjustment in lifestyle. Indeed, it was thus described by the white Settlement Manager who oversaw the final move. For the man himself, however, it was a difficult and important decision. The man felt that he

had suddenly left the real life, and entered a foreign world. He often insisted that the settlement was a place he knew little of and could have few opinions about; after all, "between 1944 and now I have been in Ikpiajuk (the camp's name) and so cannot talk much about life here in the settlement; I only want to talk of things I know. I am not involved in things happening here." Yet that man could - and did in the next two years - travel with his dog team in exactly the same places as before, hunting for the same animals, employing the same techniques and technologies as he had for the large part of his life. What, then, as far as hunting and trapping goes, was the crucial difference about being in camp, in virtue of which it was possible to be a "real" hunter and trapper? Here is some part of the answer:

"In camp each year, every year, sea animals were there. They were there all the time. Now there seem to be fewer - especially the harp seal. The harp seal are no longer readily found. I am sure that there used to be more animals along the shore, farther along the shore. When I used to travel a lot I would notice that the caribou were few: now I think that the caribou are more abundant. Recently, in land between Pond Inlet and Clyde River (far north-east Baffin close to the coastline) there seem to be many caribou. In that land there is a place called "Anaurialik", the place where you should club - it is a narrow spot by a river. We travelled there from camp, and could find caribou. Today there are caribou all over the land; the hunters do not need to go to special places."

"I used to be in camp and it seemed that there was more game then - but it was no doubt because of the location. I do not think that the animals around here have become fewer. And it is not more difficult to hunt now - in fact I think it is easier, because of snowmobiles. But in the camp the sea animals were close".

"In the past we used to hunt, particularly for seals. Once we left the camps that became harder. There is as much game as there was, but it is much harder to hunt than it used to be. Yes, it is harder; there is a long journey to the seals. In the camps we could simply stay and wait for the animals. Even the Narwhal would just come to us. During the summer it was not necessary to go out of the camps at all. In the settlement the journeys are long, long at all times of the year."

"In the old days we Eskimos used to live only on wild animals. The old people were brought up on wild country foods. Their stomachs are used to that, and even today there are many who can buy good things at the store but still prefer to eat the wild animals with the blood and everything, so that they are really satisfied. It is only with the wild country food that they are satisfied. They get weak on store food, and these men as old as I, we have to try and hunt for other old people. But there are today men who do not really bother hunting; they have to stay in the settlements. In the old days we all had to be anxious about hunting, we could hardly wait. Today the men do not seem to be the same way. They have got better equipment and I wonder how come they do not seem to be able to get the same amounts of good wild country food."

Camp life, then, ensured that hunters in most parts of the Eastern Arctic were as close to the animals as they needed to be. In particular, they were close to the sea mammals. It is well known that Eskimos distinguish very emphatically between sea and land mammals, using distinctive terms for 'skin' and 'fat', and a host of taboos once militated against any blurring of the distinction¹. In truly aboriginal days it appears to have been the case that sea mammal camps and land mammal camps were kept firmly apart. Preparation of caribou meat or skins on the sea ice was taboo. The permanent camps of the Inumarit, however, were on the coasts even though they were not specifically devoted to the hunting of sea mammals. It was nonetheless inevitable that sea mammals were the focus of much hunting from those camps. And the themes of closeness between people and sea mammals is strikingly recurrent in accounts of camp life. This theme is given a counterpoint by recent changes in caribou population: the quintessential land mammal has in the past few years, in just that period when Inuit were finally moving from camp to settlement, increased dramatically in numbers in many areas². It follows that movement away from camps has been a movement away from closeness to the sea mammals,

¹ A land mammal's skin and fat are 'anuk' and 'tunnik'; in the case of sea mammals the words are 'qisik' and 'uqueuq'. This linguistic distinction is preserved today.

² Regional differences are very important here. In West Hudson Bay for example caribou were far more important to the Eskimo economy, and the animals decline was all the more impactful.

upon which Inumarit were profoundly dependent, and which were - in the time of the Inumarit - relatively more important in the overall animal population¹.

This is expressed in attitudes to food. The Inumarik preferred sea mammal meat to all things, delighting in fresh seal meat and whale skin, making the distinctions of a gourmet between the meat of various kinds of seal, no less than between the various meats, bones, and entrails of any one seal, knowing how to blend one item with another to give each mouthful the best richness in flavour. The Inumarik preferred his food raw and nejoyed it rotted. In the settlement many people still affirm these preferences and a group who are expressively enjoying real food often comment on how good it is to eat "Inuttut", "as an Eskimo". And when there is a dearth of such food, or when a v isitor comes to a house which is albeit temporarily out of such meats, there is a familiar expression of regret: "Aittak niqinariqangituaquq" "Oh dear, ther's no real meat at all". In more pragmatic form, the same view is often expressed in discussions about food in general: only sea mammals can protect a person against cold and hunger - other foods, including caribou and wildfowl, leave a man vulnerable to quick onset of hunger and cold. As for southern food which is bought in the store, excellently delicious as it is often said to be, it lacks all the ingredients of true food, and can be no more than a piquant preliminary to real and important eating; it is good to

¹ It will be seen later (p.) that even Inumarit were no less dependent on fox, which they needed as primary trading skins. Trapping and skinning foxes from shoreline camps thus constituted a reversal of land, sea opposition and may well have been prima facie defiance of taboo. If that were so, it is an outstanding example of how economic readjustment erodes deeply entrenched belief systems and transforms social practice which was moulded by such beliefs.

have such food with tea on the trail, so long as it is as an appetizer. When no real food, no wild food, is available in the settlement, people become extremely depressed. In one village, during one period in a difficult summer, hunters who were well able to buy a multitude of quite expensive provisions in the local store, nonetheless were to be seen with their guns on the shore, often close to the settlement garbage dump, trying to shoot a seagull in order to supplement store food with some real meat. But it is the sea mammals which provide the staple food of the Inumarit. Indeed, it is a matter of pride among men who take themselves seriously as hunters and trappers, to carry with them a scant minimum of "unreal" food, acknowledging by the paucity of such supplies their true dependence on the food of the land, of the hunt, which will keep them warm and without hunger.

Celebration of the food of the camps, alongside a memory of being close to the sea mammals which provided such food, is somewhat misleading. Camp people did not devote all their time to hunting those sea mammals, and were not occupied with maintaining an economic life which focussed exclusively on them. Although the value of the foods thus secured was enormous, and equivalent to an income at least no less than that needed by a southern family to keep all its members in large amounts of high quality food, economic life spread beyond subsistence. The ramifications of how Inumarit earned and still earn their living can best be discerned in those recollections which point up the ambivalence which colours contemporary attitudes towards camp life. Since those ambivalences focus on

material hardship and struggle for livelihood, they reveal much about the way in which Inumarit expected to make a living.

"The thing I really miss about camp life is the good health that came from hunting and walking and travelling by boat. The thing I think was really bad about camp life was when there were very few seals and perhaps there were no fox. Well, sometimes you were almost starving. That was really the problem. Only if you were in excellent health, and really in the best condition, and only if there were foxes and seals around the place, was it possible to have a good life in the camps".

"It is a good thing to bring up the question of living in camps and I am always happy to talk about camp life, about what it was like there and how we lived there. It is good to talk about the ways we had when we were in camps. My life was more difficult and less happy because it forced me into a life which I found hard. You had to work continuously. You had to make important decisions which were not easy: either you went hunting or you carved. For instance, one day I go hunting and manage to kill nothing. On my way home I think like this: if I had stayed at home I would have spent the day carving and I would have carved, and I could have sold what I had carved, and then I would have been able to buy oil at the store. And that oil would have kept us all warm. That is disappointing. And I was always having that kind of problem".

11-11

"I have heard some opinions. Some say that in those old days it was better, living in the camps, when there were not many people, even though it was sometimes difficult to get food. That is one opinion. Another opinion is that it is a lot better living here. I myself think it is used to be much better in the camps. So long as the prices at the store were all right, so long as it was possible to sell fox skins and seal skins and then buy all that we needed for camp life. Then it was really good to be there".

The economic life of camps was therefore a blend of subsistence and trade. The Inuit of today regard that blend as the heart of the Inumarik's way of life. It is a combination of activities which many people in the settlements pursue, and it is not necessarily incompatible with settlement modernities. The Inumarit, however, were of the camps and are significantly distinguished from modern Eskimos by reference to the technology they used for securing whatever they traded. Certainly they trapped foxes - but they travelled the trapline by dog team; and hunted seals (many of whose skins they would sell at the store) from qayak in summer, the most patient stalking on the ice in spring, and similarly patient waiting at breathing holes in winter. The Inumarit certainly had guns, but the settlement Eskimo of today often wonders at the crudeness of those guns, respecting the success achieved with an inadequate, old-fashioned rifle in much the way southerners often feel respectful towards the hunter who only had harpoon and bow. The principle is the same: old-fashioned firearms, lacking

telescopic sights, single firing, loaded with locally assembled shells, made it necessary for a hunter to be close to his game, and ability to come close is seen as the surest measure of a man's knowledge and skill.

Of course, in such comparative poverty as was the condition of camp life - a poverty, it must be said, which showed itself in few possessions and essentially traditional diet, but not in a grovelling hand-to-mouth existence - the technology of the Inumarit was demanding. There was no surplus in such a life for acquiring more sophisticated equipment, and little room for improvidence in the use of such equipment as was obtainable. A passage from a story about caribou hunting is illustrative. The narrator was trying to tell his children about the real hunting of thirty years ago:

Hunting caribou, however, was probably the skill which inherited most from pre-camp days, from the times Inumarit regard as the time of their ancestors. Caribou skins never achieved commercial value and were of only marginal interest to white traders. They were of course used for clothing, and at times and in places were important as food. Since the more permanent of the Inumarit were, in the Eastern and High Arctic, living in shore camps, caribou hunters often had to make long journeys to reach the herds. The narrator of the story just quoted left his camp each summer, taking to the land, travelling on foot with his entire family, covering hundreds of miles in search of the herds. Once that family had left the coast they were beyond the world of traders and trade, and had taken a step away from the life of mixed economy, and lived instead close to true subsistence. The closed circle of such subsistence was broken only by the gun and ammunition that such caribou hunters carried with them.

It was trapping which represented the most profound departure from such subsistence, and broke the circle of economic self-reliance wide open. Trapping, in the Eastern Arctic, is for the fur trade. Foxes have no other use, and before traders turned Eskimos' attention to them, the fox probably was a resource at the very edge of the hunter's life. Inumarit, however, were excellent trappers; they knew how to set those steel gins which were bought at the store, devised ways of obscuring human odour from a trap site, and understood the best baits to place in quite what positions by the jaws. They could skin a fox without tearing its fragile membranes,

11-14

yet pulling the fur off the carcass in one whole piece. And they knew how to clean, dry, and pretty a skin¹. They did those things in order to secure the highest possible price at the trading post.

Trapping foxes and preparing the skins was man's work for trade; women repaired seal skins, which were less valuable, but nonetheless at times were important as trade items. There remains, among older Inumarit, awareness of fox traps which pre-date the fur trade. Two different devices, both assembled from stones, are described and in most places, and older people know particular sites on the land which Eskimos "of long ago", men of an earlier tradition, favoured as places for fox trapping. Freuchen has stated that among the Polar Eskimo of Greenland fox trapping was originally part of a woman's activities, and that its new importance vis-à-vis the new trade - which Freuchen himself helped establish in north-west Greenland - turned it into man's work². This happened, he claims, because men occupied themselves with the most important economic activities; and fur trading placed the fox in a new category, at the centre of economic life. In the Canadian Eastern Arctic, from the Inumarit there, I have never heard that fox trapping was at one time women's work. More generally, and more importantly, traditional men and women have been involved with trade and traders.

¹ There are stories of Inumarit who were able to pretty a snowshoe rabbit skin in such a way as to convince a greenhorn trader that it was in fact a valuable white fox.

² See Freuchen -

Stone carving constitutes a part of economic life in the camps which indicates that women were indeed permitted and indeed ready to occupy themselves with trade. The Inumarit sold soap-stone carvings, either to a co-operative or to the Hudson's Bay Company. As is well-known, interest in such art works was fostered by southerners preoccupied with bulwarking the changing economy of Eskimo life. Although skill in shaping stone, wood, and iron has long been a facility required by the hunting and trapping life, it is not thought that people of the High Eastern Arctic gave much time to the fashioning of things for the sake of the fashioning. Rather, the expression of skills could be seen in hunting equipment and its ornamentations. Carving was therefore a new activity. Like fox trapping it is a direct sign of southern interference in traditional economy, and was attached to trading¹. And it was a feature of the economy which men and women throughout the Arctic soon came to use to advantage. Comparatively recent as its introduction was, the Inumarik was a carver as well as hunter and trapper of foxes.

Much recent literature on Arctic life has stressed the place of a mixed economy for people who find special meaning and have special skills in land-based activities². Such literature tends to emphasise the possibility that in the future hunters and trappers and carvers will be able to remain as such, in part at least, despite (or, on some theories, precisely because of) living in a settlement and as occasional wage labourers. What-

1 See.

2 See.

ever the outlook for the future, it certainly is the case that many if not most men and women of today's settlements remain preoccupied with and frequently actively engaged in hunting and trapping. Chapter 13 will look more closely at that feature of settlement life. But it needs to be mentioned here in order to help clarify just how Inumarit are today still distinguished from other Inuit. If all are hunters and trappers for at least part of their time, then it may begin to appear that all are in part Inumarit. In fact the Inumarik is known not only for his skills as hunter and trapper and for his experience of techniques which reflected hardship and seem, in the light of modern firearms and snowmobiles, to have spawned hardship, but is known also for his sheer knowledge of the land - a knowledge which goes beyond the immediately pragmatic. Inumarit recognize plants and birds which are no longer, and in many cases never were, a feature of subsistence or trade. They also know of wildlife which has only rarely visited their own lands, and even of some creatures which are unknown in the regions they themselves have hunted and trapped. Such knowledge was of course once of enormous interest to people, but has faded drastically in the recent period. It was a part of that life which is being displaced by the settlement and southern styles; it was an everyday part of living in camp.

Such knowledge obviously has a specialised vocabulary - it is a knowledge which consists especially in naming. People who were thus informed about the creatures and plants of sea and land around them spoke an Eskimo accordingly enriched. The Inumarit, however, use a vocabulary which has a

112 7

special richness far beyond the addition of names for creatures undifferentiated by others. It is also supplied with a host of terms and grammatical forms. Younger people in the settlements often remark that sometimes they just cannot understand what Inumarit are saying. Even the best interpreters when interpreting between an older Eskimo and a white, encounter difficulties caused by the richness and subtlety of the language of the Inumarit. Southerners who try to learn the Eskimo language are encouraged by their Inuit teachers to get beyond "surusirtitut", beyond "talking as children do", to "inutitutmarik", the way of the real Eskimo. But these teachers make a crucial distinction between "inuttitutmarik" - the real Eskimo language - and "inumarittitut" - the language of the Inumarik.¹ The former is correct Eskimo, spoken with respect for grammatical rules and a vocabulary range which gets past children's talk; the latter is a way of speaking which includes terms and devices which indicate that the speaker is an Inumarik - someone who has acquired his language in the way of the Inumarit - in the camps, over a long period of learning. Illustrative of the kind of enrichment which the Eskimo language has had can be seen in the form of the Shamanistic vocabulary, which was once known by all older people. The vocabulary was employed by Shamans, but did not consist so much in special concepts or in specialised items of meaning as in especially imaginative ways of naming concepts and

¹ The formation of the two terms depends on the order of infix phonemes, and shows how each infix modifies whatever has preceded it. Thus the root, 'inu(k)' (Eskimo'), is in one case modified by 'mari(k)' ('real, true'), and in the other case the root plus first modifier (inuk plus titut (in the manner of) are both modified by 'marik' -
inu(k)-titut-marik
inu(k)-mari(k)-titut.

objects which were in any case familiar. For example, the Shaman did not refer to the caribou by its everyday name but by an expression which literally meant 'lice crawling in hair'. In this way he established metaphorically the link between a herd of caribou and a swarm of lice.¹ The kind of enrichment of Shamanistic language gives an indication of how the Eskimo spoken by the Inumarit was elaborate, and much valued for being so.

The differences in language is given surprisingly much emphasis by settlement people, and is perhaps taken as the clearest sign (in a context where comparatively few such signs are now possible) of who is and who is not an Inumarik. I discovered its significance in a revealing way. Many Eskimo teachers were older men, and as I progressed they began to play a bizarre game with me. I would be instructed in the meaning of a particular expression, told when and how I could make use of it. Then, when the teacher was visited by another older man or woman at a time when I was also visiting, the teacher would most ingeniously manipulate the back and forth conversation to ensure that I would use the newly learned expressions. As soon as it was used, visitor and teacher would burst into loud and delighted laughter. At first this laughter confused and embarrassed me, making me sure that I had unwittingly slipped, or cunningly been led, into a double entendre, probably of a particularly salacious kind. But I was reassured eventually by laughers' repeating over and over to me:

¹ See Rasmussen, 5th Thule Expedition, Volumes X and Y, pages P and Q)

"inumaritut uqarputit!" - "You talk like an Inumarik!" It became obvious that some expressions and words are so distinctive of the Inumarit that to hear them come from one so blatantly not even an Inuk caused excited delight. Once fully reassured that the game was no more than that, my teachers and I played it often and with invariable success¹. The laughter was full and the explanations which attended the game showed to me just how fully use of language was taken as a sign of the Inumarit.

But in reminiscences about camp life - the days when that language was being acquired by everyone - there are also many reference to the quality of community life as a whole. Camp life was obviously vastly different from the life of the settlement. To the Inuit who have moved from camp to settlement, the settlement seems a crowded, impersonal, and - as will be discussed in a later chapter - a consequently problematic place. In each camp a group of families lived together by choice; discord and unease could easily be resolved by anyone who felt oppressed by them: it was simple enough to move to another place. Families camping together therefore felt loyalties to one another, and lived very much together. Memories of camp life invariably reveal that feature:

"When I lived in camp, living the camp life, I always noticed how friendly people were towards one another. Of course, it was bad when we had to sit there, all of us, in difficult times, and could not get help from outside. If

¹ Alone I sometimes used some of the same expressions in other circles, with much younger people, and surprisingly often found that younger people were entirely unfamiliar with them.

only for that reason settlement life is better. But the way we lived in camps was by living together - and that was a better way of living. Food - country food - was easy to share: when just a few families were in camp one small seal could mean a lot to them. It was always possible to share out game killed by one hunter, to share it out between all families of the camp".

"The disagreeable thing about not being in camp is rumour. In camp there were no rumours and stories going about, no untruths that caused trouble. Now there are stories about people, and those stories are usually not true. But there are too many people here. In camp there were few people, and we knew each other, and we knew what was being said, and everyone knew what was true and what was not true. The same thing affects sharing of food. In the camp we would know who had got what food, and could always share it out. Here (in the settlement) you do not know if someone has got food, you only find out if they have it after other people have finished it all up. Even if you could always find out in time, there still would not be enough to go round all those who wanted or needed some food. I think that in those small camps people were friendly and cheerful - more friendly to each other. We shared everything - even store bought supplies. When a man came back from trading, came with his supplies from the store, he would share them with all the families in his camp."

There is one thing that I want to say about camp life. In the old days it used to be difficult for someone to get food. For the best hunters it was not too bad, however, so they would share whatever they killed with others. And if we heard that in a neighbouring camp a family was having difficulties, hunters from our camp would go and fetch them. They would move the family to our own camp, and so make sure that we all shared whatever had been killed. Today these things do not happen. But, in general, today everything seems to be better for everyone. We are all getting food... I do not remember many things from the past, from the old days. I do not think about those times very much. What is the use of thinking about the past? But I can tell one thing, in those small groups who lived in camp, one family helped another."

The smallness of the community in which the Inumarit lived was thus a central feature, conditioning the kind of relationships which existed between families. It meant that supportative modes tended to prevail, and that Eskimos looked to one another for help. Perhaps it is correct to say that the camp was essentially a community in which Eskimos felt masters of their own mores, who felt neither supported nor manipulated by outsiders. It is perhaps in the area of family life that this sense of past coherence and integrity can be felt; certainly when Inuit today talk of ideal family relations, or at least of those family relations which are firmly endorsed by Inumarit, it is possible to glimpse a system and pattern of relationships which were distinctive and in many regards at odds with family life in the

settlements¹. In particular, two closely connected aspects of family life in the camps receive great emphasis: relations between generations, and marriage. Inumarit have strong views on both subjects. The Inumarit are men of great influence and authority, equipped by experience and expertise to make decisions about hunting, community matters - and their families. They expect, and no doubt usually receive, obedience; they did not expect to - and would not deign to - assert their authority in open forcefulness, but presumed it was simply accepted. Younger people were not bullied into acquiescing in such authority, but were simply expected to recognise it for themselves. It is widely believed that Inuit never beat their children, but at all times preferred good natured tolerance and laughter as ways of exerting influence. It is said that such tolerance was endorsed by a theory of maturation: children did not have intellect, and could therefore not be expected to behave rationally².

Despite the ubiquity of that account of Eskimo child raising methods, many Inumarit told me that they were beaten by their fathers and had beaten some of their children. Indeed, a man in the course of a story about his childhood in the camps, responded to my surprise at his passing mention of both he and his brother being beaten by their father with: "Are you another of those whites who believe Eskimos never hit their children?" Although rage and violence are despised, authority over children is held

¹ It must be reiterated that emphatic views on such subjects, like other memories of camp life, have been and are informed by the disruptions which white intrusions have caused. i.e. lament for things past is one way of expressing dismay at things present. The discussion here will be returned to in full in Chapter 14, see especially pages.).

² See pp below for more complete accounts of the tradition.

to be of vital importance, and in some ways constituted a measure of a hunter's efficacy. Children were expected to do just as their parents determined, participating in household and hunting activities as the most junior members of a single organization. And there can be little doubt but that subordination of children was invariably secured. Moreover, it was a subordination that lasted long after marriage; the Inumarik held sway over his family until he was no longer effective as hunter or mother. A revealing feature of the Eskimo language lies in the dividing up of age groups: anyone who is no longer a child and not yet old falls within a single category - 'maqutuit', while 'old' - 'iqutit' (men), 'ningiut' (women) - is applied only to those who are no longer effective, and seem to be at the end of their lives. Since people married when they were comparatively young, the head of a family could hold sway over a number of households of different generations. Inumarit would expect to have that kind of authority; the maqutuit certainly acquiesced in it.

Dismay at the erosion of that authority, and at the concomitant isolation of older people, is pervasive in settlement life. But decline of control over family is nowhere more apparent than over the question of marriages. In the community and family of the Inumarit, marriage was usually determined by parents. As a woman expressed it to me:

"In the old days the girls used to be forced to marry someone. A young man would go to her parents and ask if he could marry the daughter; the parents might say it was all right, and if they did say that, then even

if the girl herself was against the marriage she would be forced to marry that man anyway. In those days, when you think about it, it was a good way of fixing marriages. The girl was sometimes forced to marry a young man. She might not be happy for a year or so, but as she got older and more mature, after a few years, her marriage worked out well - much better than the marriages people have today."

It is hard to judge how often a girl was forced to marry, and to how large an extent camp life was ordered in such a way as to ensure a minimum of difference between the wishes of children and parents. It may be the case that move from camp to settlement, the disruptive changes of the recent period, have created a milieu in which opposition and discord within families is much more frequent, and in which the authority of older men and women is systematically called into question. Whatever the sociological and political truths of the matter, however, it is nonetheless the case that the Inuit of the settlements feel that in camps the Inumarit held a complete and proper sway over their families, and in those days, in that community, marriage was undertaken only with the approval of the older people¹. While after marriage, when older people were still hunters and householders themselves, there was a clear line of authority passing from parent down to children. Respect accrued to age, for only with age came all the accomplishments and expertise with marked out clearly the Inumarik.

¹ See page below for a fuller attempt at establishing what the sociological and political truths might well be).

Concern with marriage indicates that Christianity was important in the camps. When the Inuit of today talk of "marriage", they usually mean it in the Christian sense - at least in as much as they identify it by a Christian wedding ceremony. Since the practices and beliefs of the camp life are now taken as elements in traditional life, it follows that Christianity is seen as a part of Eskimo tradition, as an important part of the Inumarik's belief system. Although it might appear bizarre to ethnographers who interest themselves in that tradition which existed prior to southern influences, in truly aboriginal circumstances, Inuit of today do most definitely see Christianity as part of their own traditional life, and seek to guard it against erosion by modern influences. The case is clearly reflected in this comment by an elderly man now living in a small settlement in the Eastern Arctic:

"It is happening that the young are beginning to lose their belief in the church. They seem to have stopped wanting to believe in it. But older people are trying hard to make sure that the church does not fade away like other Eskimo traditions are fading away. A group of women here is trying to keep interest alive among the younger people, interest in all things which are really Eskimo things. If that group gives up its work, it might happen that the church and other traditional things will just fall away."

Moreover, some people feel that in the camps the Inuit were better Christians simply because camp life was more conducive to religious practices. A woman once said to me:

"In the old days when the families were scattered in camps it was not really possible to have a church service. So we did not have a church service every time we should have had one. But in a way it was better then: we used to pray in our homes, every morning and evening. Nowadays, in the settlement, they have long church services - sometimes a long service is twice each week. I think that is not as useful as the way we did things before. Too many people are going to the same place at the same time so the preaching does not really reach them. It is not person to person any more. And the way people act in the settlement, you can tell that the services are not really getting to them; those long services are not so useful. In the old days it used to mean a lot to people, when we held services in our own homes."

Christianity, therefore, is seen as an endangered part of Eskimo tradition, like other things of the Inumarit. Alongside that anxiety about the Christian tradition is anxiety about the possible disappearance of Eskimo writing, the syllabic script. Virtually everyone in the Eastern Arctic was once literate in syllabics, and that script is still regarded as an important part of things essentially Eskimo¹. But the only literature

¹ In fact a number of different orthographies were used in different parts of the Canadian Arctic, even within the Eastern Arctic it should be mentioned that the Labrador Eskimos did not come to use syllabics, while the Netsilik Eskimos, in the region around Gjoa Haven and Pelly Bay, also came to use a Roman orthography.

in that script until very recently was parts of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Which is not surprising, since the script was in fact devised by Anglican missionaries for Cree, and adapted to Eskimo only in the 1870's. Feeling that syllabics are a threatened part of traditional life is much the same, therefore, as feeling that Christianity is in an uncertain predicament. Both were features of camp life, and Inumarit were well versed in them. They are put in the same bundle of things traditional as hunting techniques, richness of language, knowledge about land and its creatures, and clearly defined authority in the family.

To these qualities of camp life can be added a more abstract conception, implicit in many other traditional ways which are described. There exists a definite a definite idea of personality, a form of ideal Eskimo, which people are surprisingly ready and able to describe. The good man or woman avoided interfering, avoided appearing inquisitive, did not interrupt someone, and left everyone to say what they had to say. Moreover, such a person did not anger, and was in no other way moody. In the North Baffin dialect there is a term of disdain falling only slightly short of expressing abuse: "Ningasaqaituq" - "he is quick to anger". An elderly Eskimo man, one who is often held to be Inumarik himself, once tried to explain to me how a man should be. He pursued his explanation by way of two contrasting caricatures. In both he pretended to be walking from his home to the Hudson's Bay Company store, and on his way inevitably passing other people of the community. In the first illustration the

actor greeted those he passed. He stopped to talk with them, laughed and joked with zest, moved in that manner from one to another, plainly finding great and expansive pleasure in the walk. That man, I was told, was without wisdom ("silaituq") and deserved little respect; he was not behaving as an Eskimo should. The second man on the same imagined walk behaved very differently. He moved surely on his way, without haste and without delaying; he acknowledged the greetings of those he passed on the way, but did not talk to them; nor did he ever find cause for laughter. That man was indeed wise ("silatujuq"), and showed how an Eskimo ought to behave.

These qualities were often mentioned in the context of hardship and misfortune, when discipline and even-temper were of supreme importance. On only one journey did I experience serious misadventure, the worst outcome of which was a week or so without food, and several days in spring storms which trapped three of us in snow houses and made completion of the journey impossible. During those difficult days neither of the Eskimos showed their discomfort, hunger, or anxiety about our predicament. But they repeatedly asked me if I was all right. After all, they said, I was merely a qallanaaq who did not realise that our difficulties were nothing new or unusual. So I was likely to be afraid and uncomfortable, and might become angry against those with whom I travelled for having allowed us to get into difficulties. And on the penultimate day of our difficulties, when we were all weakened by hunger and finding it hard to

keep the sledges moving at all through soft snow, the older man turned to me suddenly and with a quick smile and said: "It is a good thing that you have made this journey, for now you know how an Inumarik must live, and the way he has to be when things go wrong; we know because we have had to be like this many times, but for you it is the first time." I do not mean to imply that the ways and deportment of the Inumarik are usually justified by explicit reference to their usefulness to people faced with adversity; indeed, the same characteristics were praised to me because they are the only way to feel happy at home. But there is among the Inuit of today a continual mixing of the life of the Inumarik with times of recurrent hardship, and it is not surprising therefore that the qualities of a good man are often revealed in memories of difficult times.

It may seem as though all this discussion of the Inumarik, his lifestyle and characteristics, must lie at the very periphery of contemporary social issue. After all, the Eskimos are now everywhere living in settlements, and the changes accompanying that shift from camp to settlement have necessarily much disrupted the Inumarik's basis for authority and respect. And it may equally be thought that this chapter is simply a rediscovery of the Inumarit, and constitutes at best an historical reconstruction. Discussion of Canada's native peoples has often taken as an axiom the view that for the present there is only a final hint of traditionalism, and for the future an ever more complete adoption of mainstream, non-native ways¹.

See e.g. Gavin White

That axiom directs the arguments proceeding from it to regard signs of modernity equally as signs of ineluctably disappearing tradition. The heart of the axiom, however, is that fallacy which consists of defining "tradition" in the terms of classical anthropology, exclusively as the pre-contact culture. Whereas to the Eskimos themselves, tradition is not that all all but is nonetheless an intrinsically valuable thing. Most importantly, it remains a valued thing. Obviously the Inumarit are a small and declining group, but it is essential that the present size nor the likely future size of that group be taken as indices of value placed upon tradition as that group conceives it.

Most people, of all ages, in the small settlements of the Eastern Arctic (and probably in Eskimo communities throughout the world) are interested in and concerned with traditions. I noted at the beginning of this chapter the ubiquity of comments about a person or event being essentially to do with the way of the Inumarik. The following two examples give substance to that comment, and because they are representative of a large number of settlement Eskimos' attitudes, may help show that the Inumarik and his traditioon have real significance to far more people than those few who can justly claim to have known that tradition for most part of their own adult lives.

Luke is a man of 30. He works in a small settlement as Assistant Mechanic - a regular, skilled job which is comparatively highly paid. Living in a government staff house with a wife and three children, he is among the most modern young men of his community: he speaks simple conversational English, chooses to spend his annual holidays in Southern Canada, and plans to buy a motor car. He likes to hunt at weekends or, during the high summer months, on occasional evenings. But he hunts with the help of the most modern equipment - high power snowmobile, extremely expensive gun, new canoe plus the best in outboard motors. Luke is proud of his job, house (which he has equipped with refrigerator, expensive hi-fi, etc.), and hunting equipment.

Although he was born and spent most of his childhood and youth in a camp, Luke is often aggressively unlike the Inumarik in his manner. He makes little effort to conceal quick temper, and certainly does not maintain a tolerant and quiet distance from others. Moreover he likes to drink, and when drunk is inclined to fits of both moroseness and anger; although he is not inclined to fight physically he is, when drunk, extremely forthright in what he says. And what he says tends to return again and again to the question of his being an Inumarik. On numerous occasions Luke talked to me about his knowledge, experience, and techniques as a hunter, seeking to convince me that he was in all those respects a fine Eskimo. Luke always began these discussions with matters of Eskimo language; he had noticed, he would say, that much of my time was spent learning from old

men, and that I seemed to want to learn about the old days or how to do things "inumaritut", "in the manner of the Inumarit". But why was it, he would ask, I did not come to him to learn the language? He knew the real words, and how to express things in the real full way; he was not one of those young people who was willing to speak like a child, or teach others only children's talk. I would do well to spend time learning from him, and could be sure - he would tell me - that I could in that way learn the real language. And I should hunt with him, also, for he could show me how to kill, skin, and butcher caribou and seals the real way; he would teach me how the Inumarik hunted. Luke would repeat throughout that he was an Inumarik himself.

Drunk and somewhat incoherent as he was on those occasions when he regaled me in that way, Luke still revealed an extremely profound reverence for the ways of the Inumarit, and was plainly anxious not to appear to have lost those ways. It is possible to see beyond the irony of Luke asserting his traditional self with a drunken slurr to his voice and with considerable boastfulness, to the man who is among the three or four most successful settlement Eskimos revealing his wish to appear something other - and in his terms something much more - than Assistant Mechanic on a good salary, living in a good house equipped with a fridge, and hunting with the help of the most sophisticated technological devices in use.

A second example of the same syndrome can be seen in the case of a man - David - from the same settlement, of similar age. David, however, had a more prestigious job than Luke, being a fully qualified powerhouse operator. And to most of the settlement youth David represented that

social and personal success which comes from full and competent participation in southern ways and institutions. Admired and trusted by white officials, evidently sure of himself in his dealings with whites, David carried much influence with the Inuit of his community. Although he was much like Luke in having equipped himself with every kind of modern hunting device, and was known for his success as a killer of narwhals, David clearly seemed to stand in opposition to the older people who maintained a more traditional lifestyle. David was moreover a non-believer, preferring to be out on the land to spending any part of a Sunday in the village church. And he also found the time for some hard drinking. These facts were of course well known to older men and women in the community, and were reflected clearly enough in that quiet criticism which older people do sometimes express towards successful men who persist in at least seeming to repudiate tradition.

But David's position vis-à-vis tradition was not so unequivocal. He had a plan for the future, which he expressed to me in these terms: "It is no longer possible to make a good living as a hunter. Gas and ammunition are expensive. And sometimes there is too little game, or prices for skins are too low. So I want to do this: I am going to work here in the settlement and make some money. Then with that money I have made from working, I shall go back to camp life - maybe for a year, maybe for more than that. Then I shall be able to be a real hunter and live all the time hunting from the camp."

And it was evident that although David was, to his peers and elders alike, the very symbol of modernity, he nonetheless held the life of the camp and the ways of the Inumarik in some reverence. He, like Luke and like so many others of his age and socio-economic status, was not unresponsive to the appeal of the tradition. He certainly valued such of tradition as he saw as part of himself, thereby valuing those Inumarit who are held to embody it. Few as those Inumarit might have become, and further threatened as they are by a plethora of developments in settlement life, they are still seen as representatives of and spokesmen for a traditional life which almost all Inuit - even the Davids and Lukes - identify with and admire.

12-1

Chapter 12 - QALLUNAAT - The Whites

Eskimos are much preoccupied with whites. In this chapter I attempt to describe the nature of that preoccupation, seeking to indicate how whites in the past, present, and in general, are characterised. Since the next chapter will focus on the problems Inuit discover in settlement life, the following data concentrate on whites to some degree in separation from their specific, institutional contexts. Since a discussion of whites in the broad political context will equally be left to the next chapter, the following data will appear considerably abstracted and over general. In defence of this division of chapters, however, a first and starting point to this chapter can be made.

Whites come to Eskimo communities from a far, largely unknown place; they remain perched in the North for a time, perhaps even for many years, but they never are thought to have merged with the Eskimo world, remaining linked to the South, ultimately - in the Eskimos' view - a part of the South. Since Inuit regard Qallunaat in that way, and accordingly have a marked sense of racial and cultural distinctiveness, they do not expect to know the Qallunaat in the way in which they expect to know one another. In part, they are aware of a man in a local context, but that local context - his job and lifestyle and character in the North - is seen as but a small thing by comparison with the real and vast context which is the South, "qallunaat nunanga". And it is the South which has moulded the man, determined his role, and directs him all his time in the North. A

white is duly seen as something more than any particular man or job, or bundle of characteristics. Rather, he is a complex, strange and unaccountable thing, formed by places and processes which the Eskimo does not feel truly able to grasp.

An elderly man once conveyed this sense of distance from the real qallunaat in a striking image. He was sitting by a table on which lay a number of pencils. He was talking about the difficulties he and his contemporaries had and still experienced with whites. He picked up one of the pencils, and carefully placed it back on the table, saying: "That is a qallunaat; he has come to work with the Inuit." He took another of the pencils: "This is another qallunaat, who has never neem to the North, but is in charge of the first one; here is another qallunaat", taking a third pencil, "he is the boss of this one who is the boss of the man I know at home. And here is another." He took a fourth pencil and set it in line with the first three. "This one is the man who decides things". And he went on to clarify the point: "The first man, living here, tells something to the second, who tells the third, who passes it on to the fourth. But each of them can change what they say, and the man at the end of the line will not hear what the first man said. But that man at the end will decide what the others should do just the same. Because he is the real boss, and he lives in the South, far away. And he will think he knows what is best, so the man who lives here in the North, close to the Eskimo people, will be doing what a man who lives far away in the South would do."

The point is of course political: whites have power and the power is in the South. But the reflection is cultural in implication: the formation of policy and the formation of character both take place in a remote and entirely different place. And in some measure every white is the embodiment of that place. In this chapter I shall confine discussion to those data which reflect cultural rather than political dimensions of that illustration.

* * *

People of the camps have many memories of whites they encountered occasionally, either as traders or missionaries. Some missionaries lived for a time in camps, but the large majority established a mission house and built a first church near the trading post, this becoming the nucleus of what eventually was to be a settlement. Prior to such establishments, spots favoured by trader and missionary had not usually been camp sites. Inuit therefore travelled from camps to visit those two spokesmen for the South. Memory of such visits remain vivid, and are important, for they tell much of early attitudes to the Qallun aat.

In fact the more common and probably most revealing of such memories centre on traders. Going to the whites' camp was usually precipitated by the wish to trade. And as trade so rapidly became a mainstay of Eskimo life, interest in the journey and traders was naturally great. Further, those dealings with traders did not leave the Eskimo hunters

with a very favourable view of Qallunaat. Moreprecisely, they quickly discovered a combination of perplexing qualities to trade and trading which were confusing, often a source of keen resentment, and yet are in truth at the heart of southern presence in the Arctic: traders evidently had access to fantastic amounts of crucial provisions, but were able to exercise a personal control over the disbursement of such provisions. The Qallunaat were obviously astoundingly rich, powerful, and influenced in their use of riches by entirely unfamiliar customs.

"The very first qallunaat I remember were Hudson's Bay Company traders. I think they were the very first qallunaat to come here, or to stay anywhere near us here. They used to be good men, good to the Eskimo, if the Eskimo were successful hunters and trappers. Only if you were good at hunting and trapping would those first traders do anything to help you. And the only good they did, even then, was to supply each man with a supply of ammunition for the early winter. They did that before freeze-up to make sure that a man would be able to go looking for foxes during the winter. That was credit. If a hunter or trapper did not have much success and got only a few fox, then the credit could not be paid back. And if credit was not paid, then the traders did not want to give any more credit. So I know that those traders were only interested in making money for the Company; or maybe they were interested in making money for themselves working for the Company.

"People here used to feel angry about those fur traders because they were only here for the best hunters. I remember that there was one trader who stayed around for quite a long time; he was a trader when I was still a young boy, and lasted here until I was married and had children. He stayed a long time in one place. That particular trader was quite fair to the Eskimo - and good to the good hunters. But he was really bad to the Cree Indians. Many Indians starved to death while he was the trader.

"Traders have changed a lot now, and seem to have got better. In the early days those traders were like this: if a trader learned that an Eskimo who had come to trade did not have many furs, then he would not even bother going to the store; he would not let the Eskimo even look at the things inside the store. The traders today are different: today it is easier to get things, and to get money, and the traders

stay in the store all day each day. In the old days they would not bother walking to the store if you did not have much with you to trade."

"Now this is my story. I would like to tell just one story about one particular winter that I remember: a very hard winter. I have never recorded this story, either on paper or into a tape recorder, so I am anxious to tell it now. When we were young we did not spend our time together, even though we were about the same age. I want to tell this story to you because you were not there when it all took place¹. In those days, before either of us were married men, it used to be very difficult here: there were not many Qallunaat at that time, and it was sometimes difficult. There were some Qallunaat in a village 100 miles away, and I have heard since that time that the Qallunaat were not coming to the North so much because they were fighting among themselves.

"This story took place when my parents and I were living in Aluk. It was early winter. I went along with my parents because I was not yet able to move around by myself. We went to Aluk, and we were planning to stay there all through the fall and winter. There were two families; in the other family there was an old lady who could not even walk, but she had two daughters. That family camped with us. The old lady was blind. The daughters had children - I think one of them had three children. So we were all camping there, and as the ice formed out at sea we were able to hunt seals and eider ducks."

"He was living at that time with his step-father and his real mother. He used to be really scared of that step-father all the time."

"When winter came the two families were hungry - very hungry. There were no seals and no ducks, because it is only a really good place for hunting during early winter. When the ice gets thick the animals move farther out, so that winter we got very, very hungry. So I sometimes used to walk to another camp, on a nearby island, to get some seal fat, for we had none left in our camp. When I walked to that island I was able to bring some seal fat back home with me, but I had to carry it on my back. We did not have any dogs. If

¹ Initially the narrator was addressing his story to an elderly man who had initially prompted the anecdote; the interpolative comment is his.

you had a dog team it was possible to go long distances, but we no longer had a team. Even my step-father did not have a dog team.

"But after the seal fat I had brought from that island had been used up I had to walk once again to another camp - once to a place quite far away. So I walked to that camp and I was able to carry some fat home from there too. One time going there I managed to get a ride with a dog team which was making its way to the trading post; the post was sited on the island. But after that the seal fat ran out once again, and I had to set off on another walk, to another camp, a place called G. and there my brother and his family were camped. And that year my brother was not able to go and trade at the trading post because he had done something wrong, something against the trader, and was barred from trading. Even if he had seal skins, or even if he had good fox skins to trade with, he could not take them to the post. The trader would not trade with him.

"Even though it is true that Uppik - my brother - did do that thing at the trading post, even though he had acted wrongly, it is all right now. It is a thing of the past. What happened was this. One winter night Uppik went to the trading post and took one of the small window panes out of the store and went inside. Because they were so hungry Uppik had to do that; it was the only way he could get food. He went through the window, into the store, and once inside there he began packing tea and tobacco and other things into a box. But while he was in there the white manager discovered that there was someone inside the store. Now Uppik had a companion, and his name was Simonik. That companion is no longer alive. While Uppik was inside the store packing the things they needed, Simonik stood outside the window which Uppik had removed, and watched to see if anyone was coming. And when Simonik saw a flashlight coming towards the store he warned Uppik by whistling - the signal they had agreed to before - that someone was coming towards the store. Uppik had to rush out through the window, and as soon as he was out he began running away.

"But the flashlight was shining on Simonik all the time. He was not able to run away; he just had to stand still until the manager got to him. He was very scared because a gun was being fired, and the bullets going round him - Simonik thought that they were trying to shoot him. The manager got to Simonik. There were two Qallunaat - the manager and his clerk. That clerk was a rotten guy; he took hold of Simonik and began to beat him up. That clerk was trying to injure Simonik in the liver; Uppik was running away, and being shot at - though he was luckily not killed. The manager was not all that bad to the Inuit, but his clerk was different. As Simonik lay on the ground, that clerk kept beating him. Simonik was saying all the time that it was not his fault, that he had not taken anything. But the whites could not understand the Eskimo language, and did not know what Simonik was trying to say to them. Simonik just covered

himself up as they hit him, and did not try and fight back at all. After he got up off the ground, they took him into the manager's house and beat him some more. Then they let him go. But he died a month or two later. I do not really know, but maybe he died of his injuries. After that beating he was never well again.

"The following day I walked to the trading post from our camp at Aluk to buy some things, and when I arrived there I saw the manager's clerk walking towards his house. He was carrying a rifle, and when we met he was shaking all over; I noticed that when we shook hands. And he told me that there was an Eskimo man, a small man, a very bad man, whom he had chased with a rifle. After I went into the house, the manager told me not to be like that small bad man. He did not tell me the man's name, but I guessed it was Uppik, my older brother. Happily, the clerk's five shots all missed. After I had traded, and got the things I wanted, I went back home and told my family, especially my mother, what had happened. After I had told my mother she recognized who that small man was, because there was only one small man around here, and that was my older brother Uppik. My mother told me it must be him. So it was all very bad. It would not have been that bad, except that Uppik could not go and trade any more, and since he had a wife it was hard on him.

"Now that wife of Uppik's - his first wife - went to the trading post after Uppik was no longer able to go there. She went that same winter. And when she arrived, the manager asked her who she was, and she answered: Mary, even though her name as Sara. She said she was Mary because she knew that Mary was getting assistance every month - she used to get some food and clothing for herself. So Sara used that name, hoping that the manager would give her the things Mary usually was given. And after Sara had said she was Mary, he did give her some food and clothing. And she walked home with those things. Then they ran out of food once again, and she went back to the trading post, and once again said she was Mary and got the things. But after she had left the store she was seen by an Eskimo woman there, and that woman who saw her went to the manager and asked him who the woman taking the things had been. And the manager said her name was Mary. But that other woman said it was not Mary, but Sara. So a month later when they again were without food, and Sara returned to the trading post, the manager there asked her her name. She said the same thing again, saying that her name was Mary. But this time the manager knew that her name was not Mary, but Sara. He told her not to come in.

"At the same time there was the box of things which Uppik had got together when he had been in the store. The manager did not put the things back on the shelves, but left them on the counter, in the box, all the time. Then everyone who came to the store saw those supplies in the box Uppik had put them in, just sitting there on the counter. He left them there all through the rest of the winter, and

through the spring too. After break-up he took them out in a boat, and threw them into the sea. He seemed to prefer those things not to be used by anyone; instead he threw them into the sea.

"That is what it was like that winter. I could not stay at home because Uppik and his family were experiencing those sorts of things, hunger, and troubles with the store. It was a hard winter for that family, and for me too. But when I went to the post I used to take some of Uppik's furs, and just not say to the manager that they were Uppik's, saying instead that they were mine. Then I could take some tea and tobacco and other things to Uppik and his family. That was the only way by brother's family were able to get anything from the store. All that winter I had to make long walks to other camps, searching here and there for food. Once when I was at a camp called Naujak and then went back to our camp, some of the people camping with us had died. If a hunter had no skins to trade, the managers at the posts would give us nothing. Some of the people camping with my parents starved to death that winter. It was a particularly bad winter for everyone. Some people in another camp starved to death. It was the same thing. They did not have any skins to trade, so the manager would not give them anything, and so they starved to death. And from the cold too. We did not have any proper clothes any more, and the hunting kept on being bad. For one whole month there was no open water, and they could not melt snow to drink because they had no fuel left for lamps. They could not even find wood, so where there was no seal fat to melt the fresh water ice they could not get enough to drink. Luckily in our camp we did find some wood, and we would sometimes make a fire and get something to drink.

"That clerk at the store did not last long; he did not stay here very long. After break-up the Hudson's Bay Company boss came here and took him away. I think that the manager reported him one day, when he had gone hunting. That clerk loved hunting, and maybe the manager got tired of him being away too much. But I do not really know whether he reported the clerk to the boss or not. But the rest of my story is true; I remember it all very well."

It is evident that Eskimos of today do not believe that whites came North simply to be helpful, but rather see their arrival here as having been bound up essentially with whites' self-interest. Nonetheless, it is - even on this view of today's Inuit - a good thing that the whites came, and essential that they remained. It seemed to the Eskimos that survival in

the camps depended on those traders, and even if relations between trader and trapper were often uneasy or hostile, even if that amazing abundance of vital goods was not spread freely among the people, there remained no doubt in the mind of trappers as to their ultimate dependence on these curious and difficult strangers from the south. Attitudes towards these strangers were duly bound to be compounded of awe, nervousness, hostility. Yet outright conflict was rare, and much of the traders' own writings suggest that they at least were inclined to believe themselves to be among a people who were friendly, tolerant, and essentially of goodwill. It is true that Duncan Pryde in his curious saga of strife and struggle, suggests a rather different kind of overt behaviour towards the trader¹. But even he plainly believes that the forthright expressions of anger he proudly remembers suppressing were neither typical of the Arctic, nor even of the men who hunted and trapped in an especially violent corner of it. In face-to-face dealings, as the Inuit of today recall, with traders or among any whites, there was an acute nervousness which secured at least an appearance of compliance and friendship. The ubiquitous smile really is and no doubt always has been a cover up for a host of feelings and thoughts. And the Eskimo of the camps certainly felt that a trader's power being so great - he could hold, as the last story reveals, the power of life and death during hard times - he should be appeased.

¹ See Pryde 1972

Indeed, it is often said by older Eskimos that almost all whites are emotionally volatile and unpredictable, and this view is illustrated by a multitude of anecdotes about whites who appeared in the North many years ago. Many such anecdotes good naturedly point fingers at men or situations where a burst of irritation or anger appeared merely ludicrous. But there are also memories of whites who, because they recurrently menaced others with angry irrationalities, were killed by Eskimos. Two such stores are reconstructed by Price ¹ An old man once told me that it was always easy to see what Qallunaat are thinking, simply because they show everything on their faces. Obviously each white who did come North was both conspicuous and important, and it is therefore not surprising to find older people who recall with little difficulty the characteristics of each. Even when government administrators and educational services were being established, and the flow of southern personnel was much increased, whites were still few and are all remembered. Despite a general view of the power and riches of the south, and despite a strong sence of Qallunaat cultural identity, Eskimo attitudes to whites still allow for great interest in and concern with each individual stranger's peculiarities.

The appearance of government agents in the North obviously much transformed the nature of white/Eskimo relationships. The old powerful trader, interested in establishing commercial dealings with trappers, was in part displaced by men who protested an undivided concern with Eskimo welfare².

¹ See Price, opt.cit. page It must be said that Price is inclined to tell such stories from the southerner's point of view.

² Traders had tried to do the same, see Weskimo Book of Knowledge, page , and page , but had failed: Eskimos identified the trader's pursuit of his own and Company's interest accurately enough.

We have come, such officials said, to help, to make sure everyone has the material things they need, to make sure there is no more hunger and starvation. And those officials succeeded in convincing people that such were indeed the motives for their coming. More accurately, the people came to believe that the men in the south who made the real decisions had sent officials to help the Eskimo, and that some officials undertook that mission with honesty.

"Then the administrator came, the first we ever had. He came and said that he was going to help people, and that he would really try and treat people all the same way. I was trying to support a family, and others were not. That administrator agreed with us about who did and who did not need help. It was like that when he came - we were all treated the same, and he said he would give us all the same kind of help."

The somewhat revised attitude to the south was, however, of this form: fundamentally the whites want to help the Eskimos, even if some particular whites do not in practice do so. Some of the ways in which the new white presence did affect men's lives is illustrated by a young man's reminiscences¹.

"I have a very short memory not like my father - he can remember being on his mother's back . . . I was very young when my mother died, maybe a little older than 10, that is when I start remembering things, when I was about that age. I remember just after my mother's death that I was sometimes hungry and quite thirsty. Life was difficult for me when my mother died. I was thirsty, and I used to think that when I grew up life would be easy again. I used to think: when I grow up I shall be able to look after myself, and not be hungry and not get thirsty. The person looking after me did not really look after me properly when I was small, and I would think: I'll pay her back when I am an adult. But I do not pay her back, I do not make her hungry or thirsty. When my mother was alive I was

¹ He was 31 when telling the story.

looked after much better, even my clothing was better, even my seal skin boots. I remember my good footwear when my mother was alive, but after she died I can remember my footweat being made from flour sacks full of holes. My feet were not taken care of and those sacks on my feet would wear out quickly; I sometimes walked around with the skin of my feet sticking through the boots. That went on until I was 18. And the, when I was 18, I was evacuated to hospital. I had a general sickness, I had tuberculosis.

"I was away in hospital for about two years. That was my very first time away from the family. And that was when things in my life began changing. Since then life has been easier; when I was away in hospital I learned a few English words, so that when I came home again I knew a little English. I was the only person here who knew a few words of English, so when the whites came here I was taken by them, to try and help them communicate with the Inuit. That seemed to make things easier, because I was finding jobs. You know, going out to hospital seemed to make life better when I came back.

"I went into the same house as before and there were some pups there, which I was able to take. I got four pups then, raised them, and so got a dog team for myself. When those four pups grew up, and were working as a dog team, it was possible for me to go hunting for myself. Also, I asked the Hudson's Bay Company Manager if I could have some credit - if I could have a rifle on credit. It was K. (an Eskimo) who was working in the store at that time, and he gave me the credit of a rifle. Getting that rifle started thins rolling for me: I was able to feed myself and my team. It seemed this way with my step-mother: she used to be hard on me before I was 18, but when I came back, from 20 on, she has been treating me well - for I have been able to achieve things since then. I used to think, when I was under 18, that as I grew up my stepmother's attitude would change.

"But when I was about 22, that rifle I had got on credit was worn out, and I had to get hold of a new one somehow. Fortunately, the government gave me a new rifle, and some new clothes, and even supplied all the ammunition I needed then. I had enough ammunition to last through one whole spring. I did not ask for those things; I saw some men going to the office and getting things from the government official, and I just went along to see what they were all doing, asked, and was given those things. I used to get welfare from the government from time to time, but when I was 22, that was when I stopped getting welfare completely. I do not know why that was. But those early administrators, from the government, were good to me. The one who gave me the things once gave me some bits of advice too. He said: the government is here to help people, so if you have no source of income to buy guns and ammunition you should never be afraid to ask. Even when that administrator left, and was followed by another man, I still got the same kind of

help. Although in those days there was no administrator living here all the time, there was one who came from many miles away, making visits to the Inuit here, seeing who needed government help."

In that recollection one man found in the arrival of more supportative white agencies some very real benefit. Those newer agencies of course reinforced the extent to which the whites appeared to be immensely rich and powerful, and in that sense there was no great change. But the power and riches did seem to be freshly directed towards helping Eskimos; southern claims about the nature of increasing presence in the Arctic were backed by some realities. And those realities - provision of welfare payments, medical services, and some wage labour opportunities - remained central to white activities in the settlements, thus remaining equally central to the Eskimo view of whites today.

The Inuit do not always agree about the purposes and motives of whites. Some say that all whites are trying as hard as they can to bring southern benefits to the North, and are hoping thereby to secure a truly good life for Northern native people. Men with such enthusiastic attitudes towards whites are emphatic in their support of each white who comes to work in the North; irrespective of consensus criticism among others of the way in which a particular white carries out his work. But that is a minority view. The majority distinguish between basic purposes on the one hand and on the other hand individuals charged with responsibility for realising those purposes in the settlement. Even those who interpret southern presence in a broad political framework, seeing it as a consequence of decisions taken by men who never, or very rarely, come North, are nonetheless prepared to express indignation at particular white officials or even to be critical of whites in general.

It is indeed to some extent precisely because the majority have a charitable view of southern purposes that they are critical of individual officials: overall standards are high, and individual shortcomings duly judged harshly on those standards. In Chapter 9 I described the keen animosity which a majority of one settlement came to feel towards their local administrator. But in that same community southern endeavour in the North was widely believed to be good, and Travis was most often criticised for not doing what he had been sent to do - help people. And many of that community expressed open thankfulness towards whites in general for having been, and promising to be, of so much help to Eskimo people, easily reconciling such thanks with particular objections to individual whites. Since it is today the case that a large majority of northern whites are in the employment of government agencies, which are seen to some considerable extent as relief from those harsh times when traders' whims could be so influential, that reconciliation is of central importance.

Yet criticism of individual whites is rarely spoken to the whites themselves. There is deep reluctance to confront whites, and even when indignation is so keen and widespread the indignant are loath to speak openly to the men who are objects of that indignation. Even in the situation described in Chapter 9 that reluctance was strong, and actual confrontation was slow in happening and remained the work of a very small number of those who were actually angered. The Inuit themselves agree that they prefer to avoid such confrontations, pointing out that whites are intimidating people who take criticism badly. Moreover, whites do

not seem able to detect those expressions of criticism which Inuit prefer - subtle, quiet expressions. And that preference for the unobtrusive, non-angry form of expression is widely held by whites to explain prevalent ignorance of local attitudes and opinions. Like the absence of forthright leaders within the settlement communities, Eskimo shyness is seen as a distinctive cultural trait, a hangover from traditional life, which is as charming as it is at odds with needs and demands of contemporary life.

Although there may well be a small touch of truth to that particular culturalogical explanation, it unfortunately splits that 'shyness' from other related aspects of Eskimo attitudes towards whites. One such aspect can be found in a deep anxiety about southern intentions in the longer run. It is agreed that the south is important, supportative, and to be thanked for that; it is also often said that the south will eventually abandon the Eskimos. Some older men recall predictions made to that effect in the earliest days of governmental welfare work in the Arctic. The prediction runs: whites are here now to help us, but they will certainly not continue providing that help unconditionally or indefinitely; they will withdraw that support, and leave us to our own resources; that is particularly likely to happen soon if we do not co-operate fully with the laws which whites are establishing. An expression of that prediction is not in itself very common¹, but the sentiment underlying it most certainly is: a great many people, realising the enormous importance

¹ But see page below for one example of such expression.

that things southern have come to assume in almost every part of their lives, cannot avoid a lurking apprehension about the possible withdrawal of such things. In such a vulnerable population such apprehension can quickly turn to real alarm. And it is that fear which perhaps underlies reluctance to allow open confrontation with whites, and ensures a suppression of voiced criticisms. A simple and initial corroboration of that connection recurrently arose in the course of field work, for many people spoke to me about how I might use what I was learning, asking for reassurance that I would not recound to southerners things which would make southerners think ill of the Inuit for (and this was often quite explicit) should such ill be thought, then the government would surely stop providing services. A dependent and politically impotent group discovers its weakness by realising it cannot risk protest.

Amplification of this matter is central, and can be begun by examining one word in the Eskimo language. People often say that they do not wish to criticise whites, or even visit them, because whites are "frightening". People also say that it is particularly "frightening" to be among people whose language is unintelligible. But they use different words for those fears: in the first instance, the word used has the stem "ilira", and the expression often has the form "iliranarmat" "because it is ilira"; in the second instance the stem is usually "kapia", and thus the form "kapianarmat", "because it is kapia". The first of those terms, ilira, is difficult to translate and for a long time I was puzzled by it. Since

it arose often in discussion of whites, and most significantly was used to explain why contact with whites was avoided or unsatisfactory, it was obviously important that its connotations be unravelled. Most translators render it as "afraid" thereby not distinguishing between the two terms (or, for that matter, between those two and a third, "irqsi"). An excellent interpreter once told me that there was no word that he knew of in English which could capture the principal meaning of ilira. Thus arose a central problem.

The unravelling of the puzzle began in a surprising way¹. For a period of some five days I had avoided visiting my principal Eskimo language teacher. It was one of those spells arising inevitably during field work, at which time a feeling of despondent pessimism makes contact with a best friend in a community seem impossible. Uneasy and feeling so little confidence, it seemed either foolish or pointless to try and be with those who wished to help most: in any case the language was too difficult, and all I could do was pollute good friends with a bad mood. After the five days of keeping to more casual acquaintances and making occasional fishing trips, I was passing the house of my teacher when he came to the door and asked me to come in. Once inside, he told me that he had prepared our next lesson and was ready to teach that very minute. So he sat down at the table and he pulled out two sheets of paper on which he had written a series of sentences - a method of teaching he had employed before. But

¹ Had I read at that time Jean Briggs' study of Eskimo emotional expression (Briggs, 19) the puzzle would have been less perplexing See pp below)

12-10

before passing me the papers, he made some introductory remarks. They were these:

"My wife and I have seen you walk past our house, and have seen you through the window walk past, not visiting. For some time you have not visited us. My wife saw you this morning walk by and she said to me: there he goes, he is not going to visit us. Perhaps he is afraid (ilirasuggamik) to come here. You do not know that wor, ilirasuggamik (since he feels ilira). Here, I'll explain to to you"

And the papers were passed to me. On them my teacher had assembled some simple examples, all using one of the two principal words for fear - kapia and irqsi. There was a man hiding in a hole in the snow beside which an enormous polar bear was strolling: he was terrified (irqsi). And there was a man making his way over early winter ice which was supple and thin: he was afraid (kapia). There were others in the same vein.

Once I had understood those examples and written sentences myself using the same roots in appropriate contexts, the teacher spoke to me again. He told me that when I came to visit I need not be afraid (kappia) or terrified (iqsi), because there were no dangers in his house. He knew I would not feel such things. But sometimes he said I seemed to feel ilira, and he understood I might feel that, for I was a stranger and sometimes did not understand and did not know many things about the ways of the house. But I was wrong to feel ilira, because there is nothing to be ilira about ("iliranangituq"). When he, the teacher, went to the house of a white, he sometimes felt ilira and when he was a small boy he felt that his father was very ilira-inspiring ("iliranalaurtuq"). As as I

asked about the word, offering examples of its use, it became clear that a context which revealed its meaning most clearly was indeed the feeling inspired by a strong and authoritarian father in his children.

Armed with these basic discoveries about the word *ilira* I proceeded to discover more refinements of its meaning. It seems to have as its central core that feeling of nervousness and awe which comes from being at an irreversible disadvantage, having no way of modifying, or still less of controlling, the actions of another; a ramification seems to be to do with predictability - one is *ilira* of a person whose actions cannot be predicted, still less understood. Hence it is a term which neatly fits situations of cultural dissimilarity in which a lone person is in contact with a group: a single visitor in a household which speaks a language the visitor cannot understand. Most importantly, it is a term which captures the feeling of the dominated towards those who dominate them. It is a term which also has connotations of dependence. Since the word is repeatedly used to characterise the feelings about contact with whites, the range of its meaning is close to the range of contemporary attitudes towards whites.

It is significant that Eskimos sometimes refer to one another as being or not being particularly *ilira*-inspiring. Occasionally I was told to visit someone who was unusually interesting, and often reassured about making such a visit with "*iliranangituq*", "there's nothing to be *ilira* about", and I was thereby given to understand that there would be a ready welcome, talkativeness, and all the other touches of hospitality which can make

visiting unproblematic. But it was somehow made clear that the good, strong person, a truly admirable Inumarik did indeed inspire some feelings of ilira. And the younger people sometimes confided to me their deep feelings of ilira vis-à-vis one older person or another, thereby indicating that they felt a maximum of respect. And this it is possible to distinguish most clearly between ilira and kappia: if an Eskimo said a man was kappia-inspiring, then he would be criticising, giving to understand that the man in question was perhaps actually dangerous, inclined to anger or violence, whereas if he was said to be ilira-inspiring the man might be receiving a compliment.

Jean Briggs has discussed the term 'ilira' (See Briggs p32-3), contrasting it with 'kappia' and 'irqsi' (in her orthography, determined by the dialect of the group she lived among 'iqhi'). She sketches the distinction between 'ilira' and the two other words for fear in terms similar to those given here. She writes, for example, "The term ilira, is used in situation in which a person fears that his request will be refused, or that he will be scolded or criticized..." and continues:

"Children are said to feel ilira towards their parents, that is, their 'leaders' ... Strangers, especially, both Eskimo and kabloona, are ilira'd by everyone, and people of uncertain temper are also ilira'd, I think, whether or not they are strangers. Thus, one man told me: 'People who joke frequently are not frightening (iliranaittut) - implying that people who do not appear happy are frightening.'" (p32)

My data suggest that the last of Briggs' observations is in need of much qualification by the first. That is, a person who appears unhappy will

be ilira-inspiring if and only if he is someone who in any case inspires respect. Otherwise he may arouse kappia-feelings, or no fear feelings whatsoever. That qualification is in fact implicit in two other passages in Briggs' discussion:

"The following kinds of behavior are all noted on occasion as signs that a person feels ilira: silence and constraint; a loss of appetite (or at least an unwillingness to eat) in the presence of the ilira'd person; a tendency to smile and agree, if the latter speaks, and a reluctance to disagree or to admit that one does not understand what the feared person says." (ibid)

"Feelings of ilira make a person reluctant to ask favors. The woman in whose household I lived said that her early ilira feelings about me had made her reluctant to use mu primus without express permission, and reluctant also to ask for food from my supplies." (op.cit. 33)

All these findings suggest that 'ilira' is the feeling which whites inspire in Eskimos. Certainly it is rare indeed to hear a white described as "iliranangitoq", "not ilira-inspiring". But since I am arguing that the Eskimo who is most respected inspires ilira in others, then it may therefore appear that whites are being complimented by Eskimos for giving rise to so much ilira. That is not the case for two reasons.

Firstly, visits to white homes, like most encounters with whites, invariably entail being in a group which uses an unintelligible language. Ilira of whites is therefore typically compounded by kappia - whites tend to inspire simple fear as well as that more subtle blend of respect and nervous apprehension indicated by 'ilira'. And as the Eskimo stereotype of whites often includes mention of a tendency to sudden anger, the element of such fear can be large. Those whites who are even-tempered, careful in their dealings with Inuit, forthright and friendly, can fairly

quickly dispel some part of that fear. But a mixture of fear tends to remain. Kappia-inspiring ways and circumstances obviate the compliment. Secondly, there is a degree of ilira which is too acute to be commensurate with respect for the distinguished. If ilira never gives way to ease, then the one who inspires it is not one who commands only respect, but is a source of unremitting unease. To say a man is ilira is this to offer ambiguous praise indeed. It was said to me that by comparison with the Qallunaat of even the recent past, the present Qallunaat are both more kappia- and more ilira-inspiring. An elderly man once said to me:

"In the old days the Qallunaat who came here were always writing things down, even when they were not at work at their jobs. Today they only write in their offices. In the old days traders and missionaries and government officials wrote down Eskimo words and stories and learnt about them. Today they do not learn such things. Today the whites are not seen to be writing."

That gulf which is created between peoples by mutual ignorance is bound to increase the ilira which the dominated feel towards the dominators. And as the Inuit discover the spread of that domination, so they come to express more readily among themselves, and even less readily to the Qallunaat, fear and unease - feelins of fear which in part differ from and in part are radically more acute than any which even a much-respected Inumarik might well inspire¹.

Some of that uncase centres on aspects of their life which they believe Qallunaat are disposed to criticise. Moreover, such anticipation of

1

criticisms is closely related to the Inuit sense of the irreducible difference between Qallunaat and themselves. Commentators and some social scientists are inclined to see modernisation as a series of social changes which at least in part result in increasing similarity between peoples in different parts of one larger society. They thus, for example, anticipate that urbanisation of peasant villages will result in the culture of such villages resembling more closely that of mainstream life of the nation in which the villages are situated; in some cases the anticipated result is complete mergence of culture (or disappearance of local traditional culture). This can be regarded as a process of reducing boundaries: the changing or acculturating group gradually loses its sense of difference and discreteness, thus facilitating (or causing) assimilation¹. The recurrence of this phenomenon may have created an orthodoxy which results in an expectation that Eskimos, in the course of rapid modernisation, are likewise reducing ethnic boundaries. That orthodoxy would, however, be radically incorrect: ethnic boundaries are strongly felt and generally maintained despite modernisation². More simply, minimal assimilation of Eskimos is taking place, and people remain acutely aware of the differences between themselves and Qallunaat. The words, ways of thinking, and outlook of the Qallunaat are said to be distinctive. They even have distinctive worries; becoming fretful about

¹ The fact and source of ethnic boundary are not easily separated. See e.g. Karl Barth: Ethnic Groups . . .

² In Chapter 15 I shall argue that it is because of rather than despite modernisation that the boundaries are strong in their present expression. See p. below

trivia and anxiously insisting, for example, on punctuality. Furthermore they have a disregard for literal truth, saying that things are going to happen when there is no certainty or is merely one man's personal judgment. If matters do not turn out as they expect and rather wantonly predict, the Qallunaat become openly troubled. In many physical details they are likewise equally different: they walk, lean, and sit in distinctive ways and positions. An old man once talked to me of a government official, insisting that he could not be a full-blooded Qallunaak since his manner of walking was not like that of other Qallunaat. Although that official was in fact from Nova Scotia, tall, blond, English speaking, the old man was satisfied only when I recalled having heard that the official in question had once been a Hudson's Bay Company trading post clerk in an Indian community where he no doubt had done much walking across rough land a through snow. More generally, whites are seen as lacking in physical endurance, if not in sheer strength. Eskimos who take whites with them on hunting expeditions tend to be attentive to whites' every need and comfort, anticipating with every slight duress, a spell of wind or a difficult walk, that the Qallunaak will collapse from cold or exhaustion.

But it is in the matter of social and dietary habits that perceived differences are most directly relatable to anticipated criticisms. Eskimos have come to believe that whites have come to despise Eskimo ways of eating. There is deep reluctance to be seen eating raw food, especially raw fresh seal meat - a reluctance which amounts in many

cases to sheer embarrassment. Whites, it is believed, find such foods utterly distasteful, and virtually never eat them. I knew elderly men who had over many years spent much time travelling with whotes - even with old times who had lived hard and rough - yet had never seen a Qallunaaq eat raw seal meat. And the first time I travelled with North Baffin Eskimos, with an old man and his teenage son, we made a fishing trip some three days distance from the village. On the return journey we had no food other than fish, which the old man boiled at every meal; even when we stopped for a travelling break in the middle of a day's sledging he took out a stove and went to the trouble of cooking the food. Months later we laughed together about that journey, for by then I had discovered that both he and his son much preferred to eat fish uncooked, but had been afraid of disgusting me. In similar fashion some younger people express to the Qallunaaq a distaste for fresh raw meat, hoping thereby to impress whites with their modernity and sophistication, as if sophistication could be secured by mere disgust with Eskimos' food.

In some communities where both Indians and Eskimos live as neighbours, the Eskimo people feel much the same defensiveness vis-à-vis Indians; in Great Whale River, for example, some Eskimo people told me that they always drew the curtains of their homes when eating raw seal meat, for fear of being seen by Indians. Raw food is thus an important hallmark of Eskimo self-identification, but is equally felt to arouse hostile criticism in others.

It is not merely what is eaten which has that position; Inuit are also conscious of ways in which they eat. In the Eastern Arctic Inuit do not have meal times, but eat whenever it seems sensible - before setting out on a journey, on returning, when there happens to be food, when someone happens to feel hungry. Nor does the family necessarily eat together; its members often prefer to eat either in succession or at quite different times. Meals do not determine the pattern of daily life in the way of southern homes. Further, many people prefer to eat squatting on the ground, often around part of a carcass or some frozen fish, each with his own knife cutting a chunk, eating it, cutting another. Eating in that way does not require plates, knives, table-cloths, or much of the paraphernalia of southern eating - paraphernalia which southerners tend to see as the embodiments of culture, by which a carcass can be turned into food. And many southerners have duly regarded Eskimo ways of eating as dirty, unhygienic, and generally 'uncivilized' (i.e. without the culture recognized by whites). Conscious of such criticism, Eskimos are defensive and nervous about their own customs; it is assumed that whites who happen to visit a home during such a meal will not join in, and those who are eating at the time of such a visit become tense with embarrassment. Conversely, Eskimos often express apprehension about visiting a southerner's home by insisting that the white there "might well be eating"; it is known that eating is, for settlement whites, a strange and exclusive ritual. Whites are duly regarded as people who have a very distinctive way of eating, a way which is at odds with Eskimo ways. Another aspect of

the same feelings was demonstrated to me in the course of a visit to the home of a North Baffin family.

I used to make regular visits to the home of an elderly man, talking and drinking tea there. The visits had become one of the most relaxed parts of my work, and I think both his family and I enjoyed them greatly. Over many weeks we got accustomed to eating together, and I was shown how to eat traditional foods in traditional manner. Once the embarrassment passed I felt that the old man took a special delight in leading a Qallunaaq into those Eskimo ways which Eskimos so often feel are distasteful to southerners. Then he one day suggested that I go with him on a visit to a relative of his whom I had never before met. We went there together, and no sooner had we sat down in the relative's house than the woman of that house offered us tea. And she began to wash a cup for me. The old man who had brought me there called out to her: 'don't wash that cup for him, he has been taught not to live like a Qallunaaq'. The woman ceased her thorough scouring and merely rinsed it peremptorily. On future visits to that house no attempt was again made to ensure that I had a specially clean cup, but was expected to use one of the cups already on the table. Those cups are not dirty, merely in use.

When whites who are relatively strange to the household do make visits, it is therefore not surprising that they usually cause consternation and unease among the visited. Inuit feel that there are many things about their homes and their way of life, which are sure to be criticized by

white visitors. Since such visitors are in any case men of power and representatives of the authority by which the Eskimo way of life has been and is still being moulded, such criticisms cannot be taken lightly. The Qallunaat have entirely different persona, and it is not possible to disentangle the details of that persona: dislike for raw meat, a bizarre way of bending forwards, preoccupation with washing cups, and vast political authority, all are blended together. The sense of vast difference between such people and oneself is inevitably bound up with an Eskimo's feeling of ilira when confronted by them. The Qalunaaq is rich, important, and very different; Eskimo attitudes towards him are determined by the perception of that bundle of characteristics. It is assumed that every white is made up from that bundle, even if one or another of the traits is in relative prominence. That assumption, and a double bond associated with it, are revealed most poignantly by Inuit frequently saying to those occasional whites whom they have got to know and like: 'angajuqqaaraluulaaputinnai?': 'you're going to be a powerful boss, eh?' - said in optimism (after all, it would be well to have a comparatively agreeable man in power) touched with resignation (after all, a while is a boss and an alien).

It is important to recognize the extent of power attributed to whites by Inuit. One small anecdote might help reveal its scale and some historical ramifications. A man recounted to me a series of events which had happened in the camps around his land; it was a troubled story, of killing and confusion; eventually the RCMP had entered the scene. Eventually a

number of men were taken by the police to gaol. One of the gaoled men died well before his short prison term was completed. The cause of his death had been unclear in the narration of the events, and I asked some questions about the mysterious death. Our conversation went:

- q. "What happened to I. in the prison, before he died?"
- a. "Nothing. He died there."
- q. "Was he sick?"
- a. "No, he was killed in the prison."
- q. "Who killed him?"
- a. "The police killed him. They knew he was never going to be a good man, so they had to kill him."
- q. "Do you know how they killed him?"
- a. "They killed him. They knew he would be bad always. It was God's wish that he die, and it was the police who did what God wanted. The olice always do that; it is their job. They knew the man must die so they decided he should die, and he died."
- q. "Did they just wish it? Is that the only thing they did?"
- a. "Yes, they wanted him to die. If the police want someone to die, then they decide it, and wish it, and the man dies. That is, if it is God's wish, and nothing can be done, then the police do it. They are God's helpers. They know what has to be done, and they do it."

Few people of younger generations would today subscribe to that view of the police, but nonetheless exhibit in their attitudes towards the Qallunaat a sense of awe in the face of extraordinary power and wealth which is no less evidenced to them by the ways of government and medical officials than it once was by the earlier troicha of missionary, trader, and policeman. There are new attitudes which contain larger elements of hostility and resentment; there is no doubt a growing feeling, even in the remotest and least developed communities, that the whites have not

always acted with honesty and generosity; and many younger people are fairly ready to express indignation about the wrongs and falsehoods they discern among settlement whites. But no one is left in any doubt as to the ultimate authority of those whites, while very few indeed are inclined to overlook those characteristics of white and Eskimo life which have, over many years, come to be regarded as a vast cultural divide between two radically different peoples. And, finally, the one small, poor, troubled group is dependent upon the other - innumerable, rich, demanding, and inclined to be critical. The prevalent attitudes of one to the other stem from the Eskimo's awareness of such imbalance, making for a curious but understandable blend of gratitude, defensiveness, nervousness, shyness, and - increasingly - hostility.

Chapter 13 - The Settlement

In many communities of the Eastern Arctic move from camp to settlement was effected in stages. It was often the case that children were sent to partly residential schools while their parents remained in camp. As the scale of building and servicing settlements increased, so Eskimo families came to have more and more reason for spending time there. Moving back and forth between camp and settlement became a normal part of life. Yet despite a gradual shift towards involvement with the settlement, and despite comparatively large amounts of time which camp people came to spend in settlements, virtually all Inuit can say in precisely what year they finally made the move. It was a clear decision to move to the settlement and away from camp. After that move, many hunters still went to camp for parts of each year, but that practice does not appear to have blurred most peoples own sense of having moved. As the Eskimos themselves see the matter, that move was a definite choice. And they can accordingly remember the moment of choice, factors which finally determined it, and the feelings they had once the choice and move were made. Since for many people in the Eastern Arctic that choice was recent, memory of it remains vivid, and provides a good starting point for a discussion of settlement life in the present.

A hunter and trapper of North Baffin once talked of his move to a settlement:

"It was 1966 when we came here. I decided to move because of the children. When we were in camp we were always being asked when we would be moving. Everybody was always asking. One year there were two women teachers who taught in the camp and they asked again. It was summer and they said it would not be possible to bring our children to the settlement and for us then to continue living in camp. But we anyway did not want to live like that; we would not want to live away from our children, without children at home with us. Now it is not too bad in the settlement, but I was happier in camp, only coming here to buy things we needed. Sometimes I regret the move. In the camp there was no rent to pay."

"At first I did not like settlement life at all. We all were worried about being able to get Eskimo food - but then we found we could still hunt and eat good food sometimes. Then there is the problem of rent. We are asked to rent houses because it is supposed to be better for our health. People from the south told us that we would no longer get sick if we lived in a rented house. But sickness does not come only from housing; the people were fooled. In the old days we were isolated. Nobody was moving about among us. So sickness moves with them."

Another, older man:

"I moved here because I was asked to move, and because I am ill sometimes and have back trouble. On the whole I am well looked after here. I do not think I had any real difficulty making the move, though some of us were sometimes unhappy when we wanted to hunt, but could not hunt as easily, as freely as before."

A middle-aged man:

"It was very difficult moving here from camp. We moved in 1967 because the children had to go to school. There was a hostel at that time, for children whose parents were living in camp, but it always seemed to be full. The children in the hostel were well cared for by two couples, but we wanted to be with them. I would have stayed in camp if the children had not been a problem, and if my step-father had not moved. And what I noticed on first being here was the long road from our house to the school."

Most people feel that great pressure was put on them to move, and that the Qallunaat were anxious to draw people into settlements. Those pressures were informal and diverse, appearing in the form of both

attractions (medical services; housing; proximity to store and church;) and threats (camp children could not have the benefits of schooling; camp life was the cause of ill-health). The central feature of the move, however, was the new relationship to the whites and their institutions: to move to a settlement was to acknowledge both dependence on white provisions and relief, and subordination to white ordering of social, economic, and moral life. However much those two conditions may have been recognized and accepted by Inuit prior to moving into settlements, they nonetheless felt that just as camp life gave privacy and at least a sense of separate integrity or independence, so settlement life was lived according to the dispensation of the Qallunaat. The move was made in full consciousness of that - a consciousness which determined from the start how problems of settlement life would be described; a fundamental responsibility for them was to be lain at the doors of white officials who bore the real daily responsibilities.

Frank Vallee, in his book "Kabloona and Eskimo" found that the Baker Lake settlement and surrounding population were readily divisible into Nunamiut (people of the land) and Kabloonamiut (people of the whites), and that the latter were mediators between whites and the former, occupying a prestigious class position, and clearly adopting a range of southern customs¹. Vallee regards the social locusts of the Kabloonamiut group as important in the overall aculturation of Baker Lake Eskimos. And the

¹ See especially Vallee opt. cit page 143 and 141 following. 'Kabloonamiut' is written in the standard orthography used here as 'Qallunaarmiut'.

group is distinguishable for its economic life, being employees of southern agencies. But Vallee in fact describes a distinctive period of Eastern Arctic history; today all but a tiny group of Eskimos are, by his definition, Kabloonamiut. It is no longer the case that a small group of more "aculturated" Eskimos dominate community affairs. Rather, early differentiations in social class and status, which no doubt are typical hallmarks of early stages in colonial development, turned out to have been transitory; equality or uniformity of Eskimo class position now emerges, not simply within the Eskimo community itself, but in relation to the whites and to the material or political resources of southern society as a whole.

Settlement people of today still view the move to settlement as a move to the whites, though most would be deeply reluctant about calling themselves Qallunaarmiut. And there can be no doubt that the Eskimos throughout the Eastern Arctic can be said to be in the beginning of that form of social change which consists in becoming superficially more like whites. Qallunaat social scientists have called it aculturation. For older Eskimos, even a man who ate traditional foodstuffs and hunted and trapped, but who lived in a government provided house, in a government located village, seeking wage labour when it was available, and had his children in a government day school, was being changed by coming to adopt white ways. It was argued in the last chapter that a keen sense of ethnic boundaries ensures that Eskimos do not feel it possible to change into

a white, but that sense does not prevent people becoming acutely conscious of, and at pains to describe, changes which arise from being in a settlement, changes which include transformation of things Eskimo by things white¹. An old man once expressed the matter in this way:

"Life here has definitely changed now. Eskimos have changed and they are in ways almost like whites now. Some more, some less. They have been living for some years under the government administration. Already there have been five administrators in this settlement. Those administrators have been pretty good to the people here, but they are all carrying orders from bosses far away, and those bosses have decided how the Inuit should live, what they should do. So the administrators here are not free to do what they need to do. Some people like the administrator we have now, and some do not. I do not know. He seems to be good to me all the time. The administrator's clerks are really good when they first arrive. When they get here they really go to work and do things on behalf of the people. Then they change, after they have been here longer. The present one has changed like that. You see, sometimes the clerks stop caring about the people, and just carry orders. Without trying to help. Maybe they get too tired from writing so much.

"I think it is possible for Eskimos to do these jobs, being administrators and clerks. If they had to do it, they could. They could be happy doing everything here if they had the equipment - tractors, machines, everything, all the equipment. The whites have the equipment now, and they do the jobs, and their bosses make all the decisions."

The problems of the settlement are thus seen as hinging on the role of whites. Economic life focusses increasingly on work provided by whites, and the problems which settlement life engenders at the social and familial levels are problems which whites must do most towards solving. Since

¹ Vallee op.cit, page 141-2, says: "It should be emphasized that the Kabloonamiut are not simply regarded as the white man's Eskimo in the sense that some Americans refer to the white man's negro. Attitudes towards the Kabloonamiut vary, but they are regarded as Eskimos first and foremost. Although they have rejected the way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land, they have not given up the skills associated with the land." It is my argument that being an Eskimo, in self or other-ascription, goes far beyond "skills associated with the land". That is, an Eskimo can live in a settlement, much or more as the Kabloonamiut Vallee characterizes, and still be quite sure in himself, and in the views of others, that he is an Eskimo. Vallee seems to underestimate the intensity and complexity of an Eskimo's sense of Eskimood.

it is they who created the settlements, encouraged the move to them, equally it is they who must discover ways of solving the difficulties that have arisen and promise to continue arising. It is not surprising that among those problems regarded as most serious is the whole matter of White/Eskimo relationships, nor is it surprising that a great deal of anxiety about White/Eskimo relationships is frequently informed by more specific concerns with institutional problems in the settlement. That is, Inuit are not troubled by the white manner or white cultural traits per se, nor even by the effect of such traits on themselves as individuals, but tend instead to be preoccupied with the ways in which white and Eskimo relationships hamper the development of settlement life, or interfere with realisation of good and helpful purposes in the local institutions. This is evident in these remarks; the first taken from a conversation I had with a woman living in a small settlement in the Eastern Arctic:

"I have thought a great deal about the church, about the whites and the church we have here. Not one - not even the Hudson's Bay Company Manager - not a single teacher - not the administrator - goes to church here. I know that it depends upon the religion that they belong to, what they believe in and have been taught. But if they are Anglican it would be better if they went to church - even if they could not understand. It would show that they had some interest in what is happening in the settlement. Sometimes they go to other activities, and they have jobs here, so why not to church? Why not worship together with the people here? They would then show that they were really interested in helping people. Perhaps some problems would not arise if the whites bothered to go to church with the Eskimos; maybe they would understand things better. It would make the older people think that the whites belong to the settlement, because they would see the whites being involved in our activities. The whites are sent here to help, they do try to help older people. But sometimes they seem to try and help people in some other way, trying to lead them into worse ways - instead of trying to make it better, have a better settlement."

A young man in the same community talked of administrators they had:

"A man needs a companion. S. had a companion, his wife. He was happy with his wife, so he treated people the way he treated his wife. When someone came in to see him he would say something, or at least smile. But you can see a great difference with the present administrator, whose wife is not with him, who has no companion. It could be that his emotional problems are bothering him; it could be that if his wife were with him he would be happy. If you are to be an administrator you should be a complete man, a whole man. If you are only half a man it is no good. If you are dealing every day with the public, you have to treat them like a family. So being married can make a lot of difference".

A man - a hunter and trapper - spoke of difficulties in his settlement:

"As you know, there are quite a number of organisations in this settlement. A white can come to the settlement, and people not know what he is doing here. When that happens it is possible for one of the organisations to run into a war, because the white might say: 'I'm doing this jobm so this or that cannot be done.' That can happen. And the whites do not always tell people what they have come here for. Most of the young people today can speak a bit of English, so they can talk to the whites who come here to work. In the old days very few Eskimos could speak English, but whites tried to explain what they were doing when they came here in spite of that difficulty. Also, government officials who come here for just a day or two days, they usually do explain what their jobs are. Those men are alright. But the ones who come here for a while, or come here to stay permanently, they do not bother to explain. So when they are here, the Inuit sometimes want to work with them or want to do things with them, but the Qallunaat tell the Inuit: 'I do not do that; that is not my job'. If the Qallunaat explained themselves, the Inuit would not bother to ask them to do things they are not here for. I feel anxious about the whites who come here to stay because they might start a drinking problem. If a white comes here and just starts living with the Inuit, and does not bother to talk to any Inuit about the reasons for being here, it creates an uncomfortable position for the Inuit. On the one hand there is a Qallunaaq who does not take the trouble to tell the Inuit, his neighbours, about what he is doing; on the other hand there are Inuit who feel uncomfortable about having a neighbour and not know why he is a neighbour. At least if they told the Inuit why they (the Qallunaat) came here, then the Inuit would feel more at ease having a Qallunaaq neighbour. If a Qallunaaq comes here and starts living in the neighbourhood, and if he is a really heavy

13-8

drinker and makes trouble for himself, then the Inuit feel bad. It is because they do not know anything about their neighbour, about his habits. It would be much better if as soon as he came here the Qallunaaq tried to explain why he had come here. The Qallunaat and the Inuit should always consult each other if they are going to be neighbours to each other - and if they do not want to cause too many problems in the future."

The strong feeling that settlement problems and relations between Eskimos and whites in the settlement are strongly bound together is further evidenced by a somewhat bizarre feature of conversations I had with Inuit about community difficulties. Towards the end of such conversations I was often asked questions which did not bear directly on what we had been discussing. For example, I was often asked what reason I had for spending time in the Arctic, or whether I had any knowledge of life in other Northern communities. But one of the most frequent questions concerned the duties of Settlement Managers. That is bizarre since local government program officers have devoted considerable time and attention to explaining the Settlement Manager's role; indeed, the program itself has depended so much on his role that explanation of the two have necessarily proceeded together. The contradiction between declared purposes and perceived realities of local government programs has already been discussed¹.

In this chapter Eskimo concern with poor communication between whites and themselves reveal the local government program and its officials in a different context. Two representative comments on this lack of communication show the kind of concern which is felt:

¹ See Chapter 9, especially pages

"These traders today, and administrators, they seem to be alright. What I would like to ask is this: what is the function of the administrator? I do not think that there is any communication. The administrator has never held a meeting simply to outline to everyone here what he is supposed to do and what his job really is, and how he is supposed to do it, and all that he is supposed to be doing with the people. I am sorry to say these things. If there is no communication there can only be bad things for our settlement. I think many people here feel this."

"For quite a few years Qallunaat have been sent here. In early days, when only a few of them were sent, they explained themselves, explained what their jobs were. They were quite easily understood. But these days the Qallunaat just walk in and nobody knows what they are doing. A lot come and stay in the settlement. We do not get to know what it is they are supposed to be doing here. For example, Fred has been here some time but most of the Inuit do not know why he is here, because the Qallunaat do not explain themselves, the way they used to in the old days. And the present Settlement Manager, we do not know what he is really doing here. I do not go and talk to him, so I do not find out what he is working for. I think that the only way to find out would be to go and visit him every month, or every second month, and talk to him. But I do not do that, so I do not know what his job is or how much he is involved in the settlement."

The communication gap between whites and Eskimos is thus seen as one of the key problems of settlement life and is much lamented. It contributes to confusion and uncertainty about settlement doings as a whole, and is part of an expression of bitterness towards the whites who seem, by their separate ways and lifestyles as well as by their attitudes to the Eskimo people, to aggravate confusion. The presence of whites, the influence which such a presence constitutes, and trends which people discern in that presence, represent the change which is being effected among Eskimo people. It is evident to them that housing conditions, social life, and economic circumstances, are all being transformed by southerners and their various agencies. It is deeply troubling to the

consequence of other and earlier changes in socio-economic structure, in for example situations where groups have been drawn into labouring or slavery, or where disruption of traditional resources forced dependence on alternative (new) resources. Some classical theory has tended to see these changes as equivalent revision in aspirations as events which primarily have a place in the minds of those peoples undergoing change; attitudes, beliefs, and hopes are transformed, thereby precipitating new social mores. In fact, disruption of social mores and impoverishment are frequently direct consequences of outsiders' intrusion: revised economic practices have usually been urged on people as part of colonial or developmental strategy. In its more modern versions, many examples of such change can be described in terms of shift to a money economy. In those cases shortages of cash provide a barometer of actual dependence, and obviously are a measure of impoverishment. Cash is needed for acquiring new items; new items are needed because old ones are either inadequate or unavailable; therefore inability to acquire new items causes material deprivation; anxiety about securing money reveals the scale of such deprivation¹.

Anxiety about money is endemic among Eskimos of the contemporary North. Hunting provides food which does (in the calculation of economists interested in living standards) have a hypothetical monetary value. But hunting itself has to be financed: a man must purchase guns, ammunition,

¹ Thus the subjective element, or psychological states, figure only at the end of the process: the initial and primary problematic - which has the status of a causal factor - is established objectively.

knives, rope, sledge-runners, and most recently has to maintain a snowmobile which depreciates at at least \$600 per annum and has to be supplied with fuel. Even hunting for food is thus a matter of money, while trapping is done to acquire money with which to buy the multitude of things which people need. And they include clothing, southern food-stuffs, as well as consumer durables.

Eskimo people able to secure such goods usually have regular wages from permanent jobs. A multiplier effect ensures that earnings are spread through extended family networks, while many younger men find occasional wage-labour within their settlements. Without access to money from those sources, virtually no one could get what he needs for his family or for regular hunting. It follows that men who do wish to devote much or all of their time to land-based pursuits are forced into dependence upon those who are able and willing to work in low level white collar or labour positions. Since dependence of that nature is unwelcome and not always reliable, even older men, even the most devoted trappers, periodically welcome a chance for earning cash¹. Furthermore, men who really determine to trap, or who have over a period of weeks or months trapped with no great success, are acutely vulnerable to occasional and very real poverty. It should be evident from the preceding chapters that true interest remains in land-based skills and activities, no less than a preference for traditional wild food. Yet pursuit of those skills and provision of such food stuffs are both restricted, hampered, and

¹ See Chapter 14, pages below in this chapter for more discussion of this as a problem within families.

sometimes made actually impossible by financial difficulties.

It is therefore inevitable that many Inuit look to welfare for protection against poverty. They have indeed been told that welfare is designed to protect people against hardship, while the character of successive administrative endeavours seems to have been largely moulded by a determination to "help". What more important help could be forthcoming than the money for those who needed it? Many, probably most, feel that they need it badly. Certainly most live from week to week, often from day to day, the eternal round of trying to find the relatively small amounts of money to buy those things immediately needed. Carvers who need to buy something for as little as \$30 will find a piece of stone of just the right size, and complete a carving which has a \$30 value; families are large and prices high; it is not easy to save. In any case, people still like to provide for one another's needs. Shortage of ready cash is part of everyday life, and the hallmark of Eskimo poverty. It also feeds anxieties about the future: if money is hard to come by now, what will happen when we are older? Since welfare is not given to everyone and certainly is not provided to all those who judge themselves in sore need of it, there is unease and some confusion about what it is supposed to effect, how it is supposed to be operated, and what it forebodes of things to come.

"In the last few years, from 1968-1970, a lot of southern stock has been coming to the community here, things for people here to use. It is only in those years that a lot of goods have been coming here. So the people here want to get welfare, because of all the stuff that is coming here; it makes people think more about getting welfare money. Then the whites began taking care of welfare¹, and I

¹ In the earliest stages, welfare in that community was handled by a local man who travelled every month to the camps.

ran into a wall. Since that time I have never bothered trying to get welfare, even though I sometimes think that I should be given it. I think that if I were disabled I would be able to get welfare, but not now that I am healthy. Also, I understand a bit about the way the welfare system works. The previous administrator used to love talking to people here, and one time he talked seriously to me about what the government is here to do, how it was going to try and help me when I had certain disabilities. Then the government would try and help me feed myself and my family - that is, if I were seriously disabled. But the government cannot help until then. Since I am young and healthy, the government says that I can provide for myself. The government is not going to help me now. I got that understanding from a previous administrator. Of course it might have been that the administrator was just saying those things. It is difficult to understand the welfare system, and how it is supposed to help people. Maybe that administrator was simply interpreting the laws his own way. Maybe another man will interpret the laws a different way. I feel that if I one day get really disabled I will go and ask for assistance. The welfare officer of that time may refuse me. I do not know if the welfare officer who spoke to me was speaking for every welfare officer there would ever be; I do not know if he meant that I would be able to get help from other welfare officers even if I were disabled. But I think about it this way; if you are healthy and try to go to the welfare officer for help, then you are not being sensible. That is because the officer will say: welfare is meant for the old and the disabled and widows. I think that if you are not disabled, and can try and feed your own family, then it does not make any sense to seek welfare."

"I once got really angry with the administrator who was here. I tried to get welfare; I tried to ask for welfare. Before I went I knew that the administrator was not going to give it to me, for at that time my husband was earning dollars. But I had read in a newsletter that even if someone is working in the family, and earning money for the family, if you have a lot of kids to feed and your husband is not getting enough money for the family, then you should go and ask for welfare. That is what I read; the purpose of welfare is helping those who need it. So that month I asked the administrator, but he did not seem to want to hear anything of my case. The reason I went, you know, is this: there are a large number of children in this family, and on top of that there is the rent to pay. The income my husband was bringing in was simply not enough for all the things we needed. But no persuading would make the administrator talk to me about the case. I know quite a few families that have had the same kind of difficulties. The welfare officer is very careful to account for all the money you make from little jobs, but he is not careful about listening to those people who are trying to explain why they still need welfare. I disagree strongly with the

way welfare is given out. Let us take two different cases. In one family there is a man bringing an income into the house and in the same house there is a widow, an old lady. So the officer gives welfare to that old lady. So the man who has both the income and the welfare cheque gets rich with food. And in another house there is only one man with his wife and children; there might be more people living in the second house. But the welfare officer gives the cheque to the lady in the first house. In another house a man brings food and is healthy; then he loses his job, and does not have regular work any more. But he does not get money either, because he is able to earn money. I also disagree with giving money to unwed mothers. It encourages other people to do the same thing. Maybe they should be given a cheque only every other month."

"These days in the settlement people are heading for problems, and these problems are getting heavier and heavier as the settlements get older. Welfare is becoming one of the heaviest of those problems; it is becoming a burden on all the people here. It is especially a burden for those who are elected - those who are elected representatives of the people. Those who are elected know the conditions in this settlement. They have to know, for they understand all about hunting conditions - they are themselves hunters. They must continue living by hunting, and they therefore know what others in the settlement are facing when they try to live by hunting. But the officials, since they are Qallunaat, cannot see the problems. They have never hunted; they have never lived by hunting, so they are blind on that side. But that is the side they must work on for doing the welfare, looking after the welfare of the people, especially those people who try to live by hunting. The whites do not know what it is like to be just a hunter and trapper, so do not know that hunting is sometimes hard and sometimes good. These Inuit in the settlement, especially those who are elected as representatives, know exactly what others have to go through, but they cannot convince the Qallunaat who have never hunted for a living, that one thing is true. So welfare is one of the biggest problems."

Neither those excerpts nor the evidence of Chapter 9 can alone convey the extent to which the welfare question preoccupies and troubles people. It is a subject to which discussion upon discussion returns; it occurs as an expression of poverty, dismay, and more or less overt criticism of white officials. The dispensing of welfare differs from settlement to settlement, from official to official. In some communities it is more

1076

readily available than others. But variations are in the detail of the system, and cannot determine what the system itself appears to be aimed at achieving. And since the system in fact is rooted in a distinction between incapacity and indolence, Eskimo hunters are everywhere vulnerable to being denigrated for indolence by officials who see an unusually healthy man claiming that he is unable to feed his family. This feature of the system is inevitably exacerbated by availability of wage-labour as an occasional alternative to hunting, for that results in a pressure on hunters and trappers to supplement land-based earnings with wage earnings in the settlement, whereas hunters and trappers must - if they take themselves seriously as such - wait on movements of weather and game rather than on a chance for work around home. A man who determinedly insists on living predominantly on land-based activities is likely periodically to be faced with poverty, and then seek welfare; an administrator faced with such a man is likely to see other ways such a man could earn a living - and probably a "better" one.

That, as was earlier suggested, in part explains the kind of preoccupation people have with welfare and the vagaries of its provision. Discussion of the problem naturally tends to centre on examples of what are regarded as irregularities and injustices in its administration. And such injustices are felt most acutely by people who find communication with the perpetrators of local injustice so extremely difficult. Thus the general attitude of whites, indicated in the preceding chapter, further aggravates the problem: a man thinks he should be given welfare and on

the basis of his understanding of his operation judges his entitlement to be no less than that of a man who has received welfare. But he feels unable or unwilling to get his point across: he is nervous of visiting the white official, or is suspicious of using an interpreter, or feels he really has no rights of any kind. Hence acquiescence in decisions which in fact are judged to be quite improper become the norm; and people retreat into such resources as they can find within the family and neighbours¹.

Since this lack of useful contact and relevant communication with settlement whites is endemic, it is hardly surprising that peoples' idea of how welfare should be administered is uncertain and often actually wrong. Perhaps an example of one family's difficulties will reveal just how serious that can be.

I received a message one day from Annie, wife of a young hunter and trapper, Kuutuq, asking me to go and visit them as soon as I was able. Since it is customary for people to visit very freely, such a message indicated from the start that the matter was of some special importance. I duly hurried to see what it could be.

Neither Annie nor Kuutuq come originally from camps in the hinterland of that settlement; she was born and had lived some 200 miles to the north-

¹ In this way one of the features of a "culture of poverty" can arise. But, far more significantly, this acquiescence has a political aspect which bodes ill for attempts either at local government in the short run or adjustments to modernisation in the medium run.

west, while he came from a camp over 400 miles away. That in itself is not unusual, for the people of the area are famous for their travelling and mobility; many families in each region have relations in another, far distant region. But Kuutuq was unusual in having remained extremely mobile up to the present, spending several months or a whole year in one settlement, and then moving with his wife and younger children to another, comparatively remote settlement. He had in that way divided his previous five years among four villages, between which there is a combined travelling distance of over 500 sledging miles. One consequence of such unusually high mobility was the family's difficulty in finding adequate housing; administrators familiar with Kuutuq's lifestyle were reluctant to hand over a new low rental three-bedroomed house, for such houses are in relatively short supply¹. When I first met Kuutuq in 1971, he was living in a one-roomed house, measuring approximately 25' x 8', divided by a 4' wide partition into sleeping and living areas. In that house were Kuutuq, his wife Annie, a fourteen year old son, two small children of about 5 and 6, and a step-daughter of 17 with an infant of her own. By the standards of contemporary settlement conditions, that was unusually crowded. Moreover, the family lived off a hunter and trapper, on traditional foodstuffs, with the help of a minimum of cash. Kuutuq had no close relative in the settlement who was in regular employment and so could not subsidise his household from claims on members of his larger family.

¹ For details of Eskimo housing, especially in the Eastern Arctic, see C.T. Thompson: Pattern of Housekeeping in Two Eskimo Settlements, NSRG-69-1, Ottawa 1970, and for discussion of the housing program in general see: D.K. Thomson and C.T. Thompson, Eskimo Housing, A Planned Culture Change Social Science Notes, IAND, Ottawa, 1972.

This combination of factors meant that the Kuutuq household was rather like households had been in the camps. It was rough-and-ready, living by the routines and habits of quasi-traditional times. To the administration at that time it appeared squalid, a failure, something of a blight on the community which for the most part lived in "better" conditions and somewhat less conspicuous financial poverty. But Kuutuq and his wife were on the whole satisfied with their life, occasionally lamenting the limitations of their diminutive house, but nonetheless enthusiastic about hunting, trapping, and travelling. One difficulty, however, was facing them: they wanted to adopt another child, a baby boy. Kuutuq was anxious to have in his household the son who would follow, and in his old age support him as hunter and trapper. For some reason that role was not given to the elder boy¹. The difficulty was that adoption required - or so Annie had heard - a formal procedure sanctioned by the local administrator; but when she spoke to the administrator she had got the impression that adoption would be obstructed. She was perhaps astute in her judgement, for it was said by others within the settlement that the administrator had once remarked "Annie will get her adoption over my dead body" and had characterised her as "a slut". An overall consequence, therefore, of the Kuutuq lifestyle was ill-favour with some settlement whites.

It is no exaggeration to say that Kuutuq and his household lived in dire poverty. He was a competent but not outstandingly successful hunter. Although he used a snowmobile and and moderately good rifles, he was not

¹ The reason may have been that the older boy was at school and not learning the skills and ways of the land; perhaps Kuutuq planned to keep the adopted son away from such influences and interference.

able to purchase the best of modern equipment and was certainly not able to replace equipment at the rate demanded by rough hunting conditions. During the summer of 1972 he was forced to borrow an outboard motor from a neighbour. Also, the degree of his poverty all too often made long hunting expeditions impossible - he could not afford sufficient supplies, notably gasoline, for trips which he judged ideal. So he often had to hunt in a somewhat makeshift manner - which further prevented him from securing quantities of skins which might have alleviated the poverty. That vicious circle is familiar enough to all who try and live as full-time hunters and trappers in the contemporary North.

So the reason for the message was not unpredictable: they were desperately short of money. When I arrived at Kuutuq's house, his wife was alone there with the adopted son (whom she had finally acquired); Kuutuq himself was away visiting. She told me that their situation was extremely grave. Kuutuq had no money at all and was not able to go hunting, nor even able to buy ammunition for his rifle. But most seriously, she told me, the adopted son was not well, had diarrhoea and fever; Annie was sure the sickness was a result of and perpetrated by poor diet: they could not afford to buy food at the Hudson's Bay Company stores. She wanted to know if I could think of any way of getting help from settlement officials.

Annie and Kuutuq were obviously deeply alarmed by their predicament: they could see no way out of the circuit of poverty and incapacity, while it seemed that the child was indeed very ill. I asked if the

settlement nurse had seen the child, and found that some medicines had been prescribed and some reassurances given. I asked if they had approached the Settlement Manager for money, and was told that they had some months before approached a Settlement Manager and were offered a small loan. Annie believed that government officials would only offer loans to hunters, and since they were plainly unable to repay such loans, they did not want to ask again. They were not able to get welfare, she reported, because Kuutuq was young and strong. Also, Kuutuq had tried very hard to be given a labouring job for at least one month, but had been told that the employers preferred single men and men who spoke some English - Kuutuq was ineligible on both those counts. It seemed to the Kuutuq household that they had reached a dreadful impasse, and no help was available to them. Their impasse was compounded evidently by deep nervousness and consequent reluctance to confront whites in the settlement. Annie, normally a confident and outgoing woman, was pathetically abject, pleading, explaining a dozen times the main outlines of their position, simplifying her Eskimo in each successive explanation, seeking desperately to be sure that I understood.

A month before this discussion with Annie, and prior to the serious deterioration of Kuutuq's ability to have any success hunting, a Social Development Officer had arrived in the settlement. That officer was the first to work there, and had taken over responsibility for welfare from the Settlement Manager. I suggested to Annie that she and her husband discuss their circumstances with the new official. The idea was greeted with considerable circumspection. Was it not the case that they were in

13-22

any event ineligible for government financial help? Would that new officer do anything more than offer a loan? They had heard that he did not yet speak any Eskimo, so it would be difficult to ask for anything. Would it not be pointless to go there asking for money or food when they had been refused elsewhere?

I tried to say a little about welfare, but was unsure of the criteria at that time being used to assess applicants' claims. Eventually I offered to ask the Social Development Officer what the rules were and at the same time to mention the Kuutuq case. This offer was greeted with enthusiasm; evidently they had hoped I would do just that. And when I did speak to the officer it of course transpired that Annie and Kuutuq were unquestionably entitled to welfare for that month at least, and would be given - as part of their payment - a food allocation at the Hudson's Bay Company store.

The next afternoon I again visited Kuutuq, once more to find Annie alone with her little adopted son. There was much evidence of much eating; a number of half finished store-bought TV dinners lay about the room; Kuutuq, his wife informed me, had an hour ago left to go seal hunting.

That small episode had a happy enough ending, but it did not mark the end of Kuutuq's troubles. Later in the year he was still encountering recurrent financial difficulties. He and Annie had planned to move back to his family's home settlement, but were beginning to realise that they would probably not be able to save enough money to buy the fuel and supplies for a 400 mile journey. So Kuutuq was again trying to get work as a

wage labourer, but finding much difficulty in securing the jobs he wanted. Like many others before him, he was being pushed out of his chosen occupation into a lifestyle which neither he nor his family desired, but which seemed to offer the only way. Welfare did help him over a bad patch, but did not provide sufficient support for Kuutuq to stay as a hunter and trapper. It was, rather, among a set of irresistible pressures to change, providing help in a crisis, but evidently neither being seen, nor being sufficient, as a real subsidy to men who found difficulties living by the professions of their choice. The prevalent southern view that viable activities do not include full-time hunting had in the first place prevailed against local occupational aspirations, and in the second place had been found to have much truth in local economic reality. Unease and worry about those realities evidently turned attention, albeit confused and poorly expressed, to the question of welfare. It has indeed become "one of the heaviest of those problems" which preoccupy today's settlement Eskimos.

Confusion about the way things are in the settlements has also been created by the mores of the principal institutions. The old troicha of missionary, policeman, trader has been displaced by a congeries of institutions within which a system, whilst familiar to all the Eskimos of Northern Canada, remains discernible only in approximate outlines. The Government's place at the head of a hierarchy within which other institutions have uncertain placings, no doubt is at the source of most confusion. And the very

expressions of its authority, alongside changes that authority has caused or presupposes, increase a feeling that the settlement itself is a set of institutional problems. It is obvious to all that the old trader and his post have grown into a very different creature in the shape of handsomely provisioned store; it is no less obvious that the position of the store is affected by the local co-operative, and that rivalries are often seen to exist between the two. Rivalries are also detected between government officials and the local co-operative; many Inuit suspect that Settlement Managers are all too ready to regard a co-operative as a threat to their own institutions and authority.

This situation is compounded by acute dependence settlement Eskimos have upon each of the main institutions. That dependence inevitably results in people feeling threatened by officials who work in them, as well as by vicissitudes in the relations between them.

"As long ago as I can remember, back to the time I was a small boy, I used to hear that traders were often difficult to deal with. But since I have been hunting myself, since I have been grown up, they seem to have been much better. So long as a man does not ask for too much credit at the store, the traders seem to be good enough. As for the present trader we have got here - well, it is not easy for me to say how he compares with all the others who have ever been here, since I have not lived in this place all the time and can therefore only judge the past four traders. The first seemed good: you could wake him at any time of the night and trade. Even late in the evenings, when we came in from the southern camps, you could go to his house and get him to trade. The second was about the same. He did not really like to get up late all the time, but he would still trade with those of us who had travelled a long way. The third was like the first, willing to get up even in the middle of the night and trade with those who had come from the south and who needed to trade quickly so as to be setting off for home again in the morning. The fourth one is the present one. The people thought he was really bad when he first came here. People used to talk among themselves: we

must get him sent away. But then they got rough back with him when he got rough with them - and that is when he began changing. This present manager used to be so rough with the Inuit here. He had been working in another settlement before he came here. I think he might have thought the people here behaved the same way as those people over there. He believed that people here were trying to take things off the shelves and steal things. We knew he thought that, because when Inuit picked things up from shelves he would want to fight them or kick them out of the store. Maybe people from that other settlement used to take things from his store. One man here, last year, was in the store. That manager had not been here lone at that time. The man was looking at some things on the shelves; he was trying to see what they were like. Then the manager suddenly wanted to fight, and tried to throw the man out of the store. That was because the man was touching things he did not really want to buy. After that people here ganged up on the manager and said: we are not going to put up with this, and you had better be more like other managers; you better let us look at things even if we do not want to buy them; we do not have enough money to buy everything, and so we have to choose the things we are going to buy. Then the manager's attitude began to change. Now I think he is about the best manager we have had here."

"At one time the administrator worked to help the government and the co-op; he worked in the one office, but he was doing other jobs besides the government job. Like looking after the co-op. Then the administration changed, and things became entirely different. The two organisations fight against each other now. The Settlement Manager wants to fight against the co-op because it is different from his job. For example, when the ship came last year there were two troops. One was unloading co-op stuff and the other was paid by the government to unload government stuff. Why do that? Why not get them all to unload everything together? When the supply ship came in, carrying both government and co-op stuff, the administrator wanted to do it like this: there were two camps, like camps in an army, but the barge brought things all mixed up. So the two troops would rush into the barge and look for their stuff. When the barge did not bring much for the co-op, the co-op troop would go home. The government only had three men, while the co-op had a whole lot of men. With things happening that way you get to think that the government wants to fight. It did not used to happen that way before; then people used to try and get everything on land as quickly as possible, and then sort it out when they had done that, when they had got it all on shore. Last year was completely different; last year you were labelled as to which things you could carry.

"Maybe the administrator was worried that the government was going to lose a whole lot of money if men carried stuff for the co-op; maybe he thought that if everyone spent all their time carrying co-op supplies he would end up paying too many men for other work. But then he must have found out that it took very much longer having only

three men working for him; their time was always adding up. About the time that ship came in I was very anxious to work and make some money for myself, but on the day of the unloading I was late arriving at the shore. As I walked along the road another man was coming from the shore, and when I met him I asked him what he was doing; I asked him if there was no more work to be had. But he answered me: 'I am a co-op man, and there are no more supplies for us on this barge so I am going hom to wait for the next one'. That was the sort of thing that was happening with the men. With that sort of thing you get the idea that you have to fight against the government or against the co-op. But all these supplies are for us all, and we should all try and work together to try and get the stuff on to the shore. All the things we put on the shore were for all of the people here. When I saw that there were two troops doing the unloading I did not bother to ask for a job. I did not want to be working when we were working against one another. I wanted us to work together."

In the first of those reminiscences a trader was a problem to the community; in the second a kind of relationship between two institutions was seen as a problem. There is, of course, a tradition of difficulties with Hudson's Bay Company managers. But in the older days, when that tradition was becoming established, a trader was feared when he directly threatened the livelihood of hunters and trappers. In the contemporary situation there exists no such direct threat. Rather, the trader of that example created a problem because he interfered with peoples' way of spending the little money which they in any case possessed. And that is an entirely modern problem. It need hardly be said that problematic relationships between Eskimos and white institutions are a thing of the present; more important, such difficulties could well become more widespread and more eruptive in the future.

People of the settlements are of course poorly informed about the nature of existing institutional arrangements. Apart from the co-operative and

the church there is a strong feeling that the settlements' institutions are exclusively controlled by whites, and likely to remain that way¹. That view also applied to local schooling, to the day-school as well as th adult education.

The establishment of day schools was in many locations preceded by a partial system of residential schooling. I have already mentioned the part residential schools played in some families' move from camp to settlement²; it is worth looking briefly at the way such schools have operated far from home communities. Children were often sent far, far from home, to towns which their parents regarded as part of the south. In Ottawa, Churchill, Great Whale River, and most recently Frobisher Bay, some Eskimo children receive part (often the main part) of their schooling. More distant residential schools characterise the earlier phase in northern education, and therefore established a connection between going to school and being under the direct influence of an entirely different, strange and largely unknowable environment. Parents saw their children taken far away from Eskimo life, to a foreign land, to a distant culture. And they rapidly discovered realisation of their fears in the disruption such schooling caused to their children and thereby to home life.

Yet Eskimo people appear to have accepted schooling, being convinced by whites that it held many a solution to the problems the future would surely bring. In recent years, however, people have come to regard

¹ Even when they talk of church and co-operative Inuit often show that they recognize the extent to which they are much dependent on southerners.

² See page above.

schooling itself as a problem, and have duly begun to criticise educational institutions and their personnel more freely and effectively. Many Eskimos now see schooling as an assault upon their ways, traditions and possibilities. The residential schools have been criticised most ruthlessly, but concern has spread to the problematic of schooling itself, and thus to the functioning even of local day schools.

"I think the time at which the most real changes came here can be judged by looking at the age of the young men. Look at the ones who were taken away from us when they were young, taken away from our homes and sent to school. Then, at school, they were taught differently, and came home again with their heads full of things they had learned, and things they had been taught away from home. When they were taken away they were taken completely away from their parents' way of life; they were taken to hostels where there was an entirely different way of life."

"Another thing I always thought of, and with which I disagree very much. And I spoke about it at a meeting in Churchill only last week. We had a meeting there with officials at regional headquarters, and we were asked what we thought of the idea of sending teenagers to those places of education. Mary and I disagreed with the idea. My answer was that it does good for a very few, but not to most. The majority of teenagers are sent to train. Then, if they do not do very well they do not do any good. They are just left. The people training them say: you are not doing any good at this, you are not learning anything, so you have to go home again. Then those young people are lost; they did not get any training; they did not learn; they did not get any job; and they have not learned the Eskimo way. Those teenagers are sent home, but have got used to comforts and have learned something. But they cannot do anything with that something when they get back to the settlement, and they cannot go to any settlement to find work. I do not agree with those results. It happens to many of our young people. They take the children away when the children become teenagers; the parents are told that the children are no good and cannot learn anything. It seems that the job is far from finished; the job is not complete; therefore when they are not complete they are lost completely. They are sort of half white men and half Eskimo. I am always trying to think of a solution to the problem of the teenager who is sent back here with no job and nothing to do."

1927

"It is a very good thing for the young to get involved with the whites. They are going to have to get involved with whites. But they are going to have to remember their Eskimo ways. They must learn both ways. Those who go to school all the time will never learn anything of the Eskimo way. No doubt those who work full time will be like whites. Yes, they will be very like whites. But there will always be some without jobs, and they will have to hunt. They will have to know how to do what Eskimos do, how Eskimos live. They do not learn that in the school. They are not even taught to write Eskimo ways, or any parts of Eskimo culture, when they are in the school. Just one afternoon each week an old man talks to them. But they are not learning the things that they need to know. There are some Eskimo things and some white things, and there are some things that just do not fit together. But there are some whites who just do not know how to work (i.e. work on the land, or with physical work). Sometimes if you do know how to work like that, then you can make money. If you are an Eskimo you can always do that kind of work, and if you can't work the white way, then you can always be a hunter. But if you spend all your time at school you might not learn enough of those ways. And those who go to school, well, it may be that some of them will not complete their education, and some may give up going to school. And then they would not know either hunting or work. Then the government would have to help many of them, and that would be a bad thing."

The Educational Division of the Northwest Territories Government is currently attempting to modify the schooling in Eskimo communities, introducing readers which contain more locally intelligible content, and establishing 'cultural inclusion' as part of regular curricula. But the broad endeavour is incorporation and therefore the education division is committed to establish grade schooling which is effective in the context of Canadian national standards. The N.W.T. educational authorities have also declared their commitment to bring more schooling- to the settlements. As things presently stand, only very few arctic communities have schools which take children beyond grade seven level and special or vocational training is virtually all centred in schools far from the small villages¹. Adult education is however trying to expand its facilities,

¹ Igloolik is an exception to this, but only because the Catholic influence on education has held out strongly for higher grades for children at a school in the settlement.

and thus to obviate the need for residential education in the south.

As part of this endeavour a residential school was opened in Frobisher Bay in 1971. Frobisher Bay is an arctic community, located on the southern shore of Baffin Island, but it is also a village which has a dark reputation among the smaller communities of the eastern arctic. It is notorious for drunkenness, violence, and prostitution. Among older Eskimos it is a place of sickness and danger; to northern whites it is seen as a hotbed of iniquity and actual embodiment of all that can go wrong in northern affairs; to young Eskimos it is part exciting and part unnerving. Children were sent to the new school there from many of the smallest and remotest settlements.

That school was originally proposed in 1961, by the Federal Government officials. The plan was however soon abandoned following directives from the highest levels. Only in 1967 was the proposal revised, and architects were engaged during the same year. Construction began in the autumn of 1969, and was completed by 1971. During that period, from 1967 to 1971, there appears to have been a bare minimum of consultation with families whose children would be expected to attend the school. Discussions did take place within the relevant sections of the Federal Civil Service, but criticisms of the scheme were not made known in the north, and are said to have been largely ignored. In the spring of 1969 a number of teachers in one high arctic settlement heard of the proposed school, and duly organized a petition expressing opposition. They were reprimanded by the northern educational authorities for such activities. At no point was there open discussion with Eskimos, despite the existence of a

school in Churchill which had over some years given Eskimo parents experience of residential schools.

When the Frobisher Bay school opened parents in the remoter communities were already expressing anxiety about their children spending time in such a notorious place. And as pupils began to trickle home in the wake of unhappy times in Frobisher Bay, parents were indeed quick to express their relief. I overheard a mother exhorting her son over the telephone, some 800 miles from the school, to return to the village, saying that anyone was sure to be unhappy in that school, and there was no good reason for enduring such difficulties. Since the school opened the decline in numbers prepared to attend is striking indeed:

No. of teachers		Total * Enrolment	No. in residence (capacity 1440)
	1971 (Fall)	220	150
	1972 (Spring)	150	
32	1972 (Fall)	120	
28	1973 (Spring)	100	60

* (Figures are rounded)

Those figures represent a revulsion against the institution and the place it is situated by a wide spectrum of communities, and by an alliance of parents and children. Despite recurrent Eskimo distaste for residential schooling the Frobisher Bay school was established with minimal regard for what Eskimo attitudes were likely to be. It now exists in the face of widespread opposition from pupils and parents alike.

Pupils at the school have returned home and recounted stories of drunkenness and violence within the school residence. Girls have told of lying awake at night, the doors to their rooms locked, fearing assault by the young men from other, tougher home communities. All the pupils from one settlement were returned home en bloc.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that parents have raised a host of questions about the school, with local officials and senior civil servants during visits to the settlements. One theme of the questions is recurrent: how can anyone feel easy about their children spending time in a residential school in Frobisher Bay? Parents raise matters of discipline, suggest rules, encourage those responsible for the school to adopt now one now another strategy in order to obviate the insidious influences of the place. But beyond such remedial suggestions stands the parents' readiness to discourage - if not actually forbid - children from remaining at that school.

The case of the Frobisher Bay school indicates how parents of today's school children are increasingly conscious of education as another of their communities' problems. That consciousness turns towards many separable elements - fear of delinquency, fear of alcoholism and alcohol associated demoralisation, and a general nervousness about the uncertainties of the future. The settlement, the place of Qallunaat, the locale for remorseless contact with a different lifestyle and endless pressures for change and adaptation, is inevitably a scene of widespread general anxieties and a multitude of specific expressions of those

anxieties. It is a place where the south has moved beyond impinging on quasi-traditional life, and has moved instead towards transforming every aspect of Eskimo life. Living in government built houses with subsidised rents, provided with southern services, under the direction of southern political institutions and southern officials, conscious of elaborating and influential institutions, settlement people are bound progressively to exhibit unease, worry, and indignation. Some part of most northern peoples seeks to stand against the settlement flood - even if all are profoundly dependent on the silt.

Chapter 14: The Settlement and The Family

Innumerable books and articles have touched on the distinctive features of traditional Eskimo family life. Indeed, a few of its supposed qualities have become entirely commonplace parts of western folklore (though it is doubtless no coincidence that those commonplaces are for the most part confined to sexual practices). It may be that the western intellectual imagination is captivated by evidence of apparently coherent and tangible connections between natural environment and cultural forms. And it is certainly the case that western observers of the Arctic believe that they discover there an environment so extreme, so obviously at the margins of the humanly possible, as literally to compel the cultural modes of Eskimo people whom they are preoccupied with describing. Few of the men who establish such rigorous causal links between specific natural and a specific cultural condition have been aware that the Eskimo represents one of a number of cultures which have thrived in the Arctic environment. It is unlikely, for example, that details of family life among the Dorset peoples, who preceded the Thule culture Eskimos, had much in common with the Eskimo of the more recent past - although they did of course share the mountains, tundra, and snow. Whatever the errors of excessively or naively materialistic and deterministic explanations of culture, the Eskimos of the recent past nonetheless did develop a distinctive familial pattern. Since many elements in that pattern have evidently survived into settlement life, its description is a necessary preliminary to an account of most recent disruptions and

transformations. Descriptions of those will - in the second part of this chapter - provide then the basis for an account of the extent to which family life has in the present become a focal problem for Eskimo people.

In her book "Never in Anger", Jean Briggs offers a compelling survey of intra-family relationships, especially between parents and their small children. The field experience upon which that book is based occurred in 1969 and 1970, in a tiny inland camp of the Netsilik people¹. There she had occasion to witness some of the key moments no less than the general ambience of family life. She also gives some outline of the metaphisic which forms Eskimo consciousness of the observed behavioural phenomena. Of particular importance is the link she discerns between non-authoritarian attitudes towards small children and belief in "ihuma", the capacity for rationality and therefore of adulthood. Since that capacity grows, so small children - who are without any or much isuma - cannot be held accountable for their behaviour. So it would be mere foolishness for parents to become angry with the children's doings. That phenomenon is closely related to other aspects of Eskimo ideas of correct and adult behaviour, some of which were touched on in Chapter 11, in the context of Inumarit². Strictures against becoming angry, and the negative valuation of interference with others, are both examples of corollary behavioural ideals. And since they are integral to contemporary attitudes and valuations, it is evident that the qualities of family

1 See map on page

2 See especially pages

life described by Briggs remain at least in some measure effective in the contemporary setting. If the life of the camps Briggs knows did indeed contain a residuum of traditional ways, then tradition endures still.

But the parent/child relationship is only one element in family life which had a distinctive quality in traditional days. Many authors have noted that the main structure of nuclear families was firmly determined by economic and environmental conditions. Thus families were small, rarely housing more than two or three children; household units were nuclear rather than extended, comprising at most a grandparent, parents and children; the difficulties arising from not being married were so severe that every man had to find a wife, even if that was only made possible by toleration of inferior status as a second and lesser husband or vice versa; and that acute interdependence between husbands and wives gave equality to partnerships, which was a considerable mitigation of a cultural tendency to patriarchy. It has equally been noted that Eskimo family life is built on extremely sharp division of sexual role, and that every task was the province either of men or women, with a small number of exceptions. Male authority was often nonetheless expressed in the area of extramarital sexual relations, for those special relationships which extended sexual links (among a number of much more important links) beyond husbands were determined by the man; and the authority of men in the household received further, more mundane expression by virtue of men customarily being given priority in eating, being served

the preferred parts of food by their women before the women ate anything at all. Extension of such privileges was made to small sons who tended in any case to be favourites; while infanticide was used only against infant girls (though even there, only in times of dire shortage).¹

Many of those traditional customs and beliefs were given much of their coherence by the highly mobile life of subsistence hunting. It is evident from what I have already described of settlement life, and from the nature of the shifts first to camps and then to settlements, that some of that coherence is inevitably lost. The material and economic context for traditional social practice has been transformed. A settled pattern of life, combined with economic subsidisation and other welfare provision by southern administration, alongside the newly emerging poverty, have made a much larger family entirely possible. Since the early fur-trade period families of ten children have been far from uncommon; today it is unusual for an Eskimo household to include fewer than four children. Welfare policies have also altered the nature of husband-wife interdependence: a woman can look to a wide range of kin, all of whom are close neighbours, if not to administrators, for economic help. Indeed, the new form of poverty has inevitably meant that wives frequently cannot depend exclusively upon their husbands. Dispersal of dependence obviously results in few relationships of acute dependence. And there is a reciprocal diminution of husbands' dependence on wives, for they too could have clothes made by neighbours, or even purchase factory made

¹ Infanticide was regularly practiced before a child was a week old, for only then was it named. Giving a name ("atiq") was equated with providing a soul. That was quite separate from ihuma or isuma.

clothes at the local store. In the course of settlement life and only short hunting trips store clothing is adequate if not always preferred.

Yet change in context does not immediately change in equal and direct proportion the customs and beliefs which were integral to an earlier time. Social life and culture proceed in far more complex and far more mechanistic a fashion¹. So it is that even in the larger, more certainly modern of today's arctic settlements, there remain social and cultural practices which are distinctively those of an earlier, and more traditional time. Thus parents remaining extremely forbearing and tolerant in their attitude towards smaller children, accepting a child's ways and preferences as matters for the child's own concern. Even very small children are permitted to play outside, roaming here and there, often quite far from the village. Precautions over clothing are taken, but there is a minimum of quizzing and reproaching, or of any other evidence for the somewhat intrusive anxiety which tends to pervade parents' dispositions towards their small children in southern society. It is accepted that children will eat in whatever house they wish, and since there are few established mealtimes or bedtimes it is unusual to hear a parent express unease about the whereabouts of a child at any particular time. How a child uses its day are felt to be its own concern. Similarly, children are generally held to be the best judges of their own needs; whatever food or drink a child elects to have are, if it be possible, provided. Detail of socialisation is not to be found in the careful and self-conscious

¹ See _____, Letter to Kuzalman...

provision of what parents hold to be the child's real needs. To the southerner's eyes absence of such detail is easily taken for the absence of all discipline, and - by the most naive observers - as absence of any socialisation at all¹. But these ways are no doubt continuation of entirely traditional tendencies to avoid manipulative or authoritarian behaviour towards young children.

Another example of a familial custom which probably has its roots in traditional mores can be found in division of sexual roles. Men and women are still very aware of what are and what are not tasks appropriate to their sex. It is not unusual to see a man sweeping his house or doing other traditionally female jobs in the home, and such role confusion tends to be an object of pointed jokes. Once I entered a house where a man was preparing tea and washing dishes, and before I had even got properly inside his house he pointed the joke at himself with use of an expression reserved exclusively for describing men who are dominated by their wives. His question was, in an approximate translation: "Am I a pathetic little hen-pecked thing?"², On another occasion I was alone in a house and was using the chance to repair some small rips in my trousers, and was quietly sitting on an easy chair sewing. In the middle of my work I was interrupted by a visit from an elderly neighbour. He came to visit,

¹ It may be that in a rapidly changing setting absence of traditional forms of socialisation can come close to absence of any form of socialisation, and that such an absence may have a great deal to do with appearance of delinquent behaviour in children brought up in periods of radical and fast social change. But hypotheses of that kind are all too easily overstated.

² The Eskimo expression was: "Sialaallukuluuvungaa?". It is worth noting that as far as I was able to establish there is no specialised term for a woman who is dominated by her husband.

14-7

but was immediately interested in my sewing. He was in fact shocked by it, and told me that I must stop immediately and tell one of the women of the house to do it for me. He suggested a woman, remarking that she was, he knew, a competent seamstress. I replied that it was no bother to me, and would soon be done. As we continued to discuss, or rather restate the matter, the recommended seamstress came into the house, whereupon the old man directed her to take my trousers and do the work forthwith, saying that it was not at all good to see a young man sewing. The girl was embarrassed and apologetic, assuring the man that in the past I had insisted upon doing such jobs myself despite her repeated offers to do them for me. She, who was only 20 years old, also felt that sewing was woman's work.

It must be added that this division of roles is a matter of pride in the home - but only in the home. On hunting trips undertaken by men unaccompanied by women it is completely normal to see the men sewing their clothing. Moreover, and most importantly, many older men are proud of their abilities at such work, even insisting on doing it for other younger and less experienced hunters. Doing such jobs does not therefore in itself bring loss of self-esteem; it is the doing of such jobs in the home, where the division of functions is most relevant, which is felt to be inappropriate and perhaps something of an insult to male pride.

Such examples of traditional attitudes and practices, however, are in many respects less striking than evidence of real change taking place in the qualities of family life. Crucial among recent changes is the position of women within marriage and within the household. I have already remarked the inevitable shift in traditional interdependence between men and women. The degree of that shift has in many families been sharp. Many settlement families now have women who are clearly dominant. Such women dispatch their husbands on errands, do not hesitate to serve themselves first with the best pieces of meat, and feel quite entitled to extramarital sexual liaisons without regard to their husbands' views on the matter. Most women today refuse to accompany their husbands on hunting except during the fine spring weather when many women enthusiastically undertake fishing trips¹. No doubt there have always been some families in which women were atypically powerful; I have known an elderly woman who had once equipped herself with all the trappings of a hunter, despite being married. But the proportion of dominant women has certainly changed, and though figures indicating the exact scale cannot be found, there are a number of factors which make it likely that the scale is very large indeed.

The division of sexual role was clearly related to a firm distinction between the home and the hunt². The former was the province of men; the

¹ It has often been noticed that women regard fishing, especially through ice holes in lakes, as one part of hunting in which they could participate with equality. For an early record of that see Jenness, Arctic Summer, page 9.

² See pp above for other comments on this distinction, especially with regard to the rise of the fox skin in the trade.

latter of women. But settlement life has plainly resulted in a diminution of hunting and expansion of the home. Permanent houses with large numbers of children have consolidated the position of women; shift to sporadic hunting and occasional wage-labour have undermined the position of many men. Traditional authorities were based in realities, and role fulfilment no less than status was solidly pragmatic; alternatives to these bases have weakened a husband's entitlement to that status, which status of course constituted the basis of a husband's demand for a wife's complete fulfilment of her role. Since men can no longer depend on their wives' acceptance of her traditionally enjoined position in the family, many men are made to feel uneasy and suspicious. This is most apparent in their trips away from the settlement, and is evidenced by reluctance to stay away too long. Alos, since expressions of unease and suspiciousness are regarded as signs of character failure, men tend to keep their unease to themselves, repressing inclinations to anger and resentment, and apparently fully accepting their predicament and the doings of their wives. It is not surprising, therefore, that drunken men often attack their wives with considerable ferocity.

The uneasy position of men is further exacerbated by their role in local politics. White officials expect men to take prominent positions in local government institutions. But since those positions all too often are seen to be devoid of power, so the men who occupy them are criticised for ineffectuality. The problems which bedevil local government, in particular the contradictions between what white officials say can happen

and what in reality does happen, reveal the impotence of locally elected and appointed Eskimo men. Some men refuse to accept positions of "Authority" for precisely that reason, saying that to accept is to become a target for criticism and ridicule. Virtually no Eskimo women have ever taken prominent positions in the political institutions devised by southerners. Nor are so many women made to feel ineffectual and vulnerable by working for southerners. A large majority of those Eskimo men who work as wage labourers are under the direct authority of whites; whites determine who will work, what precise job they must do, and whether a job is being done adequately. Vis-à-vis those whites, Eskimo workers are obviously in a totally subordinate position. Subordination of that kind can only diminish self-respect and at the same time reveal to wives that husbands are at the mercy of other men.

Emasculation of the Eskimo man is heightened by the sexism of southern men in their dealings with Eskimo women. Whites have, since they first came to the far north, been much gratified by generous and unneurotic Inuit attitudes to sex. It is accepted that men who are travelling without their women are going to need sexual liaisons; whites usually have gone north alone. But those whites were not able to limit their sexual predation. Armed with great power and supplied with an abundance of goods which Eskimos sorely needed, white men were not to be resisted or restrained. It was prestigious and rewarding to fuck the white man; Eskimo men have been forced to accept that their women are enthusiastic about such liaisons. It may well be that in the earlier days of this prostitution

local men were truly indulgent¹. It is certainly said that no stigma whatsoever attached to women who bore white men's children, not even from their husbands. And there is no evidence of such children having suffered for their fathers. I have heard Eskimos criticise whites for leaving children in whom they apparently took no subsequent interest, still less offering any material help to their children's mothers. But I have never heard of or see half-cast children regarded as the moral extension of their fathers.

Today, younger Eskimo men are still confronted by southerners who establish casual and brief sexual attachments with Eskimo women. And young Eskimo women are often enthusiastic about such attachments. Whites tend to ply girls with alcohol and are often able to offer a refuge to them from overcrowded homes, a refuge which tends to be well furnished with amusements. In places like Frobisher Bay in the Eastern Arctic conventional prostitution is well established, as well as a form of liaison which is at the very borders of prostitution. It is assumed that whites will avail themselves of local women, whereas a liaison between a white woman and an Eskimo is rare and a source of startled gossip. Younger Eskimo men, however, are becoming more hostile, or more ready to express hostility, towards the women involved. They are equally becoming more ready to confront white men who are thought of as sexual rivals. At a small drinking party in Frobisher Bay a young man whose girl friend was rather drunkenly flirting with the whites, turned to me and angrily

¹ It is however probable that whites who reported on Eskimo enthusiasm for such sexual liaisons were deceived by Eskimo reluctance to show anger or to be manipulative or to risk confrontation with such powerful (and therefore dangerous) visitors.

2-17

whispered: "Go in that bedroom there and fuck her. Go on, go and fuck her. But please, after you've fucked her, let me fuck her." And it was not spoken in a spirit of generosity or friendship; when I said I was in any event about to leave the party, the young man helped me to the door. It may be only rarely that one can glimpse the degree in which Eskimo men are being emasculated, but it is nonetheless becoming an integral feature of contemporary settlement life.

Within the family, as within the broader context of community life as a whole, men have been more obviously and relatively disadvantaged than women. As far as family life goes, therefore, it can be said that women have to some extent benefited from modernisation, even though by no means all settlement women indicate unqualified approval for the ways of settlement life. Nor should it be forgotten that modernisation includes a much larger number of children for which women have to bear most of the burden of responsibility. It is generally the case that settlement women are more outwardly cheerful than the men, who appear - not surprisingly - to be withdrawn - a withdrawal which is interrupted by sporadic outbursts of indignation. Once again, that syndrome is most directly and therefore conspicuously problematic when communities are making heavy use of alcohol. Alcohol associated violence within the family - a price women appear to be forced to pay for their relative advantages - is bound to continue increasing.

However problematic relationships within generations can be seen to be, it is relationships between generations which Eskimos themselves regard as most serious. Parents naturally regard a dissident or deviant younger generation as a direct threat to their societies as well as to their own personal futures. Signs of the problem are apparent to an outside observer, and can readily be characterised at least in their broad outlines.

Young Eskimo people, from teenagers to unmarried men and women in their early twenties, are conscious of a vast gulf between their parents and grandparents' generations and themselves. In many households there exists between teenagers and adults an extraordinary silence. Since it is not in any event customary for people to be openly curious about one another's doings, the silence is not broken by commonplace queries about this and that; nor, since very few people are authoritarian or verbosely critical, is it broken by instruction and complaint. Young men and women quite often do not know where their fathers are hunting, what species of game they hope to kill, or have even a vague idea of when the hunters can be expected home again. Although some of that uncertainty is a simple consequence of a tendency among hunters towards vagueness in talking of plans, young people do have a much clearer idea about their peers' and siblings' hunting expeditions. Also, parents do not know of their children's plans; during my stays in northern communities I was several times asked by parents if I could tell them where their children would be going, when, and by what means. The gulf separating modern

Eskimo parents and their children is thus a definite extension of (though perhaps mae more possible by) a traditional preference for quiet, unobtrusive, non-manipulative inter-personal contact; a young man who chooses not to communicate is unlikely to be under much pressure to do otherwise. Modern withdrawal and distance are not opposed by any traditional ways which might be antagonistic to more recent trends.

Despite this divide, some young people emphatically insist that older people are forever interfering in young peoples' lives. Young people feel watched, "spied on", criticised, and complain about a general lack of privacy.¹ Much of the feeling is defensive and surely indicates a strong sense of obligation to the older generation. Those few who most directly defy that obligation do so with that excess which probably tokens the intense emotional difficulties of such a course.

The use of English is a disturbing sign of the way in which many younger people seek to maintain or even widen the gulf. A majority of settlement Eskimos of between 12 and 16 years of age speak and write a little English, and all who have even the most slender facility like to use English among themselves. Most significantly, they often like to speak English to one another when within their parents' hearing. By so doing they affirm their possession of a special and modern skill, and can ensure a limited but certain privacy. It is indeed startling to witness an elderly couple sitting with a visiting neighbour at the kitchen

¹ This does not result in a wish to leave the North, though a number of young men and women did express their hopes of moving to some other Eskimo community. See pages... below for further discussion of this.

11 10

table, drinking tea, listening attentively to one another's anecdotes and reflections, while in another corner of the same room a group of teenagers rather more agitatedly exchange remarks - their grasp of the language usually permits no more - in English. The two groups have little cause for making contact: it is customary for each to help himself to whatever food or drink he wants, and it is not customary to interrupt someone's talk. In much the same spirit or defensive privacy young people also like to write notes to one another in English. Such notes are sometimes entirely mundane, a simple celebration of knowledge, but the majority are to do with romance.

And marriage is the issue which arouses young people to their most angry protest while indicating a depth of ambivalence which the young actually do feel towards the wishes and preferences of the old. In many settlements of the Eastern Arctic $\frac{1}{2}$ parents still expect to arrange their children's marriages, and if they do not anticipate unerring marital harmony or sexual fidelity, they nonetheless often do expect children to marry as directed. That expectation has been made uncertain, however, by settlement life, and many parents are now no longer able to direct their children's marriages with any great ease. But in most families a "bad" choice is strongly opposed by parents, and many marriages are simply forbidden. Most of today's teenagers have come to resent and in varying degrees to resist such direction of their marriages, though the resistance is often undermined by strongly internalised feelings of obligation to parents' wishes. The story of one marriage illustrates the sort of discord which

exists, and the kind of pressures to which people resort. The events took place in a very small community which is among the least developed of the Eastern Arctic. They were described to me, partly in retrospect and partly as they happened, by the principal actors:

Joe was 18 when Mina became pregnant by him. News of the pregnancy was received by both sets of parents with joy: Joe's and Mina's marriage was thought to be an ideal arrangement. But Joe was reluctant; for reasons which his family could not grasp he said he was not ready to marry Mina. After the child was born pressure upon Joe to agree to the wedding was intensified: it transpired that Mina was again pregnant, and a missionary made it his business to persuade Joe to "do the right thing". That missionary was, in fact, neither sanctimonious nor authoritarian in attitude to the matter, but hoped to discover that Joe could indeed be reconciled to the match, and was sure that the marriage would certainly be no disaster. The parents expected to use the missionary as an additional force in their array of persuasion, but the missionary was not entirely favourable to such heavy tactics. To Joe, however, the missionary represented argument in support of his parents. Mina in any case wanted to marry Joe.

Eventually Joe agreed that he would marry Mina at the next wedding. Weddings in that community occurred in groups, as the missionary had to travel 100 miles from his own village to the community. The group wedding made some uncertainty in Joe somewhat more possible, for there would be a number of marriages on the appointed day whatever his decision. In the

14-7

time just prior to the day, Joe was troubled and unhappy. A marriage seemed inevitable, but Joe was involved with another girl whom he says he preferred, and whom he did want to marry. He remembers that time vividly and in particular recalls one afternoon: "I was thinking I would jump off some hill into the sea. I went out walking from our house. My mother saw me go and came after me. I was walking and she caught up with me. She told me I did not need to lose myself and I did not need to walk out of our home. I came back to our home with her. That day I did not get married."

So Joe did successfully resist all the pressures. Then, a year later, with Mina, mother of two of Joe's children, with Joe no less involved with the other girl, pressure was applied again. Neither Mina nor Joe's parents had abandoned their determination to see Joe and Mina married. And they once more brought the missionary into the situation. He talked with each of the parties, and emerged from that round of discussion with the conviction that the marriage could and would work well. Joe, he reported, had agreed to end his relationship with the other girl, and was ready to marry Mina in good faith. Joe told me:

"Mina was going to have another baby. They said I should marry her. That next time I married her."

After the marriage Joe continued clandestine meetings with other girls, including the one he had previously wanted to marry. And he left the village to take a course in another northern settlement. On returning from that course he did not stay with his wife and was determined to find

some way of getting a divorce. He felt he was on the way to being an outcast in his home; the older people, he said, were bound to find his divorce extremely unpalatable.

Stories of that kind are to be heard in every settlement. Each faction feels that vital interests are threatened. There are also stories which reveal the unease which has come to surround sexual matters in general. It is not possible for parents to maintain an easy tolerance towards young people's sexuality, if sex, which is a matter of the younger peoples preferences, leads to marriages which older people expect to determine in the light of their own, and often differing preferences. Thus, it is in the face of much parental opposition that young people persist in relationships of their choice. That persistence contributes to the sharply increasing number of Eskimos who today are unmarried in their early twenties. It also contributes to parents' growing suspiciousness of all sexual relations among the unmarried, and so encourages a trend towards more repressive attitudes to sex.

A number of young people in one village once wished to establish a "canteen" - a tiny one-roomed shack which they repaired and roughly furnished themselves, installing a kettle for making coffee or tea, and stocking a small supply of cigarettes, confectionery and soft drinks which they hoped to sell at minimum prices. They also wished to use that little house for music making, setting up there an electric guitar cum amplification system. But older people in the community, hearing of this new project, became keenly hostile to it. Eventually they agreed to

tolerate its existence under a number of conditions: it would not be used after 10.00 p.m. on weekdays, and not at all on Sundays. A number of older people explained that such rules were necessary, otherwise the young would be using the house for making love.

During discussions about local political matters it was also often noted that young people did not like to go to public meetings. This reluctance was a source of unhappiness among many teenagers' parents, and I was told that younger men ought to go to public meetings because otherwise "they're going to be with the young girls". Evidently many parents feel that their children of marrying age must at all times be supervised; there exists the constant threat of mésalliance. In a comparatively large, permanent settlement where opportunities for secret encounters between conspiratorial or renegade lovers are abundant, the insecurity of the older generation is acute indeed.

It is an insecurity compounded by a pervasive feeling that the younger generation are at the very edges of parental control:

"The children do not co-operate because they have been away to school. They have never really heard of hunting the way we know about hunting. I worry about it, because the young people do not hunt; maybe it is because they do not want to get cold. Some of the young people help their parents and some do not. They think they are living like the white man; they think it is better not to help because they have learned the way whites live. Now they are teaching children here about Eskimo things, that is one day each week the children learn in school about the way we used to do things, about real Eskimo ways. Are the whites going to make the children do everything the way we used to do things a very long time ago?"

"These young people listen to music, and they act entirely differently from the way young people used to, when people like me were young. When people of my age (i.e. 55) were young we had a completely different way of enjoying ourselves, and of enjoying our youth, than these present-day young people. They tell us older people to go and enjoy our life, but the old are not used to that kind of thing. When we hear the young say 'share with us, share our enjoyment', we think 'What is the enjoyment in that!'"

"I think at the present time, the young people, the way they are going, they are in the fog, they are lost, the whites have led them into a foggy place. Not only the whites are to blame; the young read comic books and go to the movies whenever they can, and those two things are also misleading them. It is not just what they get from the whites who are living in the settlement, but magazines and comics too. They get many bad ideas from them. If I had someone to talk to then maybe we could figure out what we should do with the young people. The problem in this community is complicated by another problem; a problem creates a problem. The old would like the young to be involved in the community's affairs, but the young do not want to be involved, so the young and the old fight. Because they will not become involved in the community they have created a problem, but the older people cannot talk to them about the problem."

"One thing I have been noticing over recent years is that the young men do not seem to be interested in looking after their families. These days young people often have some money; they can make a lot of money sometimes, and then they want to keep it themselves instead of giving it to their parents. In the old days they could not easily get any money, but they would share what little they did get. Today's youth are not inclined to share the way we used to. Maybe it is in part the fault of the parents, because they do not ask and insist, and do not even find out what reasons there are for not sharing. I myself cannot give any definite reason for this change; it is not easy to explain why the young people do not like to share what they earn. It might be a result of all the education the young people have been receiving. Today's youth are more educated, for they have been brought up in the white man's ways, following all his rules and following his lures, they might have had to go that way. When I was young like these young men we had to work really hard trying to get food; there were difficulties; often we had no success. But today the young are not jelping the way they should. The young do not like to go to public meetings and to Church meetings. Part of the blame for that is the kind of teaching there has been here; education and schools are partly at fault. I feel that when teachers first came here they should have asked the Eskimos to give them assistance, to

tell them how to teach the young. But when the teacher came here he wanted to be alone, preaching the white way. It was far too late when they did start asking Eskimo parents to become involved in teaching, so the present young people have only learned some white ways. Now they are like lost people. They do not want to be involved with older people; some do not even want to go to Church, nor to meetings. That is a very bad thing."

"I am sad that the young people are no longer enthusiastic about hunting. It could be that they stand around in the settlement waiting for someone to ask them to work, and are afraid of going hunting because if they did they might lose the chance of well-paid work. That could be one of the reasons. They should be interested, also, in going to meetings; they are the future leaders. And if they avoid meetings they will not become involved, and so will not be able to help the people here. Perhaps the young are not encouraged enough to go to meetings; perhaps no one really asks them to go. I am not sure why that should be. But they should be encouraged more, because some day they will have to do many things; they will have to try and lead our people."

"People sometimes make good money but spend it on themselves. Then parents ask for money and are given only one or two dollars, even by children who have a pocketfull of money. I have been trying to tell other people: 'Do not be afraid of your children; try to help them.' People to whom I said that agreed that even if they did try to be unafraid of their children, or tried to tell them to be more helpful, the children would never obey. They said that their children would spend money sending for things from outside, through mail-order, because most of them know how to write English and can therefore write out their orders. Even if the things are not useful to themselves, or of no use to their households, or even if they are made simply to look nice, and parents therefore told them not to order such things, the children would not listen. Mostly it is our own fault. Parents agreed when educators asked to take the children into school; the children were taken and taught to read and write and speak English; the parents thought: 'If they can do those things then they are somebody'; but parents feel that they cannot order their children, that they cannot tell the children what they should do, for the children have come to know things that the parents have never learned. The children got into the way of telling their parents off, and ceased to be afraid of their parents: the parents became afraid of the children. Right now we are preparing a programme for the young people. It is to start this coming fall. We are asking them all to

come to a meeting, and at that meeting we will tell them what we used to do in the old days, how we used to do it, how difficult it was to look after the children when they were very young. In that way we should make a start at getting the children to be more obedient to older people. Right now the young people do not like to go to meetings. That again is the fault of parents. Maybe a parent told a young person to do to a meeting, told him once, and the young person did not go. Well, the parents have been afraid to say it a second time. Even though parents think that the young do not go to meetings because they want to drink and have sex with the young girls, they are still afraid to keep telling them to go."

In the last of those comments a woman spoke of older people's fear of the young. The word she used for that fear was 'ilira'. It will be remembered that 'ilira' has a usage closely related to the sort of fear children are supposed to feel towards their strong fathers, and has an extended usage which captures Eskimo feelings about whites in general. Those meanings are essentially to do with that power and independence which inevitably inspire feelings of awe, respect, and apprehension. Today it is the young who have become relatively powerful, unpredictable, and who inspire that cluster of feelings to which the term 'ilira' relates. It is also evident that respect for young is in fact in part an extension of respect for whites; because the young have been to school, and appear to have adopted a number of white ways, to their parents' eyes they are becoming participants in the powers of southern society. Educators have sought to convince parents about the efficacy of schooling for their children by insisting on the opportunities which reside first and foremost in some measure of participation in white social and economic advantages. Eskimo parents' nervous respect, the basis for much of the 'ilira', has followed that propaganda effort. There are signs of parental cynicism

about the validity of such propaganda, but, as one of the commentators said, it is in many ways too late for a reversal of educational policy. Today's parents are becoming determined to salvage their authority, and therefore to redeem the future; they feel that they are personally and culturally threatened. It is no easy matter, materially or psychologically, to become passively resigned to dependence upon the wayward and frightening young; like dependence upon whites, dependence upon the young is also turning hostile.

It is acknowledged that the young have more access to resources, especially to wage-labour, than the old. And wage-labour has become a mainstay of economic life. However, if the old feel that the young cannot be relied upon to share the fruits of their labour, then that mainstay is itself in doubt. In that way uncertainty about the young directly aggravates feelings of poverty. That poverty in turn aggravates the feeling that land-based pursuits - hunting and trapping - are not viable, but merely compound insecurity by intensifying dependence upon the very group which appears to be undependable. The older are inevitably filled with apprehension.

But older people tend to exaggerate the extent to which the young are caught up in southern ways, seeing each and every difference between the generations as a sign of creeping southern influences. In fact the young find their own predicament uncertain and troubling, recognizing that they are clearly not equal or acceptable participants in southern life and opportunities, and certainly do not express a wish to become part of the

south. There is virtually no migration from north to south, and those few girls who have married southerners are usually outspoken in their anxious determination to keep their husbands in the north. The most sophisticated and southernized Eskimos, some of whom have spent years in education in southern towns, keep their eyes firmly on the north, returning there whenever they are able. The kind of out migration which has afflicted remote and rural communities throughout North America and Europe is most unlikely to take root in the Canadian Arctic. Reluctance to move south is a sure sign that today's youth have not swallowed enough southern culture and its aspirations to be convinced that all hope for their personal futures lies in the towns and cities of the south. And as they express reluctance to move south, or recall times spent in the south, they talk without shame or reserve of being Eskimo, and feel that they belong in the north. But the north to which they belong is not an easy place for them. Signs of personal disarray among today's young Eskimos are becoming many.

Suicide among the young is the most dramatic expression of their contemporary predicament. Statistical expression of suicide rate cannot be meaningful in a population group as small as the Eastern Arctic Eskimo, for one or two isolated cases will push the rate per 100,000 of population high above national averages. But the incidence of suicide among the young is increasing rapidly; during 1972 one Baffin Island settlement was the scene of two successful and a number of attempted suicides, all on the part of the young, and all explained by those directly involved in terms of life's "pointlessness". Anthropological evidence suggests that suicide was, during truly traditional times, an accepted way of con-

fronting privation and disaster. In some culture areas, notably among the Netsilingmiut, it appears to have been widespread and to have followed exact procedures laid down by local customs.¹ But to discover a causal link between traditional use of suicide and the suicides among today's young would be to slide deep into the excesses of culturism. Those young settlement men and women who now threaten to kill themselves do not see their death as a solution to community disaster; they are not confronted by starvation, nor do they link in any way their own death with the fortunes of their family and neighbours. Rather, their inclination towards suicide is an expression of entirely private unhappiness. And they have decidedly not been brought up within cultural and metaphysical conventions which suggest suicide as a solution to personal discontent². It is a measure of social difficulties and personal states of mind which are entirely modern, and therefore does not accord with a culturological account. The suicide rate among the young is very likely to increase because the contemporary problematic of settlement life increasingly aggravates young people's uncertainty, confusion, and pessimism. They say so themselves.

They say, in particular, that they do not know what to do - about jobs, living, and relations with their parents. They feel under all kinds of pressure. Southerners tell them to take courses, to do this and that; in

¹ See e.g. Asen Balikci, 19 , page .

² Exceptions to that might be the case of the old and sick; but that does not apply today either. The old and sick have medical services and are not liabilities; it is the young and healthy among whom are found the suicideogenic.

part those suggestions are welcome, for they help fill the void in which they find themselves; in part they are confusing, because they correspond only remotely and obliquely to real and personal likes and capabilities. One young man who had received further education in the south, who was a favourite with white officials, receiving from them jobs and opportunities which officials tend to see as ideal and irresistible, who earned good money, and had the chance of a materially successful future, once visited me in great despair. He felt that he was being pushed and directed; his pzrents wanted him to train as a missionary (a missionary had suggested the idea to the son); the Settlement Manager wanted him to become a mechanic; he himself was interested in spending a winter trapping foxes, but had not for eight years spent a winter in his home community, and was therefore not sure if he would be able to trap - he had no confidence in his ability to travel on the land. He told me of the various pressures he felt were being exerted upon him, and described his reluctance to undertake each of the various possibilities. The next day he visited me again; he came into the house looking more despondent than ever. For a few minutes we did not speak, but I eventually broke the silence by saying "You look pretty gloomy tonight". He answered, after a moment's hesitation: "I wish I could be something".

Time weighs heavily on such young people. They try to amuse themselves, but those who do not feel able or inclined to hunt and trap spend many hours meandering here and there in the villages, visiting, sitting, strolling. It is not surprising that many young people welcome

opportunities for drinking parties. They equally welcome a try with soft drugs which occasionally find their way even into the remoter communities, and experiment with alcohol-substitutes - drinking after-shave, sniffing gasoline... It is rare to hear of excesses in any of these entertainments, but as settlement life becomes more developed the young increasingly expect to find opportunities for such activities. There is a growing interest in being high.

Inactivity, uncertainties and malaise which nurture preoccupations with alcohol and drugs also create a tendency towards intensely romantic love affairs. Such intensity provides security, and can be a ready substitute for relationships built on activity and shared purposes. Since marriage is often problematic, and rarely can be related by possible partners to any long-term union built on true interdependence, there is that sort of hollowness to romance which bedevils relationships between the sexes in southern societies. There is little to share beyond mutual attractions and acute feeling. And there is, by the same token, little to sustain the resulting partnerships. Thus there emerges a pattern very akin to the south, and certainly conspicuous for the same paradox; many couples become profoundly emotional in their attachments, but are quick to end them. The back and forth of shifting affairs takes place in an atmosphere heavily charged with powerful, almost desperate, feeling. In such an atmosphere eruption of anger and morbidity are likely to become commonplace.

The behaviour of the young is thus touched with latent aggression and recurrent despair. They do not see a future in the ways of their parents, but nor do they see a future in the shape of incorporation into the south. They duly resent the intrusive concerns of the old, and are equally tending to feel hostile towards the whites. They feel wronged - and are right so to feel. Silent, remote, and resistant to the demands of their parents, this troubled generation of young people inevitably inspires much nervous apprehension in the old. Parents of teenagers are in any case victims of a colonial situation; the head of each family has experienced radical diminution of his influence. No longer able to decide where to live, nor truly free to hunt, nor able to make the equipment on which they depend, periodically dependent on welfare payments, the older people are continuously aware of how little control they have over their situations and over the future. Deviant or dissident youth is, in that context, doubly alarming and threatening. Opposition to the initiatives, independence, and privacy of older children can be interpreted in the light of parents' uncertain and weakened position.

Thus parents assert themselves in the family because there is such limited possibility for meaningful assertion of influence over matters outside it. Protracted schooling has taken much of the prime responsibility for socialization out of parents' hands. And the institution which has assumed responsibility is in fact declaring children to be failures. Parents are conscious of the former circumstance; the children and some of the parents are conscious of the latter. Shift in responsibility for

education away from parents towards an essentially foreign institution can only create nervousness about the future and weakness in the present.¹ The complex of changes which this and earlier chapters has described means that the Arctic must expect its share of "physical pollution , social polarization and psychological impotence: three dimensions in a process of global degradation and modern misery"².

So parents - particularly fathers - assert themselves in the nucleated family home, against the young. In so doing they resist their own ineffectuality, and seek to reverse trends which are so threatening for the future. And they thereby indicate some opposition to much of what southern presence is creating. Fear of the future is increasingly inflamed by a sense of the problems in the present. Those problems in the present and anxiety about the future are naturally united in inter-generational difficulties.

"Now I would like to tell you a story, about the time the first missionary came here. He used to preach and talk in those old days - that was the time of my mother's generation. Those people of that generation used to be told in Church: in the future you are going to have children and some of those children will be good and some will be bad. Some day some of your children will be alive when the time comes when whites start to live in your home land. If you have bad children, then you will have bad grandchildren; the bad things will remain with you. The missionary also said that in the future the whites would bring a great number of different things that are not too good for the Eskimos. We learned that there were going to be problems, problems of two cultures getting together, problems like drinking and war. The missionary talked of how things in each generation would get worse and worse. Now we are sort of half way. The generation after this one will be worse again than the present one, when the present young men and women grow up. Then, when I

¹ The shift in the nature of education can perhaps best be regarded as education narrowly conceived replacing education in the broadest sense.

² See Illich, 1971, 1.

am no longer alive, they'll have more problems. I believe that those things prophesied by the missionary are happening now. I believe that more things will happen, things the missionary talked of. He said: 'One day a government will come to you, your children, and to your grandchildren, and that government will bring all kinds of help. But the help will not last long; one day they will come and give much, and another day they will leave you.' I believe that the government has come, but will soon stop being helpful. I've seen things go that way. It's going downhill now. I believe the next administrator will be worse and the one after him worse again, and finally the end of white help will come."

What defences do people have against the difficulties they foresee?

What continuity can there be? What are the young people going to do?

Within the family there can be struggle against these trends and people can look beyond the immediate family to southerners for help, for more reassurance. But the heads of households remain embattled, surrounded by shifting difficulties which confuse and threaten to engulf. Older people struggle with the young, and urge whites to be more committed in their support. Younger people try to find a way of life for themselves, independent of family, without manipulation by outsiders. The final irony is of course to be discovered in the outcome: Eskimo families come to experience the family life normal to the dominant society: privatized, tense, and unsatisfying. It is in this newly constituted family that every Eskimo feels most acutely the disadvantage of changes which the south has brought to the north.