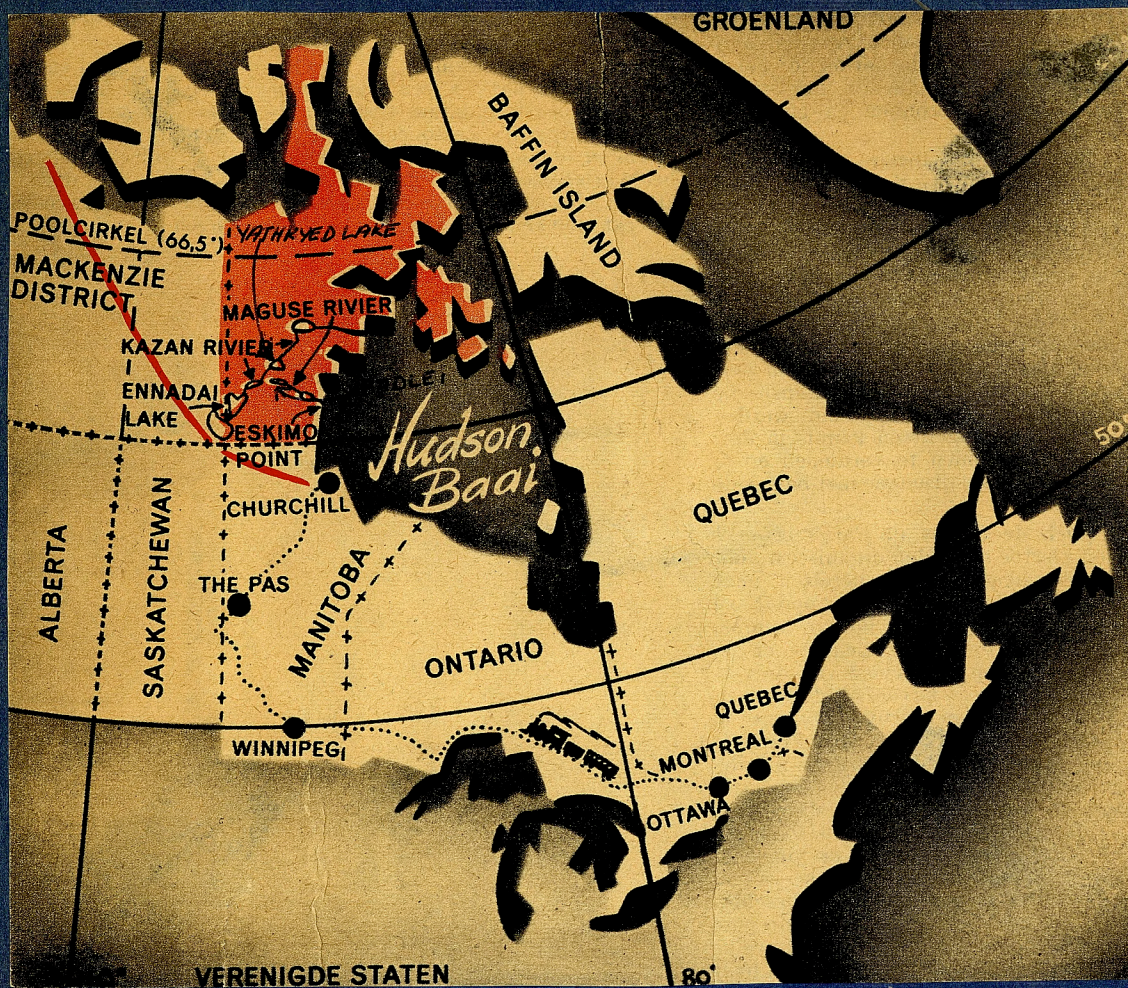


RESEARCH REPORT

on

RIBOU ESKIMO LAW"

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R E P O R T

to the

DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

on a field-research journey for the

STUDY OF LEGAL CONCEPTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS

IN SOME PARTS OF THE KEEWATIN DISTRICT, N.W.T.

in the summer of 1955

by

G. van den Steenhoven



KOLONELS TERUG OP DE SCHOOL

WETLANDEN UIT VIJFTIEN LANDEN STUDEREN IN PARIJS

De Nato geeft college in Europese verdediging

Wetlanden uit zes Natolanden beklimmen de stoep van de Ecole Militaire recht tegenover de Eiffeltoren aan het Champs de Mars.

Ook de „school” kent haar „speelkwartier”. In de pauze ziet men hier Kilgore uit de Verenigde Staten in gesprek met kolonel van het Canadese leger, die optreedt als instructeur college.



◀ Tussen de lessen in zoeken talrijke „studenten” hun toevlucht in de bibliotheek, waar duizenden boeken in negen talen tot hun beschikking staan. En is daar



Summer transportation over land or water is almost equally impossible for long travels, as at the coast. Looking westwards, hundreds of miles of no-man's land make Ennadai Lake utmost limit of the oikoumenè. Nearest point in any other direction is the lonely trading post of Padley, 140 miles northeast as the crow flies. Distances to Eskimo Point and Churchill are each about 240 miles. The hunting grounds of these Eskimos range from north to east; and to some extent south, where they are approaching the limits of present Indian hunting, and where in the past they used to trade at the post of Ch. Schweder at Windy Bay, Nueltin Lake.

Their present whereabouts, near the radio station, were known to them from the years before that station was built (1949), but they have been wandering over a very wide area: around forty years ago their families must have lived at Angikuni Lake, whereas some of them used to live at the Kazan River upstream from that lake; they lived for years at Hick's lake. (I believe they liked to think of those years) They also traded at Padley and at W.Black's trading post at Oftedal's Lake. As from the end of 1949, they live in the neighbourhood of the new Radio Station, the only white establishment and their first general contact with white man's life. They say that they were very satisfied with the Ennadai region, since deer had been plentiful here every year, ★) whereas the years they spent in the Padley region were meagre. Owlyoot said that he would prefer to live about twenty miles farther east-southeast from the station, where fishing was better also; but the distribution of rations at the radio station was this year arranged in such a way as not to permit the Eskimos to live farther off. ★★). In 1950, these Eskimos were transported by air to Nueltin Lake in a necessarily abortive government attempt to make them fish for a private enterprise: they left the place on their own initiative after a few months and moved back over land to Ennadai Lake, which is many miles distant.

Their camps, which they move according to the season and to their unpredictable nomadic impulses, were last summer within one day's distance from the radio station (which is manned by a crew of 4-5 and which - although officially having no business with the Eskimos - had to collect fox skins and distribute the goods coming to the Eskimos for these skins or for family allowance; it should be recalled that there is no HBC, RCMP or mission stationed here). Later in August, there were 5 camps, all at distance from each other, of which Owlyoot's - comprising 20 souls - was the largest; it was situated at a branch of the lake, about 7 miles south of the radio station. I spent almost all my time at this camp which, as the others, consisted of conical deerskin or part-deerskin part-canvas tents. In between the low spruce around the camp, the dogs were tied; there were four teams of each about 5-6 grown-up dogs. A few notes on the camp's composition follow: ★★★)

- ★) As I heard afterwards, the great fall-migration of deer failed to pass Ennadai Lake in 1955. Plenty of small groups, later herds of 100 and 200 deer were in the region all during my stay at Ennadai Lake.
- ★★) This is far from blaming the O.i.C. who was faced with a "fait accompli". The Northern Service Officer, Mr. W.Kerr, as soon as that was possible, solved the problem within a much wider framework.
- ★★★) Incidentally, it might be remarked that the medical situation seems fair but of course I am no competent judge. They have suffered from "septic throat" in the past and, possibly, from other diseases. Information from June '56 indicates that TB has spread also here. Nootaraloo had to be hospitalised; perhaps she was followed by others. But it was very difficult to extract concrete information from them about epidemics. As with other Eskimos, in periods of weakened condition through starvation, they are very liable to contract foreign diseases from immune carriers. Finally, these Eskimos know no intoxicants; it is clear that alcohol would constitute a life danger for these kayakers, who need to retain all their sense of balance at all times and many of whom cannot swim.

Headman of the camp is Owlyoot (43), who inhabits a large double conical tent of which he occupies one half with his wife Nootaraloo (41), and his children Arloo (14), Agnasaseak (9½) (this might possibly be an adopted child), Panegunak (7½) and Neebainak (3½), all sons. The other half of the double tent is occupied by the families of his daughter Akjar and his son Mounik. Akjar (17½) is married to Anowtelik (23); Anowtelik has no family and lives therefore with his father-in-law. Their children are Owlyoot (2½) and Igyekah (9 July '55). Mounik (21) is married to Ookanak (14) who was pregnant of her first child.

The second tent is Anayoenak's (48) who is married to Atatloak (36); their son Ikileg (13) drowned in 1954, and their only children are now Atkla (4½) and Ookanak, who is Mounik's wife.

The third tent is Micki's (37), who is married to Kahootsuak (35); their children are Kukigiak (15), Ilungiayuk (11) and Hickwa (3½). Kukigiak, who is betrothed to Arloo, is the only unmarried female child in this camp: all others are boys.

Nootaraloo is a relative of Atatloak, probably her maternal aunt. Atatloak and Anayoenak are Mounik's parents-in-law (Remarkably, Mounik and Ookanak slept the one night in Owlyoot's tent, the next night in Anayoenak's, the third again in Owlyoot's etc.). Kahootsuak is related to Owlyoot (but the interpreter could not make clear the exact relationship). There were kinship relations between Owlyoot's camp and the camp of Hallow and Ootuk, and these families used to visit each other, during my stay; for Hallow and Ootuk, who lived at about 5 miles distance, both had just bought new canoes, in which they were able to take their families ^{*}). Nootaraloo, Atatloak and Micki have relatives who used or still use to go to and live at the coast (Esk.P.).

Owlyoot was "Primus inter pares" of his camp; quietly, everything he did was done without pretensions but with natural poise and dignity, and he acted so much in a matter of fact manner that his leadership went almost unnoticed. He remembered some sayings which he had learned when he was small: "If you are hungry, get out and go hunting", "don't stay long on bed, but get up early and go out hunting", "Be pleasant to the others, and don't talk back to your parents": at least, thus were the sayings interpreted to me.

Anayoenak, a true hunter, peaceful, and good family father, is older than Owlyoot but seemed quite content to "follow" him. Micki, skilful but tending to be negligent and to take things very easily, was sometimes blamed for doing wrong things; but he took full part in camp life, seemed fully accepted. After all, he was the father-in-law-to-be of Owlyoot's son Arloo. Nootaraloo, first lady of the camp, is a good housewife and seems one who knows to reign with her tongue. Atatloak is a devoted "second", quite attached to Owlyoot's family. Kahootsuak lives more her own life though all women usually worked and sat together at one of the three windbreaks near the tents. Nootaraloo's windbreak was most frequented, then came Atatloak's; Kahootsuak's windbreak was also sometimes centre of the women, but not very often.

This camp was a peaceful, very cheerful, well integrated whole where, again, the small children were the centre of attention, and where the about 10 year olds were the most wonderful and pleasant youngsters imaginable. Caribou was around almost all the time I spent there and it was interesting to note how onesidedly their culture centers around this animal. Except from deer meat,

*) Other canoes which I saw were the old ones of Mounik and of Pongalak; for the rest, each hunter had his kayak, which was generally used for personal transportation and hunting. To my knowledge, Ennadai Lake is the only place where deerskin kayaks are still made and used as indispensable means of transportation and hunting.

their only indigenous food is fish and berries: the latter are collected during the short picking season by the women but play an unimportant part in their diet. Only during a short period when there was no deer meat around, attention for imported food increased noticeably ☆). Powder milk, however, seemed always in demand by mothers whose breasts were dry and who wanted to give the best possible substitute for milk to their - sometimes four year old - children. Tea and tobacco were also always highly rated. Summer clothing - except boots - was chiefly imported and, as at Eskimo Point, attigis were worn over it on cool days.

The men went hunting daily, reaching their hunting grounds on foot or by kayak. Hunting with rifles was common, but I also saw them using stone ciarns, leading the deer to crossing places at the lake. The hunters were hidden opposite that crossing place in the low brush of the shore, sometimes during several days. When the deer came through and had crossed the lake halfway, the hunters entered the kayaks, drove the swimming deer back, killed them with a sudden thrust of their long lance, and then towed the spoil back to shore.

Even in the hot period, I saw them cache any meat, which could not be taken to camp, under sods and stones. Micki was said to leave sometimes the killed game uncovered, and Owlyoot once showed me such a carcass; they all recognize, who has killed an animal by the manner in which it has been skinned, for which each hunter has his small individual variations.

As long as deermeat was available, almost nothing else was eaten by the grown-ups. During the day, when the men were out hunting, I sometimes saw the women make a quick bannock for tea. The meat was cooked in small oil drums, filled with water, and the resulting soup was drunk along with eating the meat. The only roasting I saw, was always after the skinning and butchering of the game in the field.

Manual skills, in making implements and utensils, are by no means lost, as also appears from the list of collected items - most of which were made on the spot in no time (see Supplement to this report). Kayaks can still be made entirely out of native materials; to obtain suitable spruce for the gunwhales, sled journeys are made to the timberline in spring; for the ribs, local willow is used; four deerskins and two endpieces are sown by the women: the deerskin cover is then made wet and all women together join in sewing the deck-seam over the frame. The Ennadai kayak seems somewhat smaller than that described by BIRKET-SMITH (1929:185ff), but in all other respects it is the same. Very many descriptions and names of implements and tools, as occurring in BIRKET-SMITH's work, were identical at Ennadai Lake. But bow and arrow are completely out of use, except as toys for children, and stone pots are replaced by oil drums.

Each tent had its own outside windbreak of spruce boughs where the women worked and cooked, where common camp meals were held, and where all present in camp usually could be found during the day. When ample food had been brought in camp, meat was dried, weather permitting. Drum dances and magic sessions were held in the evenings inside Owlyoot's large tent, where there was ample space for the entire camp and its visitors to gather: the proceedings during these evenings, again, were very alike those recorded by RASMUSSEN, BIRKET-SMITH and BOAS. During these dance sessions, when at times a very wild dance was performed or magic tricks displayed, I was told:

- ☆) Of course, there was continuous interest in the marvels of my supplies; begging, if any, was done very subtly as a rule. Aunt Jemina pancake flower and sweets received highest ratings. Not even the children ever touched anything belonging to me; once I was absent for two days and most of my tent inventory happened to be in Owlyoot's tent all that time: when I returned, everything was where I had left it.

"You must feel at ease now: for we do all this because we are feeling happy". Neither at Eskimo Point nor at Ennadai Lake did I encounter any inclination to decorate or to carve for carving's sake from bone or stone. At Ennadai, several Eskimos showed definite talent when I asked them to carve something, but the products were quite unlike the well known carvings from elsewhere in the arctic. Only the cloth caps of the small children were beautifully decorated with beads *); for the rest I did not notice any beadwork, except on the hoods of the cloth-anoraks of Pongalak and Shikoak.

Their traditional hostility with the Indians seemed to have lost much of its actuality; they said they were not afraid of them. But they do not speak a word of the Indian language (whereas they are able to understand an Eskimo from Greenland or Alaska). The abovementioned fishing enterprise, under white man's supervision, enabled them to watch the Indians more closely without apprehension. They did adopt some Indian traits: Micki, when sketching Eskimo objects for me, once made a drawing of dogs in harness which must have been Indian. Their gambling game was very much like BIRKET-SMITH's description of the Chipewyan "hand-game" (udzi) (1930:70), and so was the rattle (ibidem:75); the dance described in the Supplement to this report, was adopted from the Indians, who in their turn had it from Gershwin.

Finally, a few notes on religion might be added. It is true that I dispose only of scattered and superficial information. I hardly believe that more could be expected during so short a stay and with so young an interpreter.**) Christian missionary activities have been minimal here: Rev. Gasté in 1868, and Rev. Turquetil in 1901 and 1906 spent at most some months among these Ahearmiut, thus outside the personal experience of the present people. In the summer of 1955, the Maguse Evangelical mission - on an airborne visit - took three children from Owlyoot's camp to their coastal mission for a three weeks' course. Ohotok, who is said to have spent one year at Eskimo Point, claimed to be a Christian, when he once slept in my tent and saw my rosary on the camp table.

On questions who was Hilla, the answers sounded, perhaps, like individual interpretations: "That is all there is: we are right in (the) Hilla now". "Hilla is the sky; Hilladjuar is the big world". "When there is thunderstorm or snowstorm, Hilla is angry; when there is sun and no clouds, Hilla is happy". Only, I am not quite clear whether the informant was using his own terminology, or resorting to this anthropomorphic wording in order to adapt to my "primitive" questioning!

Pinga (I pronounced it as it is written), strangely, was not known and my questions all resulted in blank faces. Nothing was known either of the institution of public confession.

Food- and some other taboos were said to be different for everyone; but several of those mentioned in RASMUSSEN (1930:61ff) were known, even in details. It was admitted that it used to be forbidden for women to eat together with the men, but this was no taboo any more now. Shooting a fawn on land, with attigi on, was alright, but to kill a fawn with a lance from the kayak, with attigi on, was tabooed.

*) Unfortunately for their cultural needs, their supply of beads appeared to be nihil. They should be able to obtain good beads. Low grade tobacco or tea does not matter to them, and quantity is much more important. But, they want good beads, because they have a good taste. H.B.C. beads at Churchill are of poor quality: these Eskimos need the strongly coloured and beautiful "Italian seed beads".

**) Evan RASMUSSEN (1930:39) had difficulty in obtaining information on these subjects.

A major taboo was on the working with late summer skins (when they are prime for clothing), until winter (igloos) had arrived. To observe such a taboo among coast Eskimos is not uncommon, since those groups make a clear distinction between seasons of land- and of saltwater hunting. Interestingly, the taboo had been extended to the working of large pieces of imported textiles: for when Mr. McCue of Life Magazine wanted a parka to be made from a piece of duffel in his possession, it could not be done for this reason. The caribou would not retaliate, if an Eskimo violated its taboos: "The deer follow their own ways and are not effected by nor do they react to our sins". Asked what would then be the sanction on violation, the answer was invariably: "We or our children (i.e. the children of the trespasser) will become sick." And sickness indeed seems to be the most feared thing among these Eskimos. The shaman's chief function is to ward off sickness, or to heal a sick one.

Asked who is a shaman, Anayoenak answered: "A shaman goes outside and talks by himself; if one wants something hard, a shaman will cause it to happen". But, even in the absence of missionaries, the very presence or nearness of white man must have caused a severe blow to their religion, for as one informant put it: "Our rules (i.e. in this case: religion) are different now from what they used to be previously, because there are now many white men around". ★)

The foregoing notes have already indicated that these Caribou Eskimos, contrary to almost all other living Eskimos, are inland nomads, whose life in most important aspects centers around the caribou; this is exhaustively demonstrated in the general works on these regions, mentioned in the start of this section.

Other aspects of their social and economic life will be dealt with in the following three chapters, from which, among others, will appear the state of near-anarchy in which they live.

But two additional points - not appearing in foregoing or following, must still be mentioned here, and they count for both Padlermiut and Ahearimiut areas:

Firstly, I did not observe polygamy being practised; this is, among non-Christians, not a matter of principle, but of necessity. For the shortage of women is acute at the coast, and will become acute at Ennadai. These Eskimos do not hesitate to make long journeys - like wandering knights - to find a wife. But to find one among Caribou Eskimos, is becoming quite a problem, which needs study.

Secondly, I have found no indications of any institutionalized social stratification; although, of course, there are respected and unpopular Eskimos, and the latter may perhaps not be offered tea, when visiting the former.

- ★) Actually, all white men permanently around are the crew of 4-5 in the radio station. But I believe that he thought rather of white man's activities: medical parties, police visits, supply planes, visitors like myself, machines, electricity. Even without missionary influence, the native religion has suffered severely from this incidental and superficial contact with the white man and his works. Although I cannot substantiate this thought, it occurred to me when thinking about the informant's statement.

CHAPTER 2

CONSIDERATION OF 1955 FIELD-DATA

Introductory notes.

Both the present and the next chapter (review of relevant research literature) are subdivided into the same sections which appear in Attachment I (Eskimo Pount Interviews). Relevant information obtained at Ennadai Lake can be found in each section of the present chapter.

References to questions in Attachment I are simply coded; f.i. "E.4.II" refers to informant no.II's (Aggak's) answer to question no.4 in section E. The end of Attachment I contains four quotations from my diary notes, to which reference will be made in the course of this chapter.

This consideration of field-data covers only a part of the material in Attachment I; since my complete material is presented to the reader, I felt that I might be permitted to make my own selection for consideration in this report. If, at times, my analysis seems more definite than warranted by the data, my judgment is based on general observations made outside the interviews proper, or just on "feeling". Editing of the interviews was restricted to the utter minimum.

It seems needless to mention that, by adding my interviews "in toto", I expose all weaknesses of my research to the eye of the critical reader; and one might wonder why I did ask question X, and not questions Y or Z. I can only answer that I often wondered about that too, after I returned. The Eskimo Point interviews, held during the first weeks of my field research, were an attempt to feel the pulse of their legal life by way of questions on social relations which - among us - are covered by law or which - on the basis of the existing literature - might possibly reveal a legal character.

The answers to my questions prompted new questions, but I had not always the opportunity to ask the same questions to all informants. I sometimes discovered too late that a question had not been fully answered, or that it had been wrongly phrased, or that its formulation might unduly influence the answer. Often there was no opportunity to repair these faults in subsequent interviews. In addition, my questions must often have been too abstract for these concretely thinking Eskimos; though undoubtedly Rev. Ducharme's interpretations helped to minimize this defect.

I felt no lack of sincerity in the answers of the informants. Certain questions might be answered with a tendency to politeness, or to formulate "ideal norms", exactly as we do when a stranger asks us questions on our views and way of life. I realize that these Eskimos, who have grown up in a milieu of unquestioned and commonly held social values, will have less repressions in answering certain questions than we, individualistic Westerners: for we soon feel embarrassed by direct questions. I submit, however, that even many Eskimos don't like questions like "what would you do if someone would take away your wife?" It might well be that their reticence to some questions was actually caused by certain delicate feelings, which remained unknown to me.

Nothing in this, or in the next chapter should be regarded as an attempt at codifying Caribou Eskimo Law. We should always keep in mind the distinction between what the informants state as to what should be done and what I observed as regards what is done; my personal observations of actual practice are much smaller in number than my data on the informants' statements and opinions. This and the next chapter only present and consider the sources from which we might discover or extract their legal concepts, if any.

It would seem naive to expect detailed consistency in the informants' answers. It is very clear that these are different and inconsistent in many respects and instances. "They don't walk around with a bunch of statutes in their heads", as BIRKET-SMITH rightly remarks and, moreover, when giving their

replies, they thought of their own particular situation and experience; a man who has brothers, is likely to answer differently to a question relating to the position of the oldest brother, than a man who has no brothers. If the same question was asked to the same informant on consecutive interviews, the answers might even be somewhat different. And it would not make much sense to proceed, in this chapter, by carefully weighing the value and precise meaning of the informants' formulations in a similar manner as that is done with the wording of a statute in our own society. It is my task to discover a possible continuous thread running through the various answers, or merely a tendency in a certain direction; I shall have to find a certain order in the various answers. And whether or not this order is legal, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

HOEBEL (1954:39) rightly remarks that it "is essential,....., to subject all key words or potential key words to linguistic analysis." I acknowledge this requirement, but when discussing concepts with Rev. Ducharme, I felt myself meddling with a field of knowledge where I am quite incompetent. Nevertheless, after some hesitation, I decided to add here a few notes on linguistic concepts; in order to avoid even the suggestion of competent treatment, I shall omit the few cases where I have Eskimo names for these words and concepts:

Wherever, in Attachment I, the word "pay" or "debt" occurs, the Eskimo word connotes "to return" or "what should be returned". There is no word for "interest"; nor for "crime" or "justice": but there is a general word, connoting what is bad, sinful, etc. There is no word for "law". There is no word for "hate" in its sense of aggressive despise: but there is one, connoting a cold attitude, when no more attention is paid to someone's words or deeds. The word for angriness suggests killing: who is angry might kill; someone who loses his temper, might kill. For "lazy" there are two words, the one connoting indolence, indifference to anything; and the other to be bent over asleep, half dozing half thinking. "Authority" can be expressed in three situations; first: "the word said", "that is the word"; second: "his words weigh heavily"; third: in a passive sense "when one has to follow, to obey", as between brothers, but this is rather active responsibility than authority. There is no word for "peace": the missionary said that the biblical expression "peace be unto you" is hardly translatable. The word for property and ownership connotes "something attached to someone". Transgression can be translated with two words: the action of "breaking" and the action of "not following". For a liar they might say: "He was standing in front of me, not as a whole, but half"; they now also use this word when one is in error, but they distinguish, in the context, between error and lie. Often, in Attachment I, the expression occurs: "we do not care for such a man"; they seem to use two words, connoting 1) he is not worth to be thought of, and 2) he is not worthy to be a member of the group. There is no word for "order". For "conflict" there is no general word, but it may be expressed like 1) "two persons talking loudly to each other" (women): this is seldom used; 2) "They have not got one mind"; 3) "There is a cold between the two". To "share" is expressed by words connoting to "separate" and to "give".

Finally, I express the hope that, in the following, I shall succeed in avoiding the enumeration of that kind of norms which MALINOWSKI rightly liked to ridicule, like the two here below:

"When a Brodiag encounters a polar bear, he runs away and sometimes the bear follows". Or:

"In old Caledonia when a native accidentally finds a whiskey bottle by the road-side, he empties it in one gulp after which he proceeds immediately to look for another."

A. CATCH AND KILL

Eskimo Point

Sea-mammals

- a. If a square flipper (i.e. bearded seal; but the rules count, in principle for any large sea-mammal) is brought whole in camp, all present in camp have an undifferentiated right in it. If two brothers have hunted together and have killed a square flipper, they may leave the flensing to their wives, and the community will not be involved.
- b. Anyone who is near the scene of the killing of a square flipper, can join in the flensing and so establish his right in a share of the meat and skin of the animal. The parts so obtained depend on what kind of leather is sought, but they are equal in value.
- c. The share of the killer becomes ever smaller according to the number of those taking part in the flensing. If there are more than four (one informant: three) so engaged, the killer loses all right in a share, "for he has had the pleasure of shooting"; consequently, the killer will not partake in the flensing and the others usually give him the head (which - as I believe - has no economic value); the head is coming to the killer also, when sharing with less than five.
- d. Who has wounded the square flipper, is regarded to have been the killer.
- e. If a hunter returns after having killed and flensed a square flipper all by himself, it will be kept by him for his family.
- f. Someone who will not participate in a forthcoming hunt, can utter a "wish" for a share of the anticipated kill, in which case a part from the kill will be reserved for him; (there seems to be created some kind of debt for the receiver, but it is not clear whether or not this "wish" is something different from any routine request for food. The informant spontaneously added this practice to his reply, so it might point at some special usage).
- g. The same principles count for other large sea mammals; but a ringed seal, which is a small mammal, will belong to the killer, without sharing.

Salt- or freshwater fish; foxes

- a. No sharing of fish, except when caught in a net owned by A and operated by B. (I had asked Akpa once, to set my net and operate it: the sharing amounted, I believe, not to a fixed part of the fish caught but according to need).
- b. If the owner fails to look after the net he set, others will not take from it.
- c. Foxes caught belong to the one who owns and has set the traps. (see, however, also the replies to question H.3).

Caribou

- a. In deer hunting the kill, in principle, goes to the killer. Sharing occurs
 - 1) in the hot and fly season, when superfluous meat cannot be preserved and
 - 2) when the participating hunters are short of food. The latesummer skin is always for the killer, as well as the head. For the rest, the manner of dividing the kill is not really fixed, and the number of participating hunters does not call for any specific rules; except that, if hunting with more than three, the killer will keep the deer and provide his camp with meat in the evening, if the camp is short of food. If the deer was large and something is left after the camp meal, the killer will keep it. (These latter rules, as they are formulated above, seem perhaps to have something specific; but

actually, when I saw them practised at Ennadai, they always appeared like the application of the merest common sense).

b. The wounder is considered as the killer; though the one who finally kills the deer may keep it, if he does not know who wounded it.

Ennadai Lake (personal observations, unless otherwise stated)

When the weather is hot and if there are sufficient deer around, the killer will keep the late-summer skin and will have the first choice from the meat; the other participating hunters are then told to go ahead and help themselves to the rest, for which there seem to be no strict rules. (After return in camp, there will be a common meal at one of the cooking places anyway, even if the hunter had hunted alone).

Towards the end of August, when the weather started to become cooler and flies were gone, more trouble was taken in caching the rests not taken home by the other participating hunters, if any; but then the meat so stored away, belongs to the killer. (As far as I know, the heads were always cached until later on - around September 1 - when the deer came very close to camp and when entire heads started to make their appearance in the camp's cooking pots).

In winter, when food is scarce, the killer - according to Owlyoot - has the first choice and the others share the rest; each takes his share to his igloo, but those living in the same igloo (complex) always act as if they were one family.

A deer wounded by A, and later on that day killed by B, belongs to the killer B, according to Owlyoot.

Conclusions concerning "catch and kill"

(There are two phases in the division and distribution of catch and kill, i.e. before and after it enters into the woman's domain; for the latter phase see the consideration of the questions sub B and F.4 below).

The following distinctions might be made with regard to the division of catch and kill:

a. Large or small animals; large ones, like square flippers, walrus, white whales, still seem to be subject to some kind of a claim of consumption by the entire community. Rules of division here seem to be relatively more distinct. Small animals like ringed seal or deer and fishseem, in principle, rather to be regarded as belonging to the one who killed or caught them, with less definite - if at all any - claims by others.

b. Cool or hot seasons (only with reference to inland life); during the latter when it is not practicable to conserve superfluous meat, there is a tendency to let other participants share as much as possible in the catch and kill, though the killer always has the first choice. During the cool season, when conservation becomes practicable, participant hunters will be entitled to a share of the kill, if they are short of meat; but otherwise, all goes to the killer who will be able to cache what he cannot or does not want to take home.

c. Mere food or material for which there is a constant demand but a limited supply, and which is to be processed for more durable utilization. It appears that f.i. deerskin (late summer or early fall) and square flipper skin (walrus and white whale were - to my knowledge - not hunted last summer by the Padlermiut) are always dealt with according to certain rules.

The definite practice that the right of the killer of a square flipper in a share of the animal diminishes with the number of persons taking part in the flensing, until his right disappears entirely when he can at best expect to be given the (useless?) head, stands out as peculiar and interesting. The motivation, generally given "because he has had the pleasure of shooting", is equally interesting. Finally, the view that the rules of division are governed by the 'individual effort' is an abstraction which sometimes seems to apply,

but sometimes not, and which therefore does not seem to contribute very much to understanding.

B. FOOD-DISTRIBUTION INSIDE THE CAMP (see also consideration of question F.4)

Eskimo Point

When the women take over command of the food

As soon as the food has been brought into camp or, more precisely, as soon as it has been delivered by the hunter to his wife (or mother), he loses the right to dispose of it, and any further handling and distribution of the food is from then on the woman's domain. This was emphasized by all informants, and expressed by such statements as "as soon as things are inside the tent or the porch of the snowhouse", or "she disposes of whatever is in the house, and the men dispose of what is usually outside". As Akpa said, this is so because the woman has to look after the children. Only one informant (B.1.IV) states in addition, that in case of food-shortage, the wife needs the permission of the husband.

Request for food from another (nuclear) family inside the same tent or snowhouse

Inside the same snowhouse (or snowhouse-complex) or tent, families will usually be related and - for food purposes - they behave like on family. From B.2.I, I concluded that they would share even if not related, for that is how, I believe, Akpa understood the question. The distribution within such a multiple-family dwelling rests with the matron.

Request for food from outside the tent or snowhouse

Akpa said, characteristically that men, when among themselves without women around, never exactly know what to do when someone from outside asks for food: this shows that requests for food from outside are also handled by the women. The women will give food to anyone who needs it; people who are known to be lazy or who are not liked, may get just a little. But no request for food from outside will ever be (entirely) refused.

Starvation periods

All rules for more normal conditions are suspended. This general exception appears like a white thread through all interviews. Sharing of whatever little there is will be expected, if not socially exacted, by all present in the camp. Are these supplies shared equally? B.4.IV gives a diplomatic, yet not meaningless answer: "He who has, will give enough (to those who have not)".

The lazy but able-bodied hunter who does not hunt, when the camp is short of food. (see also consideration of question E.3)

A strong social pressure will be put on him to go hunting; he will be despised by the others (and by his wife!), and though the others will continue to give him a little, he will go through a hard time, socially. His wife might even leave him and join her parents or a more industrious hunter. But no formal measures will be taken against him.

Ennadai Lake

The women distribute and look after the food as soon as it has been brought into camp. They take over the meat bundle from their husband and prepare it for cooking. If very much meat is in camp, they dry the superfluous meat (weather permitting), each tent having its own outside drying place. Meals are usually taken at one of the cooking places (each tent has its outside cooking place): as a rule the one who has most will cook the meal; as soon as it is cooked, all who feel like eating gather at that cooking place. Also if

food is scarce, the one who has, will call the others to come over to eat their share. People living in one tent or snowhouse (complex) act as if they were one family.

Micki said that when food was very scarce (f.i. in winter), each family would bring what they had to one of the igloos and they would eat together.

Nootaraloo confirmed my question if in time of starvation all food was shared equally among all families of the camp. She also confirmed that no request for food from anyone outside was ever refused; but who is not liked, will receive only a little.

Conclusions concerning "Food-distribution inside the camp"

a. As soon as the woman has taken possession of it and has brought it - in so far as that is possible - inside tent or snowhouse, the food enters her domain and distribution both inside and outside the family will be controlled by her. It is she who disposes from now on, who has the say over what will be done with the food.

b. Inside the igloo or tent - even if it is inhabited by several families - distribution will be like if it were one family, the matron being the chief distributor.

c. Requests for food from outside, even from a stranger, are not refused, though "only a little" may be given to a man who is not liked.

d. Common meals are usual in inland camps, the one who has most - or who has - being the host to the others who have less or who have nothing at all.

e. Starvation periods call for a general attitude of sharing all available food supplies.

Apart from the foregoing, there exists of course the sharing among related families, or even befriended families, even if they do not live under the same roof. This happens in Eskimo Point as in Ottawa; those who have not don't even have to ask for a share: it is brought to them, if the meals happen to be taken apart.

C. "TRIBAL" BOUNDARIES; PADLERMIUT-AHEARMIUT DISTINCTION

Eskimo Point

If I understand Akpa well, he meant to say that west and south of Maguse River (thus also the entire Upper Kazan River area) is Padlermiut country, inhabited by Padlermiut people (except for the very few Aivilingmiut families who are living year round at Eskimo Point); but that these people - among themselves - in addition call each other and themselves according to where they stay at the moment: Ahearmiut, if and as long as they are living inland (the meaning of the word is not known by my informants: see also Diary Extract no.1, at the end of Attachment I), and Tareormiut (salt water people) if and as long as they are staying at the coast. "Padlermiut" means something like "people who live where the dead branches of the creeping willow are" ("willow-thicket" in Eskimo, would be: "ogpik"; "padlerk" are the dead branches of the creeping willow).

Ennadai Lake

None of these whom I asked knew the meaning of "Ahearmiut". Owlyoot calls himself an Ahearmiut, and denies to be a Padlermiut. When I showed him the map, he pointed at the eastern outlet (Morjunerkjuar) of Angikuni Lake (Morluitjuar) as the place of his origin. Yathkyed Lake (Hikoliguak) and Padley (Kingariuellik) were designated by him as lying in Padlermiut country. I should have rechecked this rather puzzling statement later on, but I did not. According to Owlyoot, then, almost only the Upper Kazan River course upstream from Hikoliguak (and including Hicks Lake) would be the traditional Ahearmiut hunting, trapping and fishing country.

D. HUNTING, CAMPING-RIGHTS FOR STRANGERS

Eskimo Point

Any notion of land-ownership, communal, familial or private, or of ownership of what lives on the land or in the water - as long as it has not been hunted, trapped or caught - is foreign to these people. (It was evident that the other two informants thought the same on the subject).

Camping-rights, i.e. the right to join another camp and take part in its social and cultural facilities and activities, are regarded differently from hunting-rights. The camp will at first receive the newcomer - if he is a stranger - and see how he makes out; if he does well, no-one says a word, and he gradually becomes a camp member. If he is found to be an undesirable, "we won't care for him", i.e. ignore him as much as possible, but always give him something to eat if he badly needs it. For the rest, however, the replies are somewhat divergent. Two informants state, they would not share their plans with him, and possibly leave him behind unwarned, if the time to move had almost arrived anyway. Akpa's statement, that eventually the men would meet and decide on what should be done regarding the undesirable newcomer stands alone in all interviews, as an indication of the existence of some kind of a council meeting! (In none of his other replies, Akpa ever suggested anything similar: perhaps the question has been put to him too explicitly). Characteristic is also Arnatkoak's answer: "If he is sociable, everything is alright, even in case of previous murder".

Ennadai Lake

As regards land-ownership and hunting-rights: same as at Eskimo Point. The impression from replies to pertinent questions is that a stranger (esp. from outside the Ahearmitut area) will be expected to ask the headman of the camp if it is all right to join his camp. Anayoenak said that, especially in time of food shortage, Owlyoot should be asked first, but then it would be all right. Owlyoot, the camp-headman, said however that nothing is asked: anyone was allowed to move in. If the newcomer would prove to be an undesirable, they would not care for him; but they would give him a little, if needed, so that he would not starve. At a later occasion he said that, in the theoretical case that Pongalak would move in, he (Owlyoot) would break up camp at once and move elsewhere. (as regards the "affaire Pongalak", see below, section E).

E. HEADMAN; GROUP- OF CAMP-DECISIONS AND -DISCIPLINE

Eskimo Point

Leadership

"Ihumatar" -i.e. "the one who thinks", thinks best or thinks for the others - is a rather general term used to designate people in various positions, such as the family head, but also the manager of the HBC post. Anyone, I might say, with recognized prestige within his own circle of special (and secular) activities, may be so called, in principle. The "wisdom" (ihumakortujok), ihumatiariktok, ihumagartjakto) may have prestige as such in a wide area, so that he will be consulted in certain especially difficult situations. Akpa is considered by many Padlermiut as ihumakortujok, although he does not yet seem to have taken the place of the ihumagartjakto nicolas ilumniark, who died last spring (see E.8.II). The only "regular" kind of ihumatar is each autonomous head of a household; all other Eskimo ihumatar have "emerged" to their status, which is actually entirely informal, can never be formally exerted and lasts only as long as the others consider the ihumatar really "thinking" better than the others. Thus, there are at least as many ihumatar during the summer conglomeration at Eskimo Point as there are independent

household-heads. As soon as the summer village breaks up and makes place for small inland camps of only a few families together, the position of "oldest" or "headman" of the camp, who is followed by the other families in any important decision, is likely to take on a more real meaning.

In addition, Rev. Ducharme told me, there is still another ihumatar, or "perkojéjé", i.e. "the one who says: 'do this' with reference only to those who are related to him by blood, adoption or special friendship. So, in a camp of 7 or 10 families, there might be more than one of them. Again, this does not imply formal authority: each independent hunter keeps his own initiative, yet "follows" the "perkojéjé".

Decision to move camp

Before it is certain that camp will be moved, the hunters are discussing it again and again, during frequent visits, until finally a common idea emerges. Some may go first, others might follow. But each hunter will say where he plans to go. Brothers often tend to stay together; if the father is dead, and has left no brothers, the oldest son has a certain authority, or responsibility, over his younger brothers, even if the latter have already their own families (see section G.). The household heads are autonomous, but they will tend to sound the opinion of others and ask the advice of the camp-headman, if any. There are no formal meetings, no directives "from above", outside the household. Moreover, being full-blooded nomads, it will in last instance remain unpredictable whether a decision to leave might not be reversed in the opposite on the last moment, and vice versa, irrespective of weather conditions.

The lazy hunter; the habitual liar (see also B.5)

An able-bodied but lazy man, or a known liar is a really despised community member. Such a man would be helped with food - if in need - but the others would not care for him. He will remain a camp member (unless, exceptionally, the others secretly move away) even if he is irremediable, but he will be regarded as a pariah. A man who neglects his family, might well lose his wife and find it difficult to marry another; but the only ones to impress upon him to better his ways, are his relatives.

The persistent trespasser

Again, it is up to the relatives to impress upon the persistent trespasser. The others will not care for him, but help him with food, if needed. Such a man is despised, pitied, for his "lack of brains" not to conform to the well known rules. In an extreme case, he might be left behind - when the others move camp - but he will not be formally expelled from camp. (Of course, I had hoped to gather some concrete "cases", even though I knew that disputes and "cases" are few and by no means favoured among these Eskimos. They like to ignore trouble and "could not remember" any cases, when asked at the times I interviewed them).

Infanticide, invalidicide, cannibalism

The present occurrence of infanticide, senilicide and assistance in suicide are simply denied. I do not know what happens when they are far away inland, but I presume that the material assistance of the government, and missionary teaching have done much to minimize these practices which, as is known, had quite other causes than sadism or cruelty.

Murder

(Since the pertinent questions could only be discussed during the formal interviews, I did not wish to dwell too long upon them, since I feared that elaborations on hypothetical murders, or on the only recent one, might upset the informants. Moreover, our time during the few interviews was precious,

and there were other, at least as important, subjects to be dealt with). From the replies, it will be seen that blood revenge is now regarded to be a thing of the past, and that the camp members are not likely to take any action against the murderer, or prospective murderer, apart from, perhaps, moving camp in order to get away from him, or warning the police.

The case of the murderer Okalik (E 1 - 349) is one of the very few instances of serious violence, known from Padlarmiut-Ahearmit regions (see also Diary Extract no.2, at the end of Attachment I; and Chapter 3, section E). It happened near Padley in 1951, when Okalik shot and killed his dominating mother-in-law Pemik (E 1 - 328) and her son Arnaklooak (E 1 - 329). He was brought to Eskimo Point where he was held in custody, until in the summer of that year he was sentenced to five years penitentiary (stoney Mountain, Man.); after one year, he was dismissed from there - owing to failing health - and was brought, together with his family, to Baffin Land from where, around August '56, he should be free to return, if he so wishes. (This case will be reverted to in the conclusions at the end of this section; in section E. of Chapter 3; and - passim - in Chapter 5.

Ennadai Lake.

Leadership, decision to move camp

Ihumatar is the oldest man in the family. Owlyoot said that there was no deliberation prior to the moving of the camp: everybody follows his own wish. When I then asked him how the last move (to their present camp, about two weeks ago) had developed, he replied: "We stay always together, they (i.e. the other families) just follow me". Anayoenak said that there would be no discussion before moving: they follow Owlyoot; if a hunter of his camp wants to go hunting somewhere else for some length of time, he will ask Owlyoot first.

The lazy hunter; the habitual liar

Micki said that lazy people - if they are hungry - will be given something, but "we don't care for them". Neither do they care for liars, "but we tease them". I have the general impression that the women seem to feel a constant anxiety lest their children go hungry; where necessary, in the absence of other means, a derisive song may be their only weapon to protect their interests against the neglect by their father, as may be read from the women's song which appears at the end of the Supplement to this report. (When I heard them sing it, it must have been for entertainment, for food was plenty at the time). As regards Pongalak, who is by no means lazy, but who neglected his family, see below, where his case will be dealt with at some length.

Infanticide, invalidicide, cannibalism

Practice of any of these was flatly denied. I cannot say what reality is like. In Owlyoot's camp there were four boys of about 4 years, three of around ten years, and a boy and girl of around 15 years. So if among these families there have been born any girls in the last fifteen years, they did not survive.

Murder

Owlyoot said, they would not take any action against the killer, but act as if he did not exist, leave him alone, not even give him a little to eat, "we would not even give bones to him". Okalik did not do right, and the white man was right to take him out; (it should be noted, however, that it was very difficult to obtain reliable information about this subject - especially with the kind of interpreter I had at Ennadai Lake); blood revenge is not right. Also Anayoenak, who knew Okalik, said that he was not right when murdering, but Anayoenak had no comment about the white man taking Okalik out.

Persistent trespassers and troublemakers: "l'affaire Pongalak"

Under more fortunate research conditions, I would have been enabled to present here a piece of original and interesting information in the very field of my assignment, one of the very few which are "smothering" here and now, and one in which all families in Owlyoot's camp somehow felt to be involved. Pongalak (E 1 - 457) is, as it were, Public Enemy No 1 to Owlyoot and his camp and, perhaps, to most Ennadai Lake Eskimos; Owlyoot's people really seem to fear him. Under the circumstances, all I can do is to piece together disparate bits of information, originating from Owlyoot, Micki, Anayoenak, Aleykoosuar, the Radio Station personnel and Rev. Ducharme at Eskimo Point. Pongalak is 55 years old and - according to Rev. Ducharme - the brother of the late Krairkut who frequented Churchill and was known to be the "crookiest" character between Reindeer and Baker Lakes. I have noted Pongalak's name on the map at Angikuni, Hicks and Ennadai Lakes, and he is said to have lived around Padley also. Pongalak, whom I briefly saw twice, makes the impression of having a very strong and interesting character and I know that he is an exceptionally good craftsman. He lives with his present wife Ootnooyuk (E 1 - 285), two younger sons, and his oldest son Kiyai (E 1 - 460) whose wife should by now have a child. When I arrived at Ennadai Lake, Pongalak's camp consisted of his and his son's families, Aleykoosuak (E 1 - 479) and family, and Shikoak (Hickewa) and Angnuakoak (E 1 - 451); the latter two, a lonely and elderly widower and a man whose wife is in hospital, live together in one tent. After a few weeks, this camp had broken up into three camps at quite a distance from each other: Pongalak and Kiyai; Aleykoosuak; and Shikoak and Angnuakoak.

a. It must have been around 1920 that P(ongalak)'s first wife became hospitalized. At that time, O(wlyoot)'s father had died ("sore in the neck") and had left his wife a widow with four children. If RCMP ages are right, O. must have been 8 years old in 1920. P. went to O's mother and took her as his wife with the children. But, O. says, P. did not look well after his new wife and step-children; O's mother warned her family that things were going wrong and, consequently, one of O's uncles took away O. and another uncle took away one of O's brothers. But O's mother and a brother (nothing is known about the fourth child, except that it is dead now) were left with P. and starved to death by the latter who, even if there was sufficient food, always kept the food away from the mother and her son. "P. therefore killed my mother", Owlyoot said to me.

b. A few years ago, P. sent a note to trader Black, destined for the police, in which he accused O. of having stolen from his camp. This, O. says, is pure slander, and it seems to bother O. very much. Probably, Anowtelik also referred to this occurrence when he said that P. "liked to talk too much"; and the same informant added that P. "gives the other Eskimos hell" (words - I suppose inadequately translated - by my interpreter), and that he maltreats children. Also the other hunters in the camp seem to resent this slander by P.

c. How much O. is bothered by the thought of P, may appear from the fact that one day, when O. and I had been hunting and were eating from the usual field-roast, O. started talking spontaneously about P. (in whose career, I must admit, I had shown interest during a previous interview in camp): O. tried to make clear to me that P. and an Angetaiuwa had killed (shot) a baby ("angetaiuwa naja"): in spite of my best efforts, I was unable to make this intelligible. P. has an 11 years old son Angetayok (E 1 - 462) right now; O. may have been talking of a namesake, or he might have meant that P. himself shot a baby-brother or -sister of Angetayok?

d. At the Radio Station is now informally "employed" an orphan Agatiyooak (E 1 - 486) - who is also called Angetaiuwa - 20 years old, who as I was told was boarding with Pongalak when, in 1950, the latter left him in winter on the trail - to freeze to death. When P. reached the station that same day,

some Eskimos who happened to be there asked him where Agatiyoak was and, not trusting P.'s reply, Angnukoak (E 1 - 451) set out tracing back until he found the boy and so saved his life. I understand that the boy since has been boarding with Shikoak, but at any rate he now lives at the station, where he works as a devoted handyman, part-time hunter: a very cheerful character.

e. The O.i.C. of the Radio Station suspected P. of having stolen from the station: in September 1955 a large canvass sheet, and earlier a tent (P.'s "reserve-tent" which he put up for the marooned Life Magazine party!).

f. Anayoenak (E 1 - 475) says that some years ago, P. stole two foxes from his traps; this must have happened around the time that trader Schweder was moving out.

g. Micki (E 1 - 436) said that P. had sent Aleykoosuk to Micki's brother Ollie (probably E 1 - 139), some years ago; the latter was living at quite some distance, but absent at the time. P. had told Aleykoosuk to bring back Ollie's wife Ootnooyuk to become P.'s wife, which she still is today. In September, I met Aleykoosuk (whose father, incidentally, is the famous shaman Idjuadjuk of Yathkyed Lake and whose mother is Atkaralak: both appear in photos and descriptions in the Fifth Thule Expedition's Report), and I asked him about this. "Ollie asked me to take Ootnooyuk back with me", he said. After return to Holland, I wrote to Rev. Ducharme at Eskimo Point, where Ollie is living at present, and the reply brought clarification: Ollie, who had Ootnooyuk as his second wife (the first had died), had never paid the proper price for her. Aleykoosuk was her brother and P. had proposed that Aleykoosuk take her away from Ollie and bring her to himself as his new wife. Ollie has resigned to this occurrence since, according to Eskimo views, he was doomed to lose this battle (this, Rev. Ducharme wrote, is the view of the Eskimos at Eskimo Point); therefore, Ollie did not want to take any action and the entire affair was left to oblivion, except for Ollie, who is still wife-less. Ollie is not an extremely good hunter. Ootnooyuk had no children by him, but at least two from a kind of trapper who seems to have left his signature all over this part of the tundra and who, I think, is still around. So, Micki's complaint does not seem justified - according to Eskimo notions of right and wrong. After all, may be the loyalty to his kin weighed heavier to him in this case!

What is now the reaction of the Eskimos - and I think especially of Owlyoot's camp - against P.'s record? I admit that the above is hearsay, but the Eskimos themselves seem to believe that he must be credited - or, rather, charged - with it.

I noticed that O. was shy to go to the station on the weekly "tea-day", and that he would go there early in the day, perhaps in order to keep away from P.; fear of meeting P.? Yet, he sometimes sees P. near the station on "tea-day" but says, that he won't speak a word to him. Another symptom which I observed on two occasions was that no-one from O.'s camp would accept an invitation from the Life Magazine party to join in on a drum dance at P.'s camp; they said they had no proper clothes, but it was clear to me that they did not want to go there.

O. was apparently keenly interested to know how I liked P., and that was also his first question to the Life Magazine people, when they returned from P.'s camp, where they had been marooned for several days. A few other remarks from O., who knew that I was interested in P.: "The Eskimos don't tell him what they think, for they are scared of him, as an evil man". "The Eskimos would not punish him but keep away from him". I asked him if this fear had anything to do with P. being a shaman also; to which O. replied that "the Eskimos would have told him better, if P. had not been a shaman". "As long as P. does not say anything, I shall feel all right", Owlyoot said. Asked, what he would do if O. came to live at his camp, O. replied that he would immediately move his camp somewhere else.

It seems certain that P. is the centre of quite an amount of scheming; and he seems to enjoy it. But Owlyoot's people - and I believe most of the other Ennadai Eskimos *) - don't like his presence and his persistence in violating the "right ways". They fear him; and they seem to dislike him utterly. The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that P. is also a shaman; yet, I feel that they would have equally avoided him if he had been no shaman. However, if P. continues to misbehave in the eyes of the others, it would not seem altogether impossible to me if their fear would one day lead to his being killed, accidentally or otherwise. (for "accidental" killing, see the last paragraph of Chapter 3, section E.; Pongalak's case will be reverted to in Chapter 5)

Conclusions concerning "Headman"; group- or camp-decisions and -discipline

Leadership

"Ihumatar" - the one who thinks (best) - is a term used for people in various positions; the "position" is with one exception always quite informal and carries no official or administrative duties. It is a status "ad hoc", i.e. as long as the others believe that the ihumatar really thinks best. Except from the head of a household, all Padlermiut-Ahearmit ihumatar emerge to their status: they are principally consultants rather than directors, though often their decisions will be followed by the others without discussion. According to the (secular) subject matter of the "thinking" involved, we might distinguish the following classes of ihumatar: a) for family-decisions, it is the independent head of a household: each nuclear family has its ihumatar in the father (in some cases his wife), but the father of this ihumatar, or the oldest brother, in some way supersedes the authority of the son or younger brother, even if these have already their own families; and this patriarchal father, or the oldest brother are, I believe, the only real "office-holders" in Caribou Eskimo society. b) For guidance in matters concerning an inland camp community as such, it is the camp-headman. c) Somewhere in between a) and b) stands the ihumatar, which is also known as "perkojéjé", referred to in the beginning of this section. d) For certain very difficult situations, it is the ihumagartjakto, who may even be living in another camp.

Finally, there are two white functionaries who are called ihumatar, i.e. the manager of the HBC post, and the visiting inspector of the RCMP (ihumatarjuar is the title of the latter), but their position, as white men, is of course quite different. (As is known, the local police is called pokertalik, after the yellow stripe on their breeches).

Decision to move camp

Formally, it is the head of the household who is responsible for his decisions, but the above exposé shows who else may influence important decisions like when to move camp and where to go.

Lazy people and liars

A man who is so lazy that he neglects his family, may well see his wife run away or taken back by her relatives. A persistent liar will also be despised by the others. But the camp, though it "will not care for these people", will help them, if in need; if they persist in lying or being lazy, they might end up by living like a kind of pariahs. They will not be expelled; in an extreme case, the others might move camp without warning them.

Persistent trespassers

Generally, habitual trespassers of the accepted norms may, in a serious case be left behind unwarned, when the camp is moved; but the reaction of the

*) It should be remembered, however, that Shikoak and Angnukoak nevertheless camping together with P. at some time in August 1955.

community seems to be quite passive, and a little food will even be given to the habitual troublemaker, if he is in need, and as long as he shares camp with the others.

Infanticide, invalidicide, cannibalism

These practices are denied and, although they may still occur, it was impossible - under my research conditions - to discuss them with the informants at any length.

Murder

The replies to questions E.8 and E.9 can be easily misinterpreted and can be used to argue any possible points of view. I follow the opinion of Cst. Callagher, who felt that the Eskimo on the one hand approved of Okalik's removing two people who were making life a hell to him, but on the other hand agreed that something should be done against him, since he had committed two murders, a method of solving problems which is known, but exceptional and upsetting among these Eskimos. Yet they have no patterns of positively and collectively reacting against killings. (As regards vendetta, see Chapter 3, section E.; as regards reactions against murder, the discussion will be resumed in Chapter 5).

Two additional observations should be made. Firstly, all informants agreed that, if Okalik would return, he would be received well. Nothing was known about him having threatened to kill others upon return); I believe that they did not even really dislike him, when he was held at Eskimo Point awaiting trial. Secondly, in spite of what might appear in the interviews, I believe that the idea of imprisonment is foreign and foolish to the Eskimo mind and that in other serious cases, "measures" could be devised, such as a period of banishment which - though unknown to them - seem better conceivable to their line of thought and which, in the case of Okalik, seems to have worked out very well.

F. "OWNERSHIP" OF MOVABLES, AND SOME QUESTIONS ON SONGS

The concept of "ownership" - paramount in our own society - is less so among these Eskimos. Different aspects will come out in this and subsequent sections. And even in Chapter 3, some general remarks will be found - in addition to what existing research literature has to offer on this matter. The replies to my questions sub F., both at Eskimo Point and Ennadai Lake, as far as possible verified by personal observation, lead to a number of disparate conclusions:

a. A rather sharp verbal distinction between "what is inside" and "what is outside" (i.e. in- or outside the tent or snowhouse), "inside" falling under the woman's régime and "outside" under the man's. Of course, this is principle, not rigid practice; meat or skins have to dry outside, yet remain within the woman's domain; and the man's rifle, as long as it happens to be inside, remains under his control.

b. Money. When Akpa's wife had made a pair of boots for me, I paid the money to Akpa himself; but he handed it to his wife. This confirms his answer to question F.5. Further, the question who keeps or spends the money is purely academic for Ennadai Lake, where no money is used, and almost academic for Eskimo Point where at present no money is kept by Eskimos apart from exceptional cases. Of course, they do have credits, under different titles, with the HBC.

c. Tobacco is generally kept in supply and distributed by the woman, but there is no strictly applied rule. Any visitors can help themselves to tobacco at their host's tent; I believe that visitors can do so even if there

is only little tobacco around; whereas - in case of food-shortage - they might have to wait until the woman would offer them something to eat.

d. Property of children was not admitted at Eskimo Point; before giving anything away which is used by a child, the parent will usually ask the child first, though, "in order not to displease it". Nootaraloo at Ennadai, however, said that it cannot be given away without the child's consent; but in practice this does not seem to make much difference with what was held at the Point. (Women or children cannot own dogs either).

e. There exists a kind of ownership of songs or, rather, of the dancing of one's own song. These songs are not inherited, but old themes are sometimes used and reworked into new songs and texts. Eskimo Point interviews indicate that the right to dance someone else's song, at a particular dance-session, can be arranged with the owner. The second sentence of F.8.I is not clear: the chief songs are made up by the owner, to serve him all during his life: this sentence might point at other songs, especially composed in advance of the session?

At Ennadai Lake, it was rather simply stated that one did not dance another's song: but it was added that, outside the formal sessions, anyone could sing another's song at any time, for instance as a lullaby for one's baby. This indicates again that the song means little, as long as it is not danced.

f. The existence of songs of derision was denied at Eskimo Point; but it should not be surprising if quite informal and improvised teasing of each other in songs, outside formal occasions, might well occur among these people, especially when living in inland camps. The existence of the latter kind of songs was admitted at Ennadai by Anayoenak, who said: "We sing such songs, but not in grudge, just jokingly, and the other will sing back; this can be done to anyone at any time, but not at the evening drum dances. We just call these songs like the other songs, i.e. piherk". It was my impression at Ennadai, that people were able to improvise a song on anything that caught their special attention or their (very developed) sense of humour.

g. The tent is family property (Owlyoot said that it belonged to the woman); but it is academic to discuss its ownership, as regards the right to dispose of it, for that is simply never done; and when the tent falls into pieces, it is valueless. Repairs are made by the women, as far as I could observe it; the men can help when setting up the tent.

Property of lamps is of no consequence in so far as they serve lighting purposes: at Ennadai this was a hollowed stone on which some deerfat burned in a moss-wick. At Eskimo Point, some used a kind of traillantern which, Akpa said, is family property, since it directly serves the entire family. (I have not seen any seal-oil lamps for cooking purposes).

G. DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY; INTRA-FAMILY AUTHORITY; BORROWING-LENDING (see also sub section I.)

The woman's right of disposal has been discussed above, sub B. and F. Here follow two considerations, chiefly regarding the men; information from Eskimo Point and Ennadai Lake could be combined for this section:

Disposal of property; intra-family authority

A hunter is not quite free to dispose of valuable items, to decide on his more important movements, on fox-trading tactics, as long as his father or an older brother are still alive. The father or - if he is dead - the oldest brother should be consulted or asked permission, and their advice is likely to be followed, by the son or younger brother, even if the latter live already - perhaps at some distance - in their own tents with their own families. The younger brother is supposed to "follow" the father or the older brother; whether this be a matter of "guidance" or of "authority" will depend on the prevailing atmosphere in the particular family. The available relevant

information at Ennadai indicates the same notions. Nootaraloo, characteristically - replied upon my question what happened when the family father died, that the mother and oldest son carry on, i.e. - she said - the mother will tell the oldest son what to say to his younger brothers.

Borrowing-lending

It would be difficult to extract a strict rule from what was said on lending-borrowing practices at Eskimo Point. Outside the family, a request to borrow something is in principle not refused. When the borrowed object has to be returned, and whether its eventual damaged condition calls for a compensation, depends on the situation of the moment and on the mutual relations between the parties; common sense and an accepted feeling for social justice are the guiding principles. I do not necessarily attach much value to the details of the answers given to pertinent questions, except in so far as they indicate what the informants would like to or might do in some cases. I suppose, there will exist a natural inclination towards reciprocity among the serious borrowers, and fear for the inevitable and automatic publicity among the less serious characters. Rifles, as a rule, are not held in ample supply and the father or older brother will have the say in whether it should be lent or given away, or whether any stipulations have to be attached. If no return has been stipulated to the "borrower", the latter need not necessarily consider it as an unconditional gift, but might well feel obliged to return a similar article months or years later, or he might even return something quite different but meeting the specific need of the lender at the time.

At Ennadai Lake, replies showed even more indifference. All depends. "If I would have a spare item of the article asked for, it need not be returned if the borrower is unable to do so". Much depends also on who wants to borrow. But all this vagueness on the borrowing-lending questions does not preclude a keen feeling for the mine and thine. If one needs something, belonging to another, it must be asked and handed over; only if the owner or his family are not there, the much needed object may be taken, but the owner should be told so as soon as possible, so that he can make clear whether and when he wants it returned (I feel that drawing this analogy with the replies to H.1 and H.2 is justified).

If the borrower does not want to return the object, as promised, G.3.IV suggests drastic measures: the owner might even go to the police! I am not so certain that he would. But another practice may be followed in some cases like these: see Diary Extract no.3, at the end of Attachment I: to even out tradable debts via the trade store. Unfortunately, I did not inquire if, when A says that B owes him a fox, the original debt is actually a fox, or just something that has been assessed by A to have the value of a fox. Food is not really borrowed: the one who has given much or little to the one who has not, and today's situation of A might be tomorrow's position of B - hodie mihi, cras tibi! As regards other consumption items, such as cartridges, no general rule could be detected either. A concept of "interest" to be due for borrowing something does not seem to exist. (They have no word for "interest").

H. TAKING AWAY SOMEONE ELSE'S PROPERTY

The consideration of Eskimo Point and Ennadai Lake replies is combined;

Taking from caches

Taking from another's cache is permitted, if the taker is in justifiable need, and if he leaves some mark or notifies the owner as soon as possible. (H.1.IV is the only reply, indicating the necessity of previous permission; the informant must have been thinking of a special case such as where the owner and the taker are living close to each other). Whether or not the value of the quantity taken must be returned at a later moment, depends on

circumstances. It seems that cases of "illegal" cache-taking do occur at Eskimo Point and that the owners definitely resent this; some complaints have been made to the police.

A cache is anything, put away under moss or stones. The above counts for caches of Eskimo food or clothes; if one takes from a cache of traded white man's things, it must be returned.

Taking foxes from traps

In case of a fox being stolen from a trap, even Akpa would try to even it out via the trader rather than approaching the thief himself (H.3.I). The other replies indicate that, even if the thief is approached directly, the Eskimos don't know exactly what to do. (See, again, Diary Extract no.3 at the end of Attachment I). Every fox caught representing a certain trade value, they are of course very keen on cashing in on any fox caught in their traps; but the fact of theft leaves them without a real procedure of regaining what is due to them (see also Pongalak's case, above, section E.).

Taking away a rifle

It will be difficult for a fox thief to remain unidentified, but still more difficult it will be for the thief of a rifle; I presume that this will not happen often and, if it occurs, the owner will do something about it, esp. if he has no other rifle; f.i. he might well go and take the rifle back. (The previous sentence approaches the kind of statement in the last introductory note to this chapter: "When a Brodiag encounters a polar bear, he runs away and sometimes the bear follows". Yet, it is perhaps characteristic for the social life of these Eskimos, that I could not phrase the sentence differently).

I. INHERITANCE

Eskimo Point

a. Considering the totality of the answers, I conclude that the norm, as it is felt, definitely points to (the father, or, in his absence) the brother of the deceased as being the heir (with responsibility towards the children of the deceased; a kind of life-time guardianship). This is consistent with what we found when considering section G., above. In practice, the question whether the mature and oldest son of the deceased will tend to take on the inheritance himself or will resign to his uncle being the boss, will depend upon the personality and ability of both.

b. If the family of the deceased is broken up by his death - and this depends entirely on its composition and situation - there is again a tendency for the immature children (at least the boys) to go and live with the uncle who inherited from the father or, in other words, who succeeded the father in family leadership; but if the family of the deceased does not break up, the widow may manage to carry on together with her oldest son.

c. Desinheritance seems conceivable to these Eskimos; but they only spoke of desinheriting the son (I.1.I, I.1.II) who, as we saw, only inherits by the grace of the brother of the deceased. An adopted has no right to inherit from his own or from his adopted father (E.1.II).

d. If the wife dies, her (few) possessions - according to I.1.II - go not to her daughter, but to the wife of her oldest son.

Ennadai Lake

The replies seem to show a difference with those at the Point, in that the brother of the deceased and the oldest son seem to divide the inheritance; only if the sons of the deceased are too small, their uncle will receive everything, take on the immature children (at least the sons) and, again, be

a father and a guardian for them. If the family of the deceased breaks up, owing to his death, the widow may join her brother-in-law, until she remarries. If there are no sons or brothers of the deceased, Anayoenak and Micki say that the next husband of the widow will have the inheritance; and Owlyoot said: the deceased's or his wife's other male relatives. If there is a kayak in the inheritance, and the heir has already a good kayak, it will go to a family member who happens to have no kayak as good as the deceased's. Owlyoot, who has no brothers, has one mature son, one almost mature and three small ones. His oldest son has already his own dogteam, but Anowtelik, Owlyoot's son-in-law, has none and uses the dogs together with his father-in-law. If Owlyoot died now, sled and team would automatically go to Anowtelik.

J. MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN.

Eskimo Point

Marriage arrangements

It still is the desire and general practice of parents to seek a future mate for their newly borns as soon as possible after birth: there is no payment in that case. But if the one sought is older than, say, three years, payment is expected from the parents who are "seeking" (it is most often the girl which is sought), and the quantity of the payment will depend on the age of the one sought; such payment may consist of a dog, or a sled, or a kayak, or a kayak and a sled, etc. Akpa (J.1.I) even said that the first child from the marriage-to-come might be promised to one pair of the parents *). In the same reply, he informs us that, if the promised girl dies, the parents of the boy will look for another girl and - as payment - f.i. help her parents with food or hunting; but the opposite does not happen if the boy had died; this indicates again that the initiative is likely to be taken by the boy's family. If the parents of the girl at some time cancel the arrangement, the compensation to the boy's parents - according to Akpa (J.2.I) will consist of the first child born from the girl's later marriage; but if a promised girl is discarded, her family will receive no compensation (Unfortunately, I failed to inquire about the time of payment or part-payment of the bride-price; I think that the compensation might well consist in that the girl's parents keep the (part of the) price paid to them already, that is if the arrangement had been made after the third year of their daughter). Interesting are the last two sentences of Akpa's answer in J.2.I.

Aggak, however, does not know about a practice of promising the first child from a marriage to one pair of the couple's parents; his answer (J.2.II) is not quite clear but seems to indicate that - if at all there be question of compensation - it would work both ways.

Marriage prohibitions

As regards prohibitions, my inquiry has been inadequate. Answer J.3.III seems valueless. Brother-sister or father-daughter relations, also outside marriage are abhorred. Any cousins can marry, as I observed. The well respected Akpa once married his step-daughter.

Bride's residence

In principle, she joins her in-laws; but practice depends on common sense and the specific situation.

*) Correspondence with Rev. Ducharme (May '56) shows that even at a later age, a bride-price is not always required; Nigerk's adoptive daughter married in August '55 a man, whose father was a good friend of Nigerk's. No formal bride price was paid.

Intra-Padlermiut marriage

Intra-Padlermiut(-Ahearmit) marriage is preferred, and this would be in line with the general attitude towards the Aivilingmiut.

Fights about women

My inquiry has been too summary. I think that fights about women still occur (especially when they are inland) but that these fights usually have none of the violence, suggested by the literature on other Eskimo groups (As regards J.6.II: I am not certain if it referred to past or present).

Beating of children

The child-beating question was theoretical in so far as I never saw a child shouted at, let alone being beaten.

Ennadai Lake

Marriage arrangements

Here again, the marriage arrangement is said to be made early in the life of the children. For failure to pay the promised wealth, see the case Ollie vs Aleykoosuk, above, in section E. of this chapter. As regards cancellation of the arrangement by one pair of parents, a brother c.q. sister might be offered instead, working both ways; I heard of no other forms of "compensation".

Bride's residence

The bride will, in principle, join the groom's family. Anowtelik, who was an orphan and who spent two years with Mr. Schweder in Churchill before he married, now lives with his in-laws. Ookanak, daughter of Anayoenak, is married to Mounik, son of Owlyoot; this couple had a remarkable arrangement: both slept alternately the one night in her parents' tent, the next night in his parents' tent etc. Ookanak was pregnant of her first child and I don't know if this compromise was continued after the birth. Kukigiak, Micki's daughter, is promised to Arloo, Owlyoot's second son. These mutual bonds in themselves already, made the camp stay together.

Intra-Ahearmit marriage

Not long ago, they used to travel far to find a wife; nowadays, they say, "we don't have to; for all of us are provided". They prefer to find a wife near Ennadai, but they would not mind to marry a woman from farther away.

Wife-borrowing and lending

Wife-lending and borrowing was denied. I might have been able to find out more about this, by a few more questions, but I decided not to do so with a view to my young (Churchill-based) interpreter. Personally, I believe that lending and borrowing of wives - f.i. when they are visiting another camp - does happen here, as at the coast. But I would hesitate to believe that this condition would be "rampant" at Ennadai Lake, as some white people like to claim.

Fights about women

Upon my pertinent question, Nootaraloo replied: "We have heard about fights over women". I was not surprised. But she "recalled" the case of the famous shaman Idjuadjuk (see Chapter 3, section E., describing his murders) only after I had first twice asked her and then told her all the details. Yet, the late Idjuadjuk is known by everybody here, and Nootaraloo personally knew his second wife Atkaralak.

Naming of the children

Naming a newly born after a deceased person (often relative), and addressing the child by that relationship name, is customary and practised as long as the child lives. Whether Owlyoot's little grandson Owlyoot was named after him or after a deceased namesake, I don't know. Dressing a boy child, who is named after a woman, like a girl, and vice versa, happens only during the first years of his life.

Beating of children

Child beating, and shouting at children seemed something utterly unbelievable in Owlyoot's camp. The older children seemed treated very well, though more left to themselves; the small ones, i.e. until about 4 years of age, were the continuous focus of the most tender attention.

There was only, like "the little ugly duck", Micki's 15 year old daughter Kukigiak, Arloo's fiancée, who seemed always on the background, often complained of head-ache; she looks somewhat underprivileged, but had a sweet disposition. One day, Nootaraloo (her mother-in-law-to-be) pointed at her and told me "Micki is sinful, for he beats her". (see Diary Extract no.4 at the end of Attachment I). Ever since I have been attent on this, but I never noticed any violence against her, nor could I really conceive of Micki maltreating her; his 11 year old son Ilungiyuk was just like the nicest imaginable lad. Kukigiak's future husband Arloo, age 14, who does not show much ambition to become a good hunter and who seems rather childish, slept with her from time to time, but still lived with his parents as an unmarried son. I suppose that one day, when Kukigiak will have a child, Arloo will be forced to set up a household and to really go out and hunt the deer, in stead of merely eating it.

CHAPTER 3

CONSIDERATION OF OTHER RESEARCH-LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT

The previous chapter - in conjunction with Attachment I - contained a consideration of the 1955 field data as such, without involving other source material; for it was felt preferable, in this report, to examine the results of the research first on their own merits, before considering other pertinent research literature. A review of these latter sources will be presented in the present chapter, incidentally interspersed with comment. The reader himself can compare the following quotations with what appears in the corresponding sections of Attachment I and Chapter 2. In addition, the next chapter will contain an additional discussion of selected topics of social organization.

Among the writers studied, RASMUSSEN (1926, 1930), BIRKET-SMITH (1929, 1936, 1948) and GABUS (1940, 1943, 1944) ★) have contributed most to my understanding of Caribou Eskimo life; and if I have singled out these three scholars, it is because during and after my field-research I became increasingly grateful to be thus enabled to stage my modest findings against the enlightening and extremely competent background of their publications ★★).

Though reference to sources dealing with Eskimo groups outside the Padlarmiut-Ahearmiut area will generally not be made, a number of quotations from INGSTAD's (1952) very interesting "Nunamiut" will be included, since it deals with a group of Alaskan inland Eskimos whose life largely centers around the same focus as that of the Eskimos here under discussion.

A. CATCH AND KILL

Sea-mammals

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:262): "For walrus and bearded seal the rules are the same. Among the Pādlimiut, who in this as in other respects are particularly primitive, there are no definite shares beyond that the hunter has a certain, but not absolute, right to the walrus head and tusks. Otherwise all may supply themselves with meat and skin". My data are somewhat more detailed, and the special position of the killer (bearded seal was for these Eskimos this summer by far the most important large sea mammal) is more pronounced; his position is peculiar and came quite unexpected to me; but, apart from this, the rules seem indeed less differentiated than those among the Qaernermiut (BIRKET-SMITH 1929:262-3). However, like among the latter, the right to a share - i.e. for those who did not kill - is generally determined by whether or not they took part in the flensing, and they may even share if they did not participate in the hunt but just happened to be in the neighbourhood. ★★★)

★) A bibliography appears at the end of this report.

★★) In February 1956, I was also enabled to pay visit to Prof. Birket-Smith and Gabus.

★★★) I might be allowed to mention here an item of third hand information which I obtained from a confrère of Rev. van der Velde, o.m.i., the RC missionary at Pelly Bay (Netsilingmiut); it concerns the division rules for seals among the local Eskimos, the principle of which is also mentioned by RASMUSSEN (1931:163-4) for other Netsilingmiut and by TINBERGEN (1934:89-90) for the East Greenlanders. At a certain age, each hunter is given a "hunting-relationship" with certain designated people

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Caribou

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:262): "There are certain recognised rules for the most common cases of doubt which might arise during the hunt itself. If two men shoot at the same caribou, the animal belongs to the one whose arrow or bullet has hit the most vital spot, provided that the projectile can be recognised. If a hunter wounds a caribou and pursues it, but another kills it, it still belongs to the former. ... The unrestricted right to hunt at large becomes rather less effective by the fact that the kill is divided according to certain rules. It is possible that the arctic surroundings have set their stamp upon these; but still deeper, I think, lies the sense of justice which seems to mark all primitive people as long as they are uncontaminated by civilization. The most important rules are: If two men go hunting together and one kills an animal, he takes the fore-part and the other gets the hind-part. Others say that the fore-part goes to the one who first reaches the caribou. If there are three hunters together, each of the helpers receives a hind-quarter; but if there are still more in company, there is no sharing. In return the hunter is obliged to provide the inhabitants of the camp with meat in the evening".

GABUS (1944:134): "There is no big game among the Caribou Eskimos, consequently no collective sharing, as that is or was practised along the coastal Eskimos (for whales, walrus, bearded seal). The rule is simple: Who kills the game, owns it. ... We do not find strict rules, duly established, as f.i. among the Greenlanders".

Neither my personal observation nor verbal information indicated any strict rules of division. Even if the replies to my explicit question about BIRKET-SMITH's remark on hunting with more than three were affirmative, I strongly feel that everything always depends on the situation of the moment: the season, the distance from camp, the abundance or shortage of food (see above, Chapter 2, section A.). All I might say is that the (late summer) skin, as well as probably the head, and always the first choice of the meat, go to the killer; participating hunters will share in the rest, if they so wish. I might repeat from the reply in A.9.IV: "When deer is scarce, one prefers to go out hunting alone". The wonder of the deer is indeed likely to be regarded as the killer. Incidentally, all this appears to be similar to what was reported about the Nunamiut inland Eskimos of Alaska (INGSTAD 1952:57-8).

B. FOOD-DISTRIBUTION INSIDE THE CAMP

GABUS (1944:94-5) mentions the case of a hunter who was the laughing stock of the others because his wife refused him tea, tobacco, food; for she was entitled to command "when the meat is thawed": a deer carcass, thawed out in their tent, gave her this right, and she availed herself of it, since she had reason to complain about her husband's rude attitude during the past winter. This period, GABUS observes, happens to be just the season of easy economic life. It seems to have an element in common with what I recorded on food coming under the woman's control as soon as it is in tent or snowhouse (see

(young or old but always males), and from then on, each seal caught by himself (A) will be divided in such a manner that hunting-relative B will always receive this particular part of the animal, C that particular part, D a third particular part etc. These hunting-relatives are named by the hunter according to the part of the seal which they are designated to receive from him, and they need not to have taken part in the hunt to receive their share. Although falling outside the Caribou Eskimo sphere, I liked to make a mere mentioning of this interesting practice.

consideration of questions E.1 and F.4), yet GABUS' observation is much more specific: I inquired about it once at Eskimo Point, but the specific custom seemed not known. Personal conversation with GABUS showed his surprise at my data concerning this subject of the woman's control over the food: he did notice that some women controlled the distribution of food, also to people outside the family, but it was his impression that as a rule this was done by the authority of the men.

GABUS (1940:159; 1944:90, 134) mentions what seems to be a father's share, given to him by his son(s) after a hunting trip; I did not hear about this custom, nor did I inquire about it, but it seems to me very likely to happen, especially again, if there is not much food around and if the father is too old to hunt himself. INGSTAD (1952:184-5) reports similarly about the Nunamiut.

Common meals, even among the various snowhouses of a camp, are the rule in time of abundance (GABUS 1940:159). On the other hand, the same writer (1940:159; 1944:90, 130) has made interesting observation of several families living in the same snowhouse (-complex) among which - after the usual tribute to the old pater familias - only those families had a meal whose head had hunted or caught some food, whereas the others (also sons of the old father) were left without, and that in time of food-shortage. Apart from the fact that the two sons who had nothing happened to be known as rather inefficient hunters, I believe that these occurrences (as far as I know they were all observed in the same camp) rather represent exceptions to the general rule; personal conversation with GABUS led me to the same feeling. But the value of his observations is at least that they show that these things do happen and that even in time of food-shortage, sharing is not necessarily an iron rule. Incidentally, their family's unconcern has not prevented the two abovementioned sons to survive to this day.

"As we have seen", writes BIRKET-SMITH (1929:263) more categorically than GABUS, "all hunting spoils are, to a certain extent, common property, as in some cases everyone may take what he pleases, whereas in other cases everyone has a right to at any rate partake in the meal which the spoil represents. During a famine all right of possession to food is abandoned; all hunting spoils are common property and anyone who is hungry may simply take from another family's meat cache what he needs without thus making himself a thief; but if he can make some return in another manner he does so". And I might add that, though food inside the tent or snowhouse cannot be simply taken away at any time, it will be expected to be shared with those who have not, even with those who "have not" through their own fault; the latter may receive "just a little", and their social position is not enviable, since they might end up by seeing their wives and children leave them.

My information indicates that requests for food from outside the snowhouse or tent, or even from outside the camp, are not supposed to be refused, though a certain discretion can be exerted in that one who is liked may receive more than one who is not liked. Again, GABUS (1944:130) noted that practice might well deviate from this rule; this does not surprise me: if there is not much food around, the women's anxiety to feed their children *) might well be stronger than any existing rule, even if compliance with that rule is formally and socially encouraged.

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:261) summarizes the "Eskimo Constitutional Act" in three articles (of which the third will be discussed in the next section of this chapter): "1) The most important means of subsistence are divided among the inhabitants of the settlement according to certain rules. 2) No one may be excused from hunting except in the case of bodily infirmity". Similarly TURQUETIL (1929:59): "Two laws sum up and govern this extremely simple social

*) See also TURQUETIL 1926:424-5.

régime. The first is that each group must be fully sufficient unto itself without depending on the others. Furthermore, each member has to take his part in contributing toward the common welfare..." The second law is, however, given a different stress from BIRKET-SMITH's: "The second law is that the small group cannot undertake the responsibility of aiding the others. And from this arise indifference, egoism, suspicion, hatred (at least between tribe and tribe), duels, murder, and inherited vendettas. However, in times of abundance, everyone is welcome and hospitality is a thing that is sacred". (TURQUETIL, *ibidem*).

C. "TRIBAL BOUNDARIES; PADLERMIUT-AHEARMIUT DISTINCTION

I could not resist the temptation to attempt solving the puzzle of the name "Ahearmiut" (or Ahiarmiut, Ahiarmiut). Although I do not believe to have come much farther, I might be allowed to present some of its aspects to the reader, even if this falls outside the scope of the present report.

As regards the name "Padlermiut", when asking the informants, they seemed to pronounce Padlermiut rather than Padlimiut: the latter is BIRKET-SMITH's spelling (see also RASMUSSEN 1930:5-6, footnote 2), whose linguistic ear is however much more trained than mine. The current translation "People of the willow thicket" seems not entirely accurate: "ogpik" (willow) is the living bush, whereas "padlerk" means the dead branches of the creeping willow, a favourite fuel wherever it is found. Owlyoot of Ennadai Lake made this difference clear to me. Afterwards, I found identical information in BIRKET-SMITH 1929:61 *).

Eskimo Point replies indicate a seasonal use of the name "Ahearmiut" to be applied in fall and winter to those Padlermiut who, in summer, visit the coast. Akpa, f.i., said that he was always a Padlermiut, but in addition an Ahearmiut in winter, and a Tareormiut (salt water dweller). This is compatible with what he said to GABUS (1944:126) in 1939 when they both had travelled to a lake near Padley: "Now I am an Ahearmiut...You also, you are an Ahearmiut". However, another Padlermiut phrased it differently (*ibidem*): "When I am in Padlermiut territory, I am a Padlermiut, but if I go to Padley, I become an Ahearmiut". This latter statement may be found to suggest that Padley lies outside the Padlermiut country which, as I believe, is not so felt among the coast-Padlermiut. It is not known to me if those who live year-round near Padley consider themselves to be Padlermiut in addition to being Ahearmiut; but it is certain that they do call themselves by the latter name.

Those at Ennadai Lake claim that they are Ahearmiut and not Padlermiut. But the Eskimos at Yathkyed Lake called themselves Padlermiut, and never mentioned the name Ahearmiut (neither BIRKET-SMITH 1929, nor RASMUSSEN 1930 mention the name for any group east or south of that lake).

Other groups called Ahiarmiut are known: at the coast of Queen Maud Gulf, RASMUSSEN (1926:446-7) describes a tribe of this name as very good hikers, who spend most of summer and fall inland and who used to frequent the well known Akilineq meeting place on the Thelon River west of Baker Lake. The same name, Ahiarmiut, was, according to BIRKET-SMITH (1929:62) often given by those around Baker Lake to their fellow-Qaernermiut northwest near Taher-jualugjuaq Lake; "ahiaq" means "the far away" or, more correctly, "the out-of-the-way" (*ibidem*). Not quite unlike this, GABUS (1940:207) gives an

*) As regards the Tahiuarmiut (people from the place like a lake), being the band of Padlermiut that lived south of Yathkyed near Maguse Lake (BIRKET-SMITH 1929:62), Rev. Ducharme informed me that these are now extinct as such.

approximate translation: "those who live far from the salt" *). Rev. DUCHARME's hypothesis (see Diary Extract no. 1 at the end of Attachment I) assumes the meaning of "Ahearmit" to be something like "those who were separated from the main body". All Ahearmit groups, except the one northwest of Baker Lake are reported call themselves by that name, and all used to frequent the Akilineq trade fair. In the following, however, I shall restrict myself to those living in the upper Kazan River area.

Of the abovementioned authors, only BIRKET-SMITH and DUCHARME attempt to derive the meaning of the name from a known word, and GABUS merely gives an approximate translation without further explanation. All three attempts, however, refer to a people which lives out of the way, separated, or far from the sea. It seems, however, somewhat strange, if a people would call itself by that name, considering that they have rarely, if ever, seen the sea, or the place from which they are so far away, or the people from whose main body they were separated. Or, more concretely: is it not surprising that f.i. the Ennadai people in their own group name refer to a place or to people which they have never seen? Either these translations are not correct, or there must be some historical reason for this peculiarity. None of the Eskimos whom I asked it, either at the coast or inland (and, as I understand, the same counts for GABUS) could even suggest an answer.

To me, this question remains challenging but so far unsolved; and I wonder if I have taken well enough to heart BIRKET-SMITH's warning: "If the necessary care is not taken in this respect one becomes hopelessly embroiled, of which there has been more than one example among the Eskimos".

D. HUNTING , CAMPING-RIGHTS FOR STRANGERS

Use of the land to hunt, fish or trap is free to anyone, Eskimo, Indian or white man. The replies to my questions are identical with the observations of BIRKET-SMITH (1929:260), GABUS (1944:131-2), INGSTAD (1952:256). Only, GABUS (ibidem) - without giving any specific example - makes a reservation for placing traps next to those of someone else; but he rightly adds that this problem is largely academic on the immense and thinly populated tundra. BIRKET-SMITH's (1929:261) third article of the "Eskimo Constitutional Act": "No one may settle in a camp without the consent of the inhabitants", inspired my question D.2. The literature does not provide concrete cases in the region under discussion.

GABUS (1943:125) writes with reference to visiting travellers: "And, since they (i.e. the camp members) are always fully informed about what happens in their territory, they know only two kinds of travellers: enemies and friends. The first are preceded by a very bad reputation: they have spoken crude words to a hunter, have maltreated their children, have repeatedly shown their contempt for the Eskimos. As soon as their presence is noticed, the camp will be moved or, if there is no time, all able bodied natives hide themselves in the neighbourhood. The travellers find only one or two old men who simulate to understand nothing, to know nothing". But if friends arrive, exactly the opposite happens (ibidem).

*) Finally - but I fear: without relevance - there are the Agiarmit at the mouth of Tree River and Coronation Gulf (RASMUSSEN 1926:472), and even Padlermit, who live in the Rae River basin (JENNESS 1922:36, 124).

E. HEADMAN; GROUP- OR CAMP-DECISIONS AND -DISCIPLINE

(secular) Leadership

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:258-9) writes: "The result of the natural influence of age is that the word of the middle-aged or elderly men - but only so long as they still have their natural strength - carries most weight, although less directly, perhaps, than indirectly by force of example. Old people who are no longer in possession of all their faculties gradually lose their influence and respect... The question of the influence of age is thus in reality reduced to an essential psychological question of mental superiority... An elderly skilful hunter with great experience always enjoys great esteem as *primus inter pares*. When a number of families are gathered in a camp, there is often an elderly *pater familias* who is tacitly looked upon as *ihumataq*, i.e.: he who thinks, implying: for the others. His advice is often taken, but voluntarily; he has no legal authority at all and can not be called a chief in the ordinary sense".

GABUS (1944:136) feels exactly the same and adds the following illustrations: "The Padlermiut Aktrikact and Allikut were generally considered as the best hunters and trappers. The first, a generous and hospitable man, never hesitated to feed natives who were without food in the winter to the point of exhausting his own supplies; during the tribal reunions, in spring and fall, the best attended dance sessions...always took place in his tent. Allikut, a prosperous trapper and owner of a *peterhead-boat*, surprised his compatriots by the result of his hunting and by his initiative. - . These two Eskimos were particularly independent, both did not like to conform unconditionally with the instructions which the missionaries, the RCMP and the HBC might give them. They were listened to as one listens in our society to people who have succeeded and whose personal experience can be profitable to each of us. They were surrounded by a small court of admirers and often by lazy characters, who lived like parasites at their expense. But their influence did not exceed these limits: it was by no means a political, i.e. legal influence".

Moving camp

GABUS (1944: Chapter II, and page 91) who spent eighteen months among these people, has learned how unpredictable their decisions to move or to stay can come. In his examples, it is mostly the *pater familias* who decides for his own family and those of his married sons (sometimes daughters). But a camp may have a different composition in Owlyoot's camp at Ennadai Lake it was he who would be followed in his decision to move, probably without much previous discussion, but also without any 'orders' being issued by himself. At the coast, with about forty families, lacking a central authority, the decision would likely be taken by the independent heads of a household individually, and the initiative in each case might be followed by others. Generally in the first half of August, most Padlermiut are gradually leaving the coast for inland camps; rumours of people planning to move started already late in July, but I learned afterwards, that it did not materialize until several weeks after I left, which was on August 7.

INGSTAD's (1952:160, 257) observations are relevant: "One day, the camp becomes nervous, three families start to pack their possessions and to strike their tents. They suddenly decided to find a new camping place. Soon, their sleds disappear in the valley. It has something suggestive to see one's neighbours with all their belongings proceed to their new home. One day passes by, and then a general exit follows. No one has given the order, the Eskimos did not meet to discuss it - it is just so that some of them moved away, and that is something contagious. This is characteristic for the Nunamiut, many of their most important decisions are taken in a similar haphazard manner". "It is difficult to see clearly by which psychic processes the Eskimos are led in difficult questions - f.i. as regards breaking camp.

If it appears that there is no game left near the old site, the affair is rather simple. It occurs also that a family moves elsewhere, because relatives and friends do the same. Often, again, it is the child-like desire of nature people for a change, by which they are driven elsewhere. As a rule, the decision overcomes them like a gale; but then it must be carried out forthwith, for this people does not like long term planning, nor long lasting preparations. If in a rare case it is planned to break camp three days hence, it can safely be assumed that the plan will meanwhile die a quiet death.... I have the impression, that the will to decide comes unnatural to the Nunamiut. If I ask one of them when he plans to break camp, he will answer "I don't know". Next morning, however, he might suddenly decide, for one reason or other, to move. It almost seems as if they avoid to initiate something, until the pressure of circumstances becomes so strong, that they do not have to strain their will. These circumstances may differ, and might often carry no weight among ourselves. The suggestive influence of relatives and friends is of considerable importance".

Persistent trespassers

Both BIRKET-SMITH (1929:265-6) and GABUS (1944:139) state that they know of only few judicial cases among the Caribou Eskimos. As regards property, these Eskimos own so little that it can hardly become any important source of trouble. And INGSTAD (1952:44-5) writes, significantly, of the Nunamiut: "Much is needed to lead an Eskimo to the point that he reacts to the misbehaviour of another. If it is of a serious nature or if it is repeated, the trespasser will usually receive a warning. In former times, homicide might even follow if the warning was not heeded. There also used to be songs of derision... The most impressive threat, however, was in the feeling to stand alone on the edge of one's society, facing the others..." And (1952:302): "If altogether too many violations are being accumulated, the repressed feelings (of the others) may explode in a sudden outburst, but much is required to let it come so far".

In personal conversation, BIRKET-SMITH also pointed out, that homicide may be the result of accumulated offences, suddenly but irresistably. This important question, i.e. how the group reacts to repeated smaller or larger violations, and what is the nature of any "formal" action against trespassers, will be resumed in Chapter 5.

Infanticide

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:294): "Formerly there were cases of infanticide; whether it still takes place I cannot say". *) GABUS (1944:96) points at economic difficulties leading to female infanticide; he does not mention if he has known concrete cases during his stay among these Eskimos. But he writes that, as soon as the mother knows that the baby will have a husband, the child will be safe and may even - in time of hardship - be handed to the parents of the future husband. TURQUETIL (1929:59) writes: "If the infant dies before it is given a name, there is no mourning. If it is a girl of which they wish to rid themselves, they smother it before the eighth day (i.e. before it would have received its name), but to smother it after it has received its name would be looked upon as real murder...". And (ibidem): "It should further be noted that female infanticide is practised only among the very small isolated groups where no one can hear of the birth of the infant or ask for the female infant in marriage".

*) One more motivation of female infanticide, which is also mentioned by RASMUSSEN (1926:394) is that Eskimo women usually do not become pregnant as long as they give milk; this means that the birth of a girl will prevent the mother from having her next child (the much desired boy) before about four years later.

Senilicide, or assisting in the suicide of the old and infirm

The literature usually mentions this practice which, as I believe, most often amounts to assisting at the suicide, usually upon the repeated request of the parent, or to abandoning them. I have not come across a concrete case among Padlarmiut or Aheararmiut, either in literature or in my own research.

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:258) does not think "that nowadays - as undoubtedly was the case formerly - the old and infirm run any risk of being killed, although they might be deserted". Neither are there, in our region, known cases of the eating of human flesh from dead bodies. Their feeling about cannibalism is one of complete horror (they all have heard of its occurrence somewhere south of Baker Lake, 1926-7) But I feel that the Padlarmiut and Aheararmiut will agree with what the Netsilik Samik said in this regard to RASMUSSEN (1926:392): "Such things do happen to men, and thus people can suffer; but we who were present and know how far one can come, we do not judge them although, once our stomach is filled and we are content, we cannot understand that they could do such a thing. But how could a healthy and well fed man ever understand the craze of hunger? All we know is that we like so much to live!"

Murder

GABUS (1944:142) states that during all his stay among these people, not one mention of murder was ever made.

The Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition often suggest that murder was rampant in other Eskimo areas (mostly about women) but only two actual occurrences of murder are mentioned among Caribou Eskimos:

The notorious case of the famous shaman Igjugârjuk (Idjuadjuk) of Yathkyed Lake is described by RASMUSSEN (1930:32): as a young man, Idjuadjuk wanted to marry Kibgarjuk whose parents, however, planned to give her in marriage to another. One day, Idjuadjuk together with his brother turned up unexpectedly at the entrance of the snowhouse where she lived; when the inhabitants of the snowhouse came outside, Idjuadjuk and his brother shot and killed the one after the other: father, mother, two brothers and their wives. Finally, to quote GABUS, "only one was saved: she, without whom he could not live". A marriage by capture. Idjuadjuk did not only get away with it among his people, he even became an increasingly popular shaman until he died, some time after 1939, during which career he disposed of several more lives.

A few years after his mass-murder, the same Idjuadjuk, by an irony of fate, was appointed a special constable of the RCMP for the purpose of apprehending and bringing to justice Ouangwak, a Padlarmiut from his region, who was wanted on two charges of murder. The case of Ouangwak, of which a coloured but moving description is given by RASMUSSEN (1926:199-206) and which ended in his escape from detention and his death from starvation on the tundra, is the second and last concrete indication of murder among the people under discussion, provided by members of the Fifth Thule Expedition. A woman was, again, the start of the trouble. According to RASMUSSEN, Ouangwak, an able hunter, who had no wife, was suspected by a husband to have views on his wife and was then threatened with being killed. Ouangwak then killed the threatening husband as well as his brother in their sleep (as is not uncommon, along with stabbing in the back, in cases of Eskimo murder). No action was taken by his people, but Ouangwak unexceptedly did not take the woman but fled in confusion later on that day, to another camp where, after some months, he let himself be apprehended by his uncle, the "special constable" Idjuadjuk.

As regards murder, only one more, third, case is known to me. It occurred recently (1951) near Padley, when Okalik (E 1 - 349) murdered his mother-in-law Pemik (E 1 - 328) and her son Arnaklooak (E 1 - 329); in the summer of the same year he was sentenced to five years (in Stony Mountain Penitentiary, Man.), released from there around 1952 owing to failing health, and shipped, with his family, to Baffin Land to serve out his sentence in freedom under

a certain police supervision; around August 1956 he will be free to return to his native country, if he so wishes. Reference is made to Cst. Gallagher's remarks in Diary Extract no. 2 at the end of Attachment I.

GABUS (1944:94; 1943:49-50) who knew the victim Pemik, wrote some observations on her personality, of which I quote the latter: "Haomik actually has a numerous family with varied names: his two wives,....., his sister Pimmerk, and five children, all girls:... In the absence of a boy to assist the camp-boss, his sister Pimmerk does the work of a man: she sets the fox traps in winter, has her sled and her dogs, goes out deer hunting, and is said to suffer from time to time from very dangerous coleric crises - - her first husband died one does not know too well how, and the second returned her to her brother Haomik swearing that he would never take her back. But Pimmerk is quick and handy and no other woman in the neighbourhood can butcher a deer as fast as she can, nor cut regular and fine slices for the "nipko" (dried meat). Haomik exploits these talents for his own profit and when her work is finished, he hires Pimmerk out in the neighbourhood". Okalik lived with Pemik, after his marriage, and she made daily life unbearable to him, as he declared at his trial. ★)

Murder and witchcraft are practically the only serious "crimes" in the Caribou Eskimo community, writes BIRKET-SMITH (1929:265). He also describes a case of attempted murder at Sentry Island, but nothing was done about it by the other Eskimos: the shot which had been aimed at a hunter creeping up to a seal and which was felt by all to have been seriously meant, had missed.

Blood-revenge is stated to follow upon murder by BIRKET-SMITH (ibidem) and GABUS (1944:142), but no cases are given or known. It may be worth while to note that in all three Padlermiut-Ahearmit murder cases more people were killed than on first sight would have been expected; here might be involved a more or less unconscious anxiety on the part of the killer to dispose at once of any potential revenge takers.

Finally, as GABUS (1944:142) observes, there are ways and means to dispose of an adversary - not incompatible with Eskimo views - the occurrence of which cannot generally be verified: "On the tundra, it is very easy to kill someone indirectly. Starving dogs, fed with fresh intestines which they devour greedily, will die en route and if their master is far from camp, he is likely to starve or freeze to death. While hunting, dog lines can be slyly so fixed that on the slightest sudden movement, f.i. on sighting the game, they will give way...the dogs will escape and again the hunter is in a very bad situation. Since numerous natives accidentally find their death after having thus been abandoned by their dogs, it is very difficult to discover the role of chance or of criminal intention."

It seems as if murder on the one hand goes in against the otherwise so peaceful Eskimo view of life, but on the other hand offers itself irresistibly in some cases as the only solution of what to the Eskimo appears as an utterly unbearable situation.

★) I obtained this information while at Eskimo Point in '51 as a sailor on the m.v. "Regina Polaris". - . It was my impression, when looking through a number of criminal files of cases in the general Eskimo area (among which those of Ouangwak and Okalik) that - perhaps with a few exceptions - they lack the information essential to appraise the merits of the case in its social setting.

F. "OWNERSHIP" OF MOVABLES AND OF SONGS

Both BIRKET-SMITH (1929:263) and GABUS (1944:132) make a rather sharp distinction between individual and family property; to the latter category belong, according to GABUS the tent, kayak and large sled, as well as trade goods such as axe, saw and files. BIRKET-SMITH mentions the winter supplies as family property, and he abstracts one main rule on property: "What is individually used should be individually owned, what is collectively used should be collectively owned". My own research indicates a different aspect: a verbal and explicit distinction between things which belong inside and things which belong outside tent or snowhouse, falling respectively under the woman's or the man's domain. I might add as personal impression from my research that what precisely is owned by whom can be regarded slightly differently from family to family - depending on the prevailing division of labour - but most objects are individually owned; and this ownership is determined by actual use and is supposed to be respected by those concerned. What is regularly used by all, is common property. However, I saw the woman's knife, the ulu, also used by Anayoenak et Ennadai Lake, at meal time: this is contrary to what GABUS (1944:133) observed: "(the woman) protests energetically if anyone happens to touch her utensils". Here, as so often, I feel that relations are guided by the distinction "inside" and "outside" but further governed by common sense and depend on the individual situation. These Eskimos do know individual ownership but they generally don't know that sickly attachment to property, which is characteristic of our society. Therefore, when we speak of ownership among these people, we should rather think of this term between parentheses.

That children can own their own toys, and even dogs, has been observed by both BIRKET-SMITH (1929:263) and GABUS (1944:133).

There has been some discussion in the literature on the case of a neglected trap line. BIRKET-SMITH (1929:264) wrote that an unused (native, i.e. stone) trap(line) may be operated by someone else; GABUS (1944:133) observed that the neglected and rusted trapline (steel traps, i.e. HBC property or trade-goods) of a sick Ahearmiut was not touched by others, though they badly needed traps. My own inquiry, as has been seen (question H.3) was not conclusive; there may just as well be no rule at all, as in so many other cases which are governed by the particular circumstances of the moment and which simply need no specific regulation.

Songs

That dance songs are owned individually, is attested by BIRKET-SMITH (1929:270) and by GABUS (1944:165). RASMUSSEN (1930:74-8) gives the text of an exchange of bitter satirical songs between two Padlermiut of Yathkyed Lake, and BIRKET-SMITH (1929:266) writes that they sometimes do this but that anything corresponding to the Greenland "judicial" proceedings is not known among the Caribou Eskimos. GABUS (1944:141) records only one satirical song, consisting of one verse, in which the singer during a dance session rather kindly reproaches his brother of having wasted meat in time of shortage. My own research indicates only the singing of half-joking stirical songs- if at all these can be given that name - and not during dance sessions.

G. DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY; INTRA-FAMILY AUTHORITY; BORROWING-LENDING

(As regards the disposal of food, see above, section B.)

There is not much explicit or specific information in the literature regarding who controls the disposal of property. But it may be assumed that all important decisions, such as disposal of foxes caught, disposal or purchase of

important hunting equipment etc. will lie with the pater familias as he is also described by BIRKET-SMITH and GABUS (see above, section E.-leadership); this pater familias takes all important decisions, also those regarding important movements, marriage arrangements etc. But these two authors do not inform us what happens if the pater familias dies, or who takes the decisions in camps where there is no pater familias but rather a number of nuclear family heads with more or less prestige. As regards my own research, reference is made to the corresponding sections in Chapter 2. ★)

Borrowing-lending

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:263-4) informs us on borrowing and lending practices: "The owner has only a qualified right to those things that are not used when conditions otherwise permit of their use... If a man borrows an article and happens to destroy it in use, he is not obliged to replace it; for the owner loses something of his right by lending it out and thereby in a way admits that he does not need it. But if the owner is poor he sometimes receives a compensation, although this is voluntary. Similarly it is also a voluntary matter whether one hands over found articles or not. If a lost article is found close to the dwelling of the owner it will, however, usually be returned to him".

It is difficult to generalize about borrowing any farther than BIRKET-SMITH has done it. The replies to my questions were divergent but since there are no strict rules and since everything depends on an indefinite number of circumstances, this result is not surprising.

H. TAKING AWAY SOMEONE ELSE'S PROPERTY

As regards taking from another's meat cache, BIRKET-SMITH (1929:263) writes: "During a famine all right of possession to food is abandoned; all hunting spoils are common property and anyone who is hungry may simply take from another family's meat cache what he needs without thus making himself a thief; but if he can make some return in another manner, he does so".

GABUS (1944:139) writes that the taking from another's meat cache is considered a violation, for it can gravely endanger the existence of a traveller. He does not enter into detail (but it can be assumed that he did not mean to state that taking from a cache would be considered larceny in time of famine, if the taker warns the owner as soon as possible).

My own data seem to indicate fairly certainly that taking from another's meat-cache is not considered theft, if the taker was in a justifiable need and notified the owner by marking the cache or advising him personally as soon as possible. Whether a return is expected later on, depends on the conditions and relations of both parties.

As regards other theft, BIRKET-SMITH (1929:265) remarks that "Theft can never be a matter of grave importance, and a thief is regarded as something the same as a liar, i.e. an unpleasant person, and if the victim has sufficient moral courage and authority over the thief, he will probably demand the return of the stolen articles".

Rev. DUCHARME remarked that thefts are often slyly concealed, f.i. such as to leave the impression that a dog had entered the tent or snowhouse.

★) GABUS (1944:89-90) stresses the relation of the paternal uncle toward his nephew and gives some examples; he concludes, however, by stating that these can be just as well explained by a natural generosity as by special kinship obligations.

I. INHERITANCE

Not much attention is given in the literature to inheritance. GABUS (1944:134) observed that the majority of the individual belongings of the deceased are deposited on their graves: even rifles, kayaks, canoes, completely filled women's chests. BIRKET-SMITH (1929:264) observes that "when a person dies, the family share the property that is not laid by the grave, but there does not seem to be any definite rule for this: they manage by mutual agreement".

J. MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

BIRKET-SMITH (1936:142): "The permanent core in the Eskimo community is the oldest of all social institutions: marriage".

Selection and bride-price; ceremonies

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:292, 293) writes that a young man marries as soon as he is able to keep a wife, and that he usually has to pay for her. GABUS (1940:61; 1944:76) reports the frequency of "marriages" arranged by the parents soon after or even before birth. The bride price is partly paid at the time of the arrangement (a rifle or some fox skins), partly when the daughter-in-law takes up residence with them. The literature is unanimous in that there are no marriage ceremonies: the ribbons which hold up the dorsal half of the girl's frock will be removed and, sometimes, there might be held a quite informal feast, the night after which the bride will belong to some friends and guests (GABUS 1940:63-4; 1944:77).

Marriage prohibitions

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:293): "Name-fellowship is an obstacle to marriage. Near-relations do not marry either; I never heard of definite rules for this, however, and, even if there may be cases of incest, it is always an exception and regarded as being exceedingly reprehensible. Not is there any clan or local exogamy... To the poverty of strict marriage prohibitions corresponds an equally pronounced poverty of obligations to marry between certain persons. ...it must be regarded as being very possible that the levirate has formerly been a more regular custom. Now, however, there does not seem to be any absolute duty of marrying a brother's widow; but it is a very widespread custom that a man leaves his wife to his brother when he is going on a journey and cannot take her with him."

GABUS (1944:75-6, 86-7) gives two prohibitions: name-fellows and close relatives: brother and sister, father and daughter. And that stepchildren are not included in the prohibition, appears from what the same writer (1940: 230-1; 1943:141; 1944:47-9) observes about Akpa (whose conduct, among Padlermiut, stands beyond suspicion) planning to marry his step-daughter. ★)

(Eskimos often talk of their "ilaget", relatives, by which - according to Rev. DUCHARME - they may mean not only their "family" which consists of an indefinite but rather narrow circle outside the parents and their brothers and sisters with children), but also those with whom they have an adoptive relation, or one or more unrelated but especially befriended families.).

Quarrels about women

Quarrels about women have often been and can still be the cause of violence, in which the woman is supposed to follow the strongest man. TURQUETIL (1926: 424) reports the occurrence of fist fights about women. Similarly GABUS (1944: 83), who was present when a husband refused the "routine request" of a visitor, upon which both quietly withdrew outside to return shortly after, the

★) GABUS calls her an adoptive child, but actually she was a step-child.

requestant having cashed the blackest eye. That major disputes or desires, in which women are the subject matter, can lead to murder, in the general Eskimo area as well as to some extent in the region under discussion, has been considered above, in section E. BIRKET-SMITH, in his general Eskimo work (1936:151) even states that quarrels about women are the principal cause of violation of the peace in Eskimo society.

Beating of children

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:288) states with emphasis that no parent will ever beat his child. Similarly GABUS (1944:98) who never saw a parent beat or angrily shout at a child; this author interestingly points out that the name of the child - until about its 14th year - is supposed to carry the soul of a deceased relative or friend: to beat the child would amount to beating the deceased. And he mentions the case of a well-liked missionary who after ten years of life in the north once happened to punish an obstructive boy with a stick: he was obliged to leave the country (ibidem).

Wife borrowing and lending

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:293) notes the practice to leave one's wife with his brother, when the wife cannot accompany her husband on a travel; elsewhere (1936:144) the same writer makes the general remark that this naturally leads to the right of cohabitation. As regards between friends, he writes (1929:295): "It often happens that men lend out their wives for shorter or longer periods, or that two friends exchange wives for a time. This makes their friendship more firm. If a man becomes angry over his wife's unfaithfulness it is because this is an encroachment upon his rights; the next day it may easily happen that he himself lends her out".

GABUS' (1944:82-4) observations are similar, and he stresses the temporary character of the arrangement, the right of the husband to refuse any such request to a visitor, and nomadic life as one of the chief causes of this institution. It seems not surprising, however, that he also records a case where he witnessed that an Eskimo, without the previous consent of the (absent) husband, availed himself of an opportunity; no indications of the infraction were left when the husband returned next day. Finally, he stresses the desire of all Eskimos to have male children, no matter by what means, and he concludes that both female infanticide and wife-lending are two different ways to achieve the same end. *)

Also TURQUETIL (1929:59): "If one of the hunters has to undertake a journey, he must have with him a seamstress to take care of his clothes. If his own wife cannot take the trip with him, the wife of his companion will go with him. Thus there comes about a certain communism even in wives, not through passion, but through necessity".

Paternity

Although the foregoing might raise with us the question of paternity, not so with these Eskimos. GABUS (1943:51-2) who lived at some time with the Ahearmiut Haomik: "Like most Eskimos, Haomik shows himself entirely indifferent with regard to these questions of paternity. He loves his children, they are his because his wife has brought them in the world; but he should like to have a son... whether this son would bear an Irish, Scottish, English or Eskimo signature, does not concern him; under his guidance the boy will show the same disposition to work and the same conscious or unconscious devotion to maintain his father Haomik in his old age. ...Wife lending, which is generally practised among the Caribou Eskimos must be considered as an

*) It was my impression - although I had no opportunity to make explicit inquiries - that wife lending still occurs both at the coast and inland but I have no means of evaluating its frequency.

instinctive defense of the race in favour of procreation. This concerns a simple adaptation of man to the natural conditions of his existence, and not a question of morals. The children belong to the official husband. The love of an Eskimo for his son, for instance, is a remarkable thing; whether this can be legitimate, illegitimate or purchased, the affection remains the same". GABUS does not mention if he has observed that possible blood relationship of this nature has ever negatively influenced a marriage selection.

Divorce

BIRKET-SMITH (1929:294): "Marriage is dissolved as easily as it is contracted, and as a rule both parties go through more than one before they finally settle down. In case of divorce the woman takes her personal property and the children. But otherwise the children are the bond which holds the parents most strongly together". My personal impression was that at present, divorces are not quite as frequent as suggested by BIRKET-SMITH, perhaps owing to the acute shortage of women but also, in case of the Christian Eskimos, owing to the new norms.

INGSTAD (1952:122ff) reports a case, among the Nunamiut, where a man who had left his wife (but who had no other wife) talked with some of the elders, upon which all elders came together in the tent of the husband, while he and his wife were present; the matter was talked over and had a happy ending.

CHAPTER 4

SELECTED POINTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
as appearing from the 1955 research.

After examining my own data and the pertinent research literature, a number of points will now be singled out, which seem to indicate either a certain divergence from what has been reported by other investigators, or certain new aspects which so far have received little or no attention in the ethnographic literature concerning these Eskimos.

1) CATCH AND KILL (ref. to sections A)

a) The right to a share in a large sea-mammal is determined by whether one has arrived in time to take part in the flensing, and not by whether one has taken part in the pursuit.

b) The killer of a large sea-mammal - "the one who has had the pleasure of shooting" - receives less than the others; if there are five or more flensing, he does not even take part in this operation, and receives at best the head (of the bearded seal or other large sea-mammal).

c) There are no discernible rules of division of caribou. The game belongs to the killer who, in practice, will keep the (late summer) skin, probably the head, and who will take the first choice from the meat, leaving the rest to the other participating hunters, if they wish so: the latter depends on season; food-situation, and distance from camp. What is left in the field belongs to the killer who will want to cache it, especially in the cool season; hot (insects) and cool season resp. increase and lessen the general tendency to share the spoils. If there are three or more participating hunters, and if the meat is in demand (or, f.i., can be dried in camp), all present may pack the entire animal back to camp, where a common meal will be held - as is usual anyway, when there is food enough. The rules of division of caribou therefore appear to depend on common sense and an indefinite number of practical considerations, and it seems useless to attempt to schematize them.

2) THE WOMAN'S DOMAIN (ref. to sections B. and F.)

A remarkably explicit verbal distinction was drawn by informants regarding "what is (belongs) inside (snowhouse or tent)" and "what is (belongs) outside", the former being under the woman's, the latter under the man's control. In practice, this may apply chiefly to food and skins, but informants' replies seemed to imply a rather general reference. Of course, everyone realized and knew that a rifle which is inside, remains under the man's control, and hides or food being dried outside under the woman's. Remarkable is the strict verbalization of the rule, which was uncommon to me, and one of the very few which I could record. The most important consequence of the rule, as also was realized by the informants, is the woman's task to dispose of and distribute the food brought in by the hunter both inside her household and outside.

3) "IHUMATAR" (ref. to sections E. - leadership)

This seemed to me a general term, connoting a man with a special prestige in a certain (secular) sphere of life. The ihumatar "ex officio" is the pater familias (or, after his death, his oldest son, and for the larger family

group his oldest brother) who is the autonomous head of his and his sons' households; but these sons are in their turn ihumatar in their own smaller circle of similar responsibilities. The other Eskimo ihumatars just emerge to their status: they are the headmen of the inland camps, and those few whose advice will be sought in certain very important situations, and who may even live at a distance in another camp. These latter ihumatars will be consulted and followed as long as they are regarded to "think best"; to a somewhat lesser degree, this even applies to the ihumatar-pater-familias. (As regards the "legal" position of the ihumatar, i.e. outside the family circle, my inquiries led to the same conclusion as that in the research literature mentioned in the previous chapter).

4) THE OLDEST BROTHER; INHERITANCE (ref. to sections G. and I.)

a) The oldest brother is supposed to succeed his deceased (oldest) brother as autonomous ihumatar, to guide his younger brothers and their families in a similar manner as the deceased pater familias: to supervise his brothers' more important movements, their fox-trading policies, marriage arrangements, important disposals of property.

b) Consequently, he also inherits his deceased brother's "estate", will take the latter's children (at least the sons) to himself, and these will be like his own children. If the pater familias had no brothers at the time of his death, his oldest (mature) son will succeed and a similar relation to his brothers and their families will result, as described above. The Padlermiut replies nicely illustrate how transmission of property is transmission of status. (see HOEBEL 1954:59).

Ennadai Lake information seems somewhat different. The "estate" seems to be halved between the oldest brother and the (mature) children of the deceased; but since also here the oldest brother of the deceased takes the place of the pater familias, there cannot, in practice, be much difference with what happens among the Padlermiut.

Three additional points might here be added:

a. Padlermiut informants seemed to assume in their replies that the deceased's direct family would not break up but carry on with the widow and her children (only Akpa said that she would go back to her own people); whereas at Ennadai Lake, she was said to go to her husband's brother - until she remarried. (remnant of levirate?)

b. Reply I.1.II: An adopted son has no right to inherit, neither from his own nor from his adopted father, even if he were adopted at birth.

c. Reply I.1.II: The possessions of the deceased mother go to the wife of her oldest son, even if she still had her own daughters. ★)

★) A general observation on the interest of the "law of succession" for ethnographic studies might be made. Together with family organization, this aspect of social usage tends to be perhaps the most conservative element in any society. MEYERS (1922; 1928-51) has brilliantly demonstrated that the law of succession tends to conserve its principal characteristics through ages of the most disruptive political and social change, and his work proved how the study of inheritance can help to trace the distribution of peoples and races through prehistoric times.

5) MARRIAGE-ARRANGEMENTS (ref. to sections J.)

The term "bride"-price, used in this report is not quite correct in so far as payment is made by the party seeking a mate for his child or for him(her) self. However, later on, it seems to be mostly the man who looks and pays for the bride, and in the earliest years (until about three years of age) no payment is made, since the mere arrangement suffices. As from about three years of age, the candidate sought has to be paid for with a value increasing with age.

Interesting are J.1.I and J.2.I: After the arrangement is made, especially when the candidates are growing up, the parents are constantly reminding each other of the arrangement. Payment can consist of a sled or a dog etc., but also of helping the other pair of parents with food or hunting. While growing up, the boy might go and help the parents of the bride, or vice versa. Payment might even be arranged before marriage in the form of the first-child-to-come for the parents of the girl or vice versa. The same - i.e. promising to the other parents the first-child-to-come from the girl's new marriage, will be expected from the family of the girl who cancelled an arrangement because they changed their mind and want to give her in marriage to another man. This practice does not work vice versa. (N.B. These statements were given only by one informant).

Information obtained by correspondence in May 1956 shows, however, that payment for a bride is not an iron rule: At Eskimo Point, Nigerk's (Akpa's brother) adopted daughter married Angalik in August 1955; the arrangement was made in the spring of that year. No payment was made, since the (step-) fathers of the couple were good friends.

CHAPTER 5

CUSTOM AND LAW, PEACE AND JUSTICE

So far in this report, we have been concerned with ethnographic searching through those fields of social life which - in my opinion - might potentially reveal the existence of the social phenomenon of law and - consequently - of legal concepts among these groups of Caribou Eskimos. My assignment was to investigate rather than to speculate, and the present report therefore presents a body of information rather than of theory. My chief interest has been and still is directed toward the question of how the "social control" of these groups is felt in opinion and expressed in conduct. It was felt that I could afford so far to leave the reader in the dark as to the precise meaning of the terms "law" and "legal concepts", thus furthering the perusal of the previous chapters - without undue weight of theoretical preconceptions - merely as a body of selected ethnographic information.

Of course, theorizing cannot be entirely eliminated, and it seems proper to start this last chapter with a most summary exposé of the requirements which I consider necessary for a social norm to be called "legal". This will then be followed by a broad interpretation of the data - as they were presented in the previous chapters - in an attempt to sketch the nature of the maintenance of social control among the groups visited, and its legal or non-legal character. ★)

In our Western culture, as well as in any human society, the term "legal concepts" can be taken to refer to those common notions about conduct which are generally felt to be embodied in law. And law - if we consider it not from the lawyer's limited standpoint but as social phenomenon - can be said to be those rules of secular conduct to which we have to adhere not only for moral or "social" motives, but because these norms are administered by an authority which has the power to apply physical coercion ★★). Most of us agree that formal codes, courts and constables are not necessary for the determination of law (see also HOEBEL 1946) but, following that author, and for the purpose of this report, I take the abovementioned criteria of authority and (threat of) physical compulsion ★★★) as indispensable. The chief criterium of law will therefore be a formal one, and not functional.

★) Use of legal terminology was felt to be quite inappropriate for the present subjectmatter, and was therefore avoided as much as possible; if in the foregoing or following a word might have both a "lawyer's" and a "common" meaning, the latter should, in principle, be taken. Only the basic terms "law" and "legal concept" need to be more precisely determined, as will be done in the following paragraphs.

★★) I realize that I am here entering upon a problem which in all its implications exceeds my competence. RADIN's (1938) statement: "Those of us who have learned humility have given over the attempt to define law" is enough to indicate the complexity of this so far unsettled question. In this report which deals with a research into legal concepts, however, I can hardly avoid at least an attempt to formulate - for working purposes - what I feel to be the essential requirements for a norm or notion to be called "legal".

★★★) If I take "physical" coercion, or the threat thereof, to be one of the essentials in a definition of law, I must add that I am actually not quite convinced that this is so; since I am not prepared or equipped to argue this point within the present framework, I included the requirement, in accordance with prevailing legal opinion - only with the reservation that I feel "administering authority" to be definitely more characteristic of "law" than "physical" coercion.

The latter, functional, view was held by MALINOWSKI who regarded law as a system of rights and duties, governed by the principle of reciprocity: "... as the specific result of the configuration of obligations, which make it impossible for the native to shirk his responsibilities without suffering for it in the future". (1926: 59); and as "effective custom" (1934). As DE JOSSELINE DE JONG (1948: 5) pointed out, however, this functional criterium leaves law and custom undistinguished: for although MALINOWSKI turned himself against the view that all custom was law (among primitive peoples), his definition seemed to have the opposite effect.

Other scholars - feeling that some customs, though they were not law, were not mere customs either - have adopted the existing term of "customary law" for this category of rules. But I think that DE JOSSELINE DE JONG (1948: 7) was right when he held "...that the essential problem of the relation between phenomena of law and phenomena of custom has been obscured again and again by gathering all dubious cases into a separate category which is neither law nor custom but a certain "tertium quid" which does not require a sharp definition". And he ends his discourse by admitting that "it will be very difficult to give a definition of the cultural phenomenon of law sufficiently narrow to exclude custom and sufficiently wide to allow for the baffling variety of ways in which the principle of legality may manifest itself. As a muddled terminology may be an impediment to clear thinking we should begin by abolishing the term of 'Customary Law'." ★) (1948: 8). I adopt the suggestion.

HOEBEL (1954: 28) who has done so much to further the study of the law of primitive peoples (a.o. 1940, 1941, 1946, 1954), refined and elaborated the concept into the following definition: "Hence we may say that privileged force, official authority and regularity are the elements that modern jurisprudence teaches us we must seek when we wish to identify law. On this basis, for working purposes, law may be defined in these terms: A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting". And many are the examples which he gives of the existence and process of law among peoples who have no codes, no courts, no government, no state, no constables, no jails.

Three points in HOEBEL's definition need perhaps special mentioning: For a norm to be called legal, there must have been a number of consistent "cases" ("regularity"); "authority" can just as well reside in the community as such or in a private individual (f.i. the complaining party himself) or group, acting with a kind of "ad hoc" status, with approval - implicit or explicit - of the other members of the society; and all supernatural sanctions (on the violations of taboos) are excluded.

I feel two points of doubt concerning the above working definition: the first relates to the element of "physical coercion" which I nevertheless include (as set out in the previous foot-note). Secondly, I want to make the - perhaps superfluous - reservation that the "Hausjustiz", i.e. the authority of the pater familias or his equivalent, inside his family sphere, will be considered as excluded from the definition.

★) Of course, the term is not meant here to refer to those developed legal systems in which "customary law" is received as a more or less official concept, denoting a well defined framework of non-codified norms and practices.

★★) Here is not the space for a detailed account of how HOEBEL arrived at his definition, or for more than a mere mentioning of his stress on the fact that all legal relations are relations between persons: "A legal issue may be one that concerns the relations between two persons with respect to a thing; but the issue lies only in the relations between the persons involved". (1954: 47, were also the references are given to HOEFELD's system of legal analysis, which was adopted by HOEBEL).

Thus guided by HOEBEL's definition, I undertook my field-research and afterwards wrote the report with the present chapter as concluding part. A very recent discussion *) of my conclusions and of HOEBEL's working-definition, however, brought to light quite another aspect of "law" and the "legal" which does not run contrary to HOEBEL, yet seems to throw a different and meaningful light on the problem:

As Prof. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG pointed out at that discussion: if there exists law, it must be felt by the members of the society concerned to exist as such: some segment of their norms must be regarded as separated from the other norms in that infraction calls for a tendency towards special procedure; violation of these norms will be met not in the spontaneous manner which is characteristic of the infraction of mere customs. If the norm is legal, the reaction is non-spontaneous, there is a tendency to "find the law" which should here be applied, to involve the help of specialists. A norm is legal, if infraction is known by the community to be met with something else than mere social disapproval; and this distinction should be recognized in formal characteristics. Of course, there may be border cases and - no society being entirely stable - there may also be transition cases from custom to law or even vice versa: but this does not affect the principle that it is a true guide for the determination of law to ascertain how the society concerned regards the norms and the nature of the reactions in question. Perhaps I might add, that the latter criterium can be employed as a useful tool to make the proof whether or not a norm, meeting HOEBEL's rational definition, in reality may be said to have the level of law.

So far, I have summarily pointed out that I consider law to need a formal, not a functional criterium; that I shall not use the confusing term "customary law", thus restricting myself to "custom" on the one hand, and "law" (codified or non-codified) on the other: and that HOEBEL's working-definition of legal norms (laws), viewed in the additional light of DE JOSSELIN DE JONG's observation, seems an acceptable and realistic manner of dealing with the social phenomenon of law, both primitive and modern **).

I hope thus to have clarified what - as I stated above - I meant with "legal concepts": Those common notions about conduct which are generally felt to be embodied in law. The three previous chapters are submitted as indeed containing concepts, i.e. common notions, about felt right or wrong; but whether or not these can be called legal concepts, remains now to be examined. May be they are only quasi-legal concepts, or just not legal concepts.

If one listen to the opinions given by the informants ***)) in reply to questions what is done in case of violation of a rule, these replies suggest a preference for withdrawal from situations of conflict, general nuisance or trouble. Akpa - one of the most respected Padlermiut hunters, and one whose physical courage and moral responsibility cannot be questioned - once said: "In case of dispute, I rather would run away than fight". Again and again, the replies indicate that one who steals, or who lies, or who is lazy or neglects his wife and children, or who violates other strongly favored rules,

*) A meeting, on May 12 '56, of the Leiden Ethnological Club (W.D.O.), of which Prof. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG is the honorary chairman.

**) Unless stated otherwise, Padlermiut and Ahearmit concepts will be considered as if they were one, in this chapter; I found the differences so minor, that amalgamation seems justified for the present purpose.

***) For, as HOETINK (1955: 209) put it: "The social-anthropological law-concept should contain the essential characteristics of the law-concept tout-court".

especially one who persistently trespasses the norms, is regarded as "one for whom we do not care", an unpleasant man, one who lacks brains, pitiful, a nuisance. In a very serious case, the camp might move elsewhere without warning him, in an attempt to rid itself of the undesirable one; but he will not be actively expelled, nor will he be refused some food if he would be starving. Not one opinion revealed any consciously felt and regularly practised legal sanctions for the violation of a rule, but instead a largely unpredictable choice from possible customary communal reactions against the one who upsets social balance by his violations, ranging from just social disapproval to leaving the troublemaker behind by moving elsewhere; and if the issue is between the two parties, without involving the community as such, predictability of what action the wronged party will take and how he will proceed, is similarly lacking.

However, the previous chapters have shown us that more positive reaction to private wrong has sometimes occurred, which - without any suggestion of regular occurrence - will be summed up below:

- 1) That someone who is an intolerable nuisance may be killed, is illustrated in the case of Okalik, who killed his dominating mother in law Pemik (see chapters 2 and 3, sections E (murder)).
- 2) If A owes something to B, which lies within the sphere of tradegoods or - perhaps - can be expressed in trade-values, B might even out the debt indirectly via the trader, rather than approaching A directly (see reply H.3.I; Diary Extract No. 3 at the end of Attachment I). (If a borrowed object is needed back by the lender, there is no means of obtaining it if the borrower can or does not want to return it; but in some cases, depending in personality and degree of need, the owner might just take it back).
- 3) A lazy man or one who neglects his family, may lose his wife and/or her children: the relatives of the wife may come and take them back (see reply E.3.I; chapter 2, section E (Pongalak)). *
- 4) If a man has married a woman, the price of which he fails to pay, the relative of the woman may just take her back, as well as her children, even if a few years have elapsed (see chapter 2, section E (Pongalak)).

Re 1): Pemik's choleric character was notorious but was nevertheless and apparently not felt as a threat to community life. To deal with her was therefore a private problem for her relatives. I understand that avoidance was impossible to Okalik who had a traditional duty to keep his mother in law with him. When the situation became intolerable to him, he killed her. I do not think that the murder was cheerfully approved at all, but it was understood why he did it and that he was not likely to resort to this kind of violence again: the affair apparently never called for communal reaction.

Re 2): This indirect method seems indicative of the hesitance to take any direct steps against thief or debtor. It shows that no action against the latter is the pattern rather than the opposite. On the other hand, it shows equally that there is no indifference on the side of the wronged party, at least as regards debts which can be expressed in tradegood values. All that seems wanted by the wronged party is repair of the damage, and nothing else.

Re 3): Owlyoot's mother had sent a request to her relatives to take two of her sons away from her husband Pongalak. Why she remained with Pongalak to die shortly after from starvation with her other son, is not known, and speculation would not help: but it is nevertheless surprising that her relatives did not take her and her third son at the same time, be it out of personal concern for her well being, because I understand that there was at the time no general food shortage in that region. I do not know how the Eskimo

* A case was reported among the Harvaqtôrmiut (Caribou) Eskimos by BIRKET-SMITH (1929: 261).

community thought about this affair at the time, but I do know that Owlyoot himself feels strong resentment. (Incidentally, it might be added here that Kibgarjuk never seemed to resent the fact that her husband Idjuadjuk had exterminated her entire family; nor do I think that Okalik's wife left him after he murdered her mother and brother; for all I know she now lives with him in "banishment" on Baffin Island).

BIRKET-SMITH's case illustrates how a wife who is neglected by her husband can be taken back by her father. It is not known if this was done because her father was merely concerned for her well being or because another hunter had offered to pay a price for her, if she became his wife.

Re 4): Ootnooyuk was taken away (probably around 1951) from her husband Ollie - who was absent at the time - by her brother Aleykoosuk, because her (bride) price had never been paid. Her brother acted on the request or suggestion of Pongalak, whose wife she is to the present day. Although Ollie (who is still looking for a wife) is not known as a good hunter or trapper, it seems unlikely that Ootnooyuk was badly neglected by him. Her children went with her, but their status is complicated because none of them were Ollie's (see also, however, Chapter 3, section J. (paternity)).

Ootnooyuk's case is interesting in so far as physical action (effecting a kind of annulment of the marriage) was taken by her nearest relative; and as the others told Rev. Ducharme, this was felt by Ollie to be expectable and difficult - if not impossible - to resist against. Not paying the promised bride price is definitely regarded by these Eskimos to be wrong. But can we now deduct that "this infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force (by her brother) possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting"? Or that here are shown the presence of "privileged force, official authority and regularity"? May be we are close to find a case meeting the requirements to be called "legal": here we have socially recognized action, implying the application of physical force. It is true that the action taken was not felt to be the only one possible under the circumstances (and - perhaps significantly - it was performed during the absence of the husband), nor does the social recognition suggest more than a minimum of passive "official authority"; and regularity, though to some extent suggested by the occurrence of analogous reaction, mentioned sub 3) above, is not actually established.

We should be careful not to have the trees of the foregoing make us lose sight of the wood. For although Ootnooyuk's case shows a measure of conformity with the component parts of our chosen definition of law, as a whole it does not look more like a case of "taking the law into one's own hands", which a Western observer is always inclined to regard as indicative of the absence of law? But it should not be forgotten that, what we call "taking the law...", may well in another society constitute legitimate and perhaps legal action. This case "Aleykoosuk vs Ollie", then, somehow seems to meet the requirements to be called "legal" - albeit in its barest bones. "The law has teeth, teeth that can bite, if need be..." writes HOEBEL (1954:26) and elsewhere he writes that we should treat as "law": "...that 'norm' which will be recognized to prevail in the pinch". (1941: 23) I feel inclined to conclude that we may here be just touching the "legal" though, since the case stands isolated in all research on the region, it carries no conclusive importance. However, if we would here apply the above suggested test of DE JOSSELINE DE JONG, i.e. *regard* examine if these people themselves this rule to be a norm different from the others in that infraction calls for specific non-spontaneous reaction and procedure, then the outcome would be unmistakably negative.

In the cases mentioned above, then, we have seen that it is up to the wronged party to take or not to take any customary action. The other families in the community who are not involved in the issue, will not consider it proper to interfere - though they will certainly have their own opinion.

The situation becomes different if someone is repeatedly causing trouble so that he becomes a menace to regular and peaceful camp life. In those rather rare cases, the camp as such may gradually come in action, but it is a "passive" action: not visiting the undesirable anymore, not sharing their plans with him, perhaps even moving camp altogether, without warning him; in short, withdrawal from the nuisance.

Habitual liars, thieves of foxes or meat caches and lazy people are - in practice - perhaps the worst social nuisances, in the eyes of these Eskimos: these characters make life uncertain and their unpredictable attitude works disruptive in the daily routine. It is my feeling that an Eskimo from these regions might easily get away with something that is very wrong in the eyes of everyone else, as long as it is felt that he is not going to make a habit of so acting. That may explain why Idjuadjuk was not only tolerated after his manifold murder, but even very popular: for once he had got his wife, it was felt that he was satisfied, and his cleverness and advice were in high regard. (If it is true that he killed one or two people later during shamanistic proceedings, I believe that this was regarded in quite a different light, i.e. as a going risk for those who involve themselves too closely in inherently dangerous performances).

On the other hand, Pongalak (see Chapter 2, section E) is a constant menace: one never knows what may next be expected from him, for he has proved to be capable of anything. His past deeds and consequent unpredictability are viewed with constant suspicion - at least in Owlyoot's camp. Yet, they have no other means of taking a common stand against him than keeping away from him, avoiding him; except (and I am sometimes afraid that this might perhaps yet happen in the future, if Pongalak persists in violating what they consider to be the proper rules of life, and if f.i. they might come to suspect him of practising witchcraft) by killing the undesirable in common consent; although, fortunately, I must admit that no such cases have ever been reported in the region.

For when a Caribou Eskimo - and probably any Eskimo for that matter - sees no way out of a problem which besets him, murders do happen. The cases referred to above (chapters 2 and 3, sections E (murder) concern private action for private reasons: fear, (or a mixture of fear with desire) (Ouangwak), desire (Idjuadjuk), intolerable nuisance (Okalik); I feel that all three murders have emotionally upset all those who were near, but at the same time an understandable and appreciable motive could be ascertained, no repetition was feared, and no direct or indirect, active or passive community reaction followed.

It is also possible to look at these murders from another angle and note that, where previously blood-revenge would take care of the murderer, Canadian administration has since done much to discourage any such reactions, which leaves these Eskimos without any pattern to follow in these cases of private murder: a vacuum in their internal social control was thus caused. This is why, as I wrote above (chapter 2, section E), I am inclined to follow Cst. Gallagher's opinion that the Eskimos approved of the police doing something about this, although at the same time they appreciated Okalik's motivation. Although the informants agreed that blood revenge should not take place, and although I do not know of cases of vendetta in the region, I believe that this bloody practice has been followed here as in some other Eskimo areas. This is indirectly indicated by these three murder cases: for in each case, the murderer - consciously or not - simultaneously disposed of potential revenge takers. I would therefore not be surprised if, when this fate would befall Pongalak, his son Kiyai would run a grave risk of being killed at the same time. HOEBEL (1954:89) has observed that the unanimous consent in the murder by the community might preclude vendetta. But the situation would not be so at Ennadai Lake. Aleykoosuk, f.i. would not take an open stand against his brother in law Pongalak, but above all, the latter's son Kiyai

himself is not likely to consent in his father being murdered. I repeat that this hypothetical, in the region under discussion unprecedented, but conceivable eventuality would be different from the other reported murder cases in that it would be rather a communal affair than mere private action; however, I am not quite certain how far the other Ennadai Lake camps would be involved in it, since I spent almost my entire time at Owlyoot's camp ★). Of course, I never broached this dangerous subject, nor did they ever suggest anything along these lines: to the contrary. And indeed, Owlyoot's camp - at one day's distance from Pongalak's - seemed a happy and cheerful camp: its internal cohesion helped to conceal to the outsider the tensions in its external affairs. I recall Mr. Goro of Life Magazine, who is a keen observer and who had been marooned several days at Pongalak's together with his colleague, telling me how he was struck by the difference of atmosphere in the two camps: Pongalak's, where no laughter was heard, in contrast to Owlyoot's where laughter and cheerfulness prevailed. (Pongalak's camp consisted at the time of his and his oldest son's families).

The entire "affaire Pongalak" illustrates the lack of effective social control patterns among these Eskimos capable of dealing with persistent troublemakers with a strong personality. Their uneasiness towards this shaman can not be vented and seems only to be accumulated. It should also be remembered that Micki (chapter 2, section E (Pongalak)) presented Ootnooyuk's case as something in the order of kidnapping: he must have known better but may have wished to dispose me against Pongalak. Owlyoot's character seemed different to me: I regard him as quiet and very reliable.

I now revert again to HOEBEL's (1954:28) working definition of law: "A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting".

It is my submission that the evidence presented in this report is negative as regards the privileged force, the official authority, and the regularity of application, which are the basis of the definition. The lack of cases reported is not entirely due to the imperfections of my research: the replies to many questions implied the unlikelihood of any positive "cases" to occur in the fields concerned. No reasonable stretch of imagination can make me regard the norms and practices discussed in this report as capable of meeting the requirements to be called legal:★★) force, authority and regularity are

★) I might, perhaps, present still another aspect of the case. Among these Eskimos, the smallest and closest social unit is the family, headed by the father or the oldest brother or oldest son. A wider and looser unit is the camp, headed by the camp-headman. The third unit is - like at Ennadai - the combination of camps: people, bound by common name and language, same present hunting grounds (the nearest other Ahearmit live many miles away), sometimes also bound by kinship, but headed by nobody. Pongalak's camp vs Owlyoot's might have something in common with the relation between two sovereign nations, one generation ago. Admitted that these Eskimos have no state or government, there is at least a weak form of leadership at "camp-level": but any superstructure in leadership-organization beyond that level is lacking.

★★) Within the household, much of the patterned order and discipline which we have missed in wider social contexts, is found back; but intra-family discipline - though most important - cannot usefully be called law be it alone because its (autonomous) range covers only one of the constituent parts of the society (camp) to which that family belongs. In addition this discipline is spontaneous and self-evident, and therefore outside the legal sphere.

conspicuous in their absence, as a combination; to the contrary, external anarchy prevails here as in other important aspects of Caribou Eskimo life, which knows only a minimum of private property, no government, no state, no tribes, no chiefs. My search for the social phenomenon of law among these Eskimos, then, has had a negative result. That this absence of "law" does not imply "lawlessness" will be stressed at the end of this chapter.

Though basing myself on HOEBEL's definition, I thus find myself at variance with his view of Eskimo law as set out in the fifth chapter of his recent work on the law of primitive man ^{*}) (1954). In that chapter, the author attempts to sketch an outline of law in the general Eskimo area and although the title of the chapter is phrased "Rudimentary Law in a Primitive Anarchy", its contents treat it as law, albeit on the simplest stage. Caribou Eskimo references in that chapter are confined to two not conclusive mentionings: an exchange of derisive songs, and Idjuadjuk's murders. Since moreover none of the specific publications on Caribou Eskimos are mentioned, I may assume that the author has not wanted to make the Caribou Eskimos into one of the pillars of his argument. This is not to adversely criticize HOEBEL who earns nothing but gratitude for the manner in which he presents his always interesting material and for his own pioneering field work. But his chapter on Eskimo law seems less convincing than all others: there is indeed a structural danger in his attempt to generalize about the Eskimos in a field of their life of which so little exact information is available. Of course, no one can expect a chapter like that to do full justice to each of the component parts of the Eskimo area: but the danger remains undiminished that - by putting all bits of information from Siberia to Greenland together (unless this is done by one who has travelled all over the Eskimo area, like BIRKET-SMITH) - the known and real legal gaps which do exist in each sub-area, will be filled to result in a suggestion of the existence of law in each separate district as well as throughout the general region. Neither is this danger removed by the fact that HOEBEL (1954: 68) appears to have realized it: "Regional variations do exist in the Eskimo ways of life and beliefs, however. In southwest Alaska, for instance, social forms have been noticeably influenced by the impress of the highly elaborate Indian cultures of the North-west Coast of British Columbia and probably also directly from northeast Asia. Consequently, rather than the law of any particular Eskimo local group, a general analysis is forced upon us by the scarcity of adequate materials from any single Eskimo group or even region. Where significant regional variations are known to occur, they will be noted, however; and specific examples will be ascribed to the local groups from which they are drawn". As regards the Caribou Eskimo examples, given in HOEBEL's chapter, the case of Idjuadjuk has been discussed above at various occasions, and also the author himself mentions it merely to show that homicide is not a legal absolute among these groups. The exchange of derisive songs, which the author draws from RASMUSSEN ^{**}), is the only one known in the area; but there is no evidence of its meeting the elements of a real song dual (see also BIRKET-SMITH 1929: 266).

^{*}) Pages 69-70 of that chapter shows the nine "underlying postulates of jural significance in Eskimo culture", which HOEBEL has formulated and which in the next pages are shown by the author to be translated into legal or quasi-legal principles and norms. Unfortunately, I have so far failed to grasp in how far this enumeration adds to the understanding of Eskimo law, and I therefore leave it with this mere mentioning: elaboration would exceed the scope of the present report.

^{**}) No quotation is given, but it seems to be a free version of the one recorded in 1930: 77.

Even if the regular existence of the song duel in the Caribou Eskimo area were established, it cannot be called law since its performance can never be enforced and an identical infraction of the same norm may just as well the next time not be followed by a song-duel, unpredictably depending upon the situation of the moment and on the personalities and circumstances of the parties concerned. *) Fist fights about women do seem to occur in our area, but here is no question of violation of rights but just of applying a customary procedure: if a request to borrow a wife is refused but insisted upon by the applicant, the latter has one more chance - if he so wishes - by engaging in a private fight (without bystanders) with the husband (see chapter 3, section J.). Other legal practices among Eskimos, as these are mentioned in HOEBEL's chapter, seem equally absent in the Caribou Eskimo area: Neither initiation of legal action by the shaman - following public confession of taboo-violations - nor expulsion from camp or execution with positive community consent were known to my informants.

"So comprehensive is the tabu system", writes HOEBEL (1954: 70), "that the paucity of legal rules is largely caused by encompassing supernatural sanctions which dominate Eskimo social and economic life. Magic and religion rather than law direct most of their actions". Again, I doubt whether this is really true, among these Caribou Eskimos. That would not be surprisingly at the Coast where most of my informants were Christians. But even at Ennadai Lake, where missionary influence has almost been nihil, I never found that taboo and magic dominated their social and economic life, insofar as it concerned their interpersonal relations. Violation of a taboo - and there seem indeed to be many taboos at Ennadai Lake - directly affects the individual or his children with supernatural sanctions. Very serious taboo-violations might perhaps be felt to cause calamity for the entire community, but I do not know of any examples. Finally, I should like to add, that the power of those existing norms which have neither legal nor religious sanction, should not be underrated. It is already a little enviable situation for most Eskimos to be the subject of mere social disapproval **).

My conclusion is repeated that, if there be any law among other Eskimo groups, I did not find it among the groups of Caribou Eskimos which I visited, nor in the relevant research literature; ^{neither} ~~nor~~ have I reason to feel that they ever had legal norms or law in the past. Even the term "rudimentary law" would not help to clarify: for who knows if the conditions of their scattered and hazardous existence ever allowed for a natural growth into what we have above defined as law? ***). Consequently, there are no legal concepts either, nor would the term "quasi-legal concepts" serve any clarifying purpose.

*) To argue against the legal character of these song duels by pointing out that they are not meant or felt to decide the case in issue on its own merits but on the derisive merits of the ballads themselves, would not hold, since by doing so, the legal character of these practices would be judged with functional considerations which is not proper, as set out in the start of this chapter. (It goes without saying that for obtaining an insight into the culture of any society, the functional method is one of the most valuable approaches to be followed).

**) "diffuse negative sanctions": see RADCLIFFE BROWN 1933: 531.

***) The fact that Hohfeld's system of legal analysis can nevertheless be applied to these Eskimos is fortunate but understandable since as HOEBEL remarks elsewhere (1946: 849): "It can be applied effectively to any social complex of imperative reciprocal relations even though non-legal, and therefore aids in the understanding of other phases of social organization as well".

The negative character of the conclusion and the non-legal nature of the norms and practices discussed are however none the less interesting, for that matter; though it seems on the other hand by no means a shocking discovery for anyone who does not dogmatically presuppose "law", in the above defined sense, to exist as a universal social phenomenon.

So far in this chapter, I have already been able to give an impression of the manner in which these Eskimos, personally and as a group, react to infractions of their society's (secular) norms by other members of their group. Before finishing this report, I shall attempt to look at this aspect of their social life from another positive viewpoint.

BIRKET-SMITH (1929: 264-5) has not written much on the narrow subject matter of this chapter, but what he did write, is worth while reading twice: "Let us in the first place repeat that right is based on custom. This is rarely broken among a people so true to tradition as the Eskimos, but it is no infallible guide. There is always a certain margin for personality. And secondly, these laws most decidedly do not aim at justice. The French revolution showed us that the rights of one cease where another's begin; but even in less abstract form we find little of this idea in the Eskimo's perception of right. I have elsewhere written with regard to conditions in West Greenland of former days, and it is my opinion that what I wrote there also holds good among the Caribou Eskimos: there is never any questions of judicial action, whether the reaction against the infringement springs from the individual or the community. It is either a simple act of vengeance that takes place or, if the whole community joins in getting rid of a troublesome member, it is for the purpose of securing quiet and order. The responsibility of the person is really a subordinate matter, just because justice as we know it, is not aimed at. This view being held, society could rid itself of a sick or aged person. To society it is enough that the person becomes a burden to it, and it is of just as little consequence to it if the burden is deserved, as when one kills a feared murderer, or whether it is a poor old woman who is abandoned on a journey. Human life is cheap in these latitudes".

Any community action taken does not aim at justice but just at restoring the "peace" in its medieval sense, at securing quiet and order in social life. And only when quiet and order are felt to be in issue, the community comes into action. That explains why the murderer Idjuadjuk could be held in high esteem in spite of his antecedents, and why Pongalak, or another habitual liar and irresponsible character is regarded as a threat to the "peace", of whom the others want to rid themselves - as we have seen, generally by "not caring for him", by avoiding him. No action, either private or communal, is carried at the legal level.

Justice not being aimed at, there is no question either of penalty or punishment, and here applies what BIRKET-SMITH wrote elsewhere (1936: 151): "...; in essence it is not the mission of the community to execute law and justice, but exclusively to restore peace, using this word in the medieval sense of the ordinary, regular course of life. On this basis the settlement may, for instance, combine in killing a man or a woman suspected of witchcraft, for such persons are a menace to the peace of the community. The killing is not, however, a punishment for the practising of witchcraft, for the community may in the same manner get rid of a man with a wild and brutal temperament, or of old or sick people who are a burden upon the settlement". Punishment, seen as retaliation or from a standpoint of general prevention like f.i. imprisonment, is, I believe, seen as indeed a horrible thing but also as something equally unreasonable and insensible.

Seen in this light, HOEBEL's data on Eskimo law, as well as other pertinent research data, can be better understood. For I feel that BIRKET-SMITH's few remarks give us the answer to the question what motivation the community

needs to take or explicitly approve any action - passive or active - against one of its members and that the infraction of a norm is no prerequisite for any such action. This explains why these communities can on the one hand cause the death of a man merely since he is old or invalid, and on the other hand remain entirely passive as such if one of its members is murdered by another. The community seems to act only when safety, security, quiet and order are felt to be in imminent danger: and even then its action is essentially passive.

As a rule, the Padlermiut and the Ahearimiut seem to maintain a fine and peaceful social existence. Though justice does not seem to be regarded by them as something that should be maintained, if necessary, with the help of physical coercion (or, rather, though justice as an abstract concept is unknown among them), there is a common and strong feeling for fair and reasonable practices in routine daily interactions. Selfcriticism, realism, common sense and a happy absence of "righteousness" govern their secular activities.

But, to us structure seems to be lacking to administer this fairness in case of repeated, habitual and troublesome violations, except by various degrees of social disapproval and avoidance, and in extreme cases by more or less impulsive killings either as a private or as a direct (or indirect) communal action (it should be repeated that no cases have been reported of the latter as yet, though I feel that such action is conceivable among these people). There is no social control on the legal level: and this absence does not seem to harm their present social life except in the rare case when they have to deal with a habitually troublesome camp member or neighbour, who has enough character to face the disapproval and contempt of the others.

It should be clear that, even if we cannot speak of "law" among these Eskimos, it would be quite wrong to call them "law-less" in the sense which some people like to give to this term when they think of societies quite different from their own. These Eskimos do have definite opinions on right and wrong and their small societies do manage to carry on cheerfully by the force of mere custom *), governed by common sense and a strong "sympathie sociale". Their traditionally small numbers, scattered existence and hazardous natural conditions of life might hardly enable them to develop an indigenous system of laws as most other peoples have developed in the course of their history.

- *) That the feeling behind "mere custom" can be as strong as those behind "law" can be illustrated by an example of a people which knows both law and custom: the Tswana of Bechuanaland, on whose law and custom SCHAPERLA (1938) wrote his well known book. On page 38 of that book, the author gives the following example: "If a man cohabits with an unmarried woman and makes her pregnant, her parents are entitled to claim damages from him; if he cohabits with a woman married to someone else, her husband is entitled to damages; while if he violates a woman forcibly he will be punished for rape. His behaviour in all these instances is controlled by law. On the other hand, there is nothing in law to prevent him from sleeping with a menstruating woman, particularly if she is his own wife. The action in itself will not bring him within the jurisdiction of the courts. Nevertheless, very few Tswana men will ever dare to sleep with such a woman, even if married to her, as it is firmly believed that they will then become afflicted with a virulent form of sickness. So strong is this belief that many a girl has been able, temporarily at least, to escape the desires of an ardent but unwelcome lover by pleading menstruation as an excuse. In this particular instance the man's behaviour is controlled by custom, which in its own sphere may thus be no less effective than law".

Our thoughts go out to what might become the future of these Padlermiut and Ahearimiut hunting nomads, who are perhaps least influenced of all Eskimos by the advance of the white man and his works. It is true that their traditional life has been influenced by Christianity (Padlermiut), by fox trapping and its consequences, and by government assistance and interference. But to most of those whom I met, life still seems meaningful and worth living, and to a number of Christians the new values have added even new meaning to life. It is this invaluable condition of their social integration, for the preservation and development of which Canadian administration is to create the conditions: a delicate but extremely worth while task. For all money spent on education and technical development of these people will be wasted, if it does not contribute to give meaning to life, as they, i.e. the Eskimos, see it. And one manner to ascertain how they see these things - and a fairly democratic manner at that - is to involve the best and most respected among these Eskimos in the discussion on their present and future ^(*)). This, as I understand, is the present and courageous policy of Canadian Eskimo administration; if sincerely and intelligently implemented, the inevitable advance of the white man's influence from the south will adaptively modify Eskimo culture (no culture in history has ever been entirely stable), but will not destroy the delicate fabric of its social integration. Only along this path, an administration can in the future avoid the danger which was so well expressed by LANTIS (1954: 82): "...in the social change, despite some new social identifications, the Eskimo still suffers an absolute loss. We must realize that there is not only physiological malnutrition, there is also such a thing as social malnutrition. A person may not be getting enough respect, assurance of being wanted, or prestige to nourish his morale, to keep him going as a self-respecting person".

Attachment II to this report provides an occasion to devote some additional thought to this paramount question in so far as it touches my assignment. ^(**) Here, I might be allowed to finish this report by quoting from VINOGRADOFF's article on "Customary Law" in "The Legacy of the Middle Ages" (1926: 287) which, I think, is pertinent if we meditate upon what Canadian administration can contribute to a harmonious development of Eskimo "legal concepts": "Men's conduct is regulated by two forces - by their habits of mind and by compulsion from outside authority. The latter may appear in the form of commands sanctioned by penalties, but even such "laws" require generally a measure of support from the opinion and habits of the people subjected to them, in order to function successfully. Laws repugnant to the notions of right of a community or to its practical requirements are likely to be defeated by passive resistance and by the difficulty of constant supervision and repression. On the contrary, when public opinion and moral training dispose men to consider certain relations to be normal or certain acts to be reprehensible, these convictions and habits form, as it were, a conventional soil on which the various legal rules can be firmly established. In advanced civilizations the complicated fabric of social relations requires an extensive framework of laws, formulated and applied by professional experts, while in earlier stages the balance has to be drawn the other way: the rules of human conduct stand in immediate contact with public opinion and social custom".

^(*) During my research, a firm conviction grew with me that both at the Coast and inland a number of Eskimos could be found who would be eminently capable to serve as "consultants" on the present and future of their own people, provided that they are sincerely and intelligently involved in such a project.

^(**) The same problem in principle, but greatly magnified, has been and is now faced in other non-Western parts of the world. As regards Africa, interesting discussions on this issue appeared recently in the publication of the international symposium on the Future of Customary Law in Africa (IDENBURG 1956).

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★) Quotations are made from the 1936 English translation; comparison with the 1948 German translation showed that the passages quoted had meanwhile not been revised.

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★★★) Rare examples of a combination of scientific responsibility and literary talent.

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★) Mr. MOWAT's book is the only publication dealing with the Eskimos which I visited in the Interior; after reading the book, however, I was left with the impression that it has not been the intention of its author, that the book be used as source material.

★★) Local unavailability of the English translation has forced me to use the German edition. (The German title "Thulefahrt" is misleading, since the book has the same contents as "Across Arctic America".)