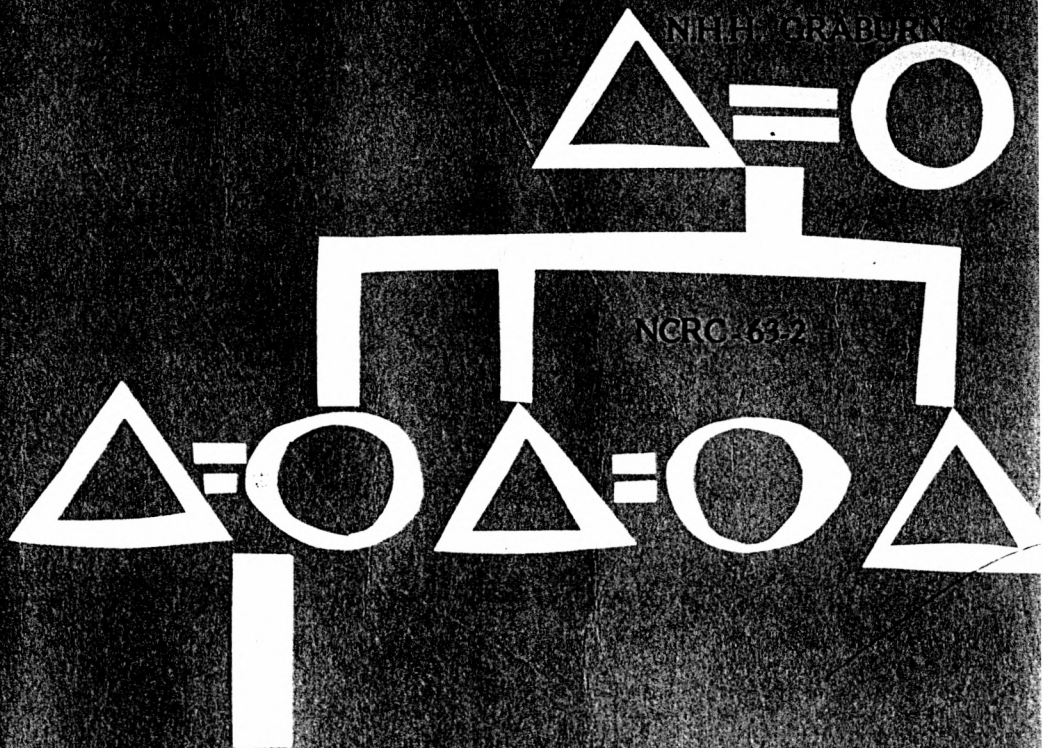


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LAKE HARBOUR, BAFFIN ISLAND

An introduction to the social and economic  
problems of a small Eskimo community.

by

J.H.H. Graburn

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

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

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

February, 1963.

## PREFACE

Lake Harbour is a small Eskimo settlement, located at 62°51'n, 69°53'W. It lies some 75 miles south-west of Frobisher Bay, on the Meta Incognita Peninsula, and a number of the inhabitants of the Lake Harbour area have moved to Frobisher Bay. Mr. Graburn visited the settlement in the summer of 1960, and submitted a report on it in the following year. During the summer of 1962, an officer of the Industrial Division of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, carried out a survey of the resources of the Lake Harbour region, in order to plan the future of the community. Mr. Graburn's report illustrates many of the problems of small, traditional, resource-based settlements in the North that have been influenced by the settlement and development of newer settlements. It is this context, rather than as an exhaustive social and economic survey, that this report should be read.

The 1961 Census recorded 34 persons as residents of Lake Harbour proper, with a total population of 117 persons residing in three camps just east of Lake Harbour, and one camp about 100 miles away.

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## INTRODUCTION

During the past half decade the most outstanding social feature in the whole Eastern Arctic has been the immense rate of growth of the Eskimo community at Frobisher Bay, N.W.T. The bulk of this expansion has not been due to natural increases, but to an unprecedented immigration from nearby communities. Of these communities, Lake Harbour has contributed the largest proportion of its former population for a number of reasons which will be analysed later. While the population of Frobisher Bay has grown from about 425 to about 1,000 from 1954-60, the corresponding figures for Lake Harbour are 270 and 110.

Concern over this situation has been expressed by administrators and others, both in official correspondence and in personal communications. In the main this stems from practical considerations, rather than from the oft expressed lament over the "passing of the old way of life", and these are basically:-

- (1) The unforeseen size, and rate of growth, of the Frobisher Bay settlement, leading to major problems of housing, employment, social control, morals, morale, administration and economics etc.
- (2) Conversely, the rapid demise of Lake Harbour has led to some of the agencies there "packing their bags", a sense of insecurity amongst the Eskimo population, and the threat of the immediate disappearance of the whole community. This would not be so bad if it were not for the fact that Lake Harbour is one of the few places left with abundant natural resources, and has a fairly good social and economic base and potentialities.

Those who know the area well have expressed these opinions in stronger terms, e.g. "It would be a crime to let Lake Harbour die..." "It is a beautiful and well-located settlement and it is unthinkable that we let it die..."

In the summer of 1960 I was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre specifically to make a study of this community. While, perhaps, my major concern was not to seek answers to administrative problems, the report and analysis of the situation can, I hope, be of help, and will provide answers to some of the problems of Lake Harbour.

In many ways this report expands, perhaps with a deeper perspective, the excellent but brief report, of Mr. Hughes the summer teacher. (Hughes, 1960)

The outstanding features of the present Lake Harbour community in 1960 may be summarized as follows:

- (1) A great decline in the population of the area in the past few years, from 250-300 to around 100.<sup>1</sup>

---

1 The population includes those Eskimos who do or did trade into Lake Harbour store, extending along the coast from Pritzler Harbour in the East to Amadjuak in the West.

- (2) The (consequent) great and general concern amongst the Eskimo population about its future, in particular, about the actions and policies of the Hudson's Bay Co. and other White agencies.
- (3) The generally abundant sea mammal and other resources, capable of supporting a far larger population than that present. The sea mammals are even said to be on the increase in certain areas since the relative depopulation of the coastline.
- (4) The consequent conservatism in adherence to many traditional patterns of camp organization and the yearly cycle of life.
- (5) The effectiveness of the present system of leadership and authority in dealing with most social and economic matters without recourse to the advice or orders of white agents.
- (6) The almost complete absence of "post living", and the great rarity of all forms of relief and the need for them except on an occasional temporary basis.

#### THE HISTORY OF CONTACT

The people of the Lake Harbour area have long been in contact with whites. By the turn of the century whaling ships were making regular annual calls, and employing many Eskimos in whaling and mica-mining operations. This ceased with the advent of World War I, but other agencies had moved in by then. First came the Anglican Mission in 1909, whose efforts seem paternalistic and very successful, and to judge by the present situation, deeply engrained and integrated with the extant social and cultural institutions. The Hudson's Bay Co. opened a permanent store in 1911, and encouraged fox trapping to the exclusion of other winter activities. Though their store was long considered a "show place" of the Arctic, the trapping activities are less firmly based, and depend much more on the economic rewards. However they have had, since then, an almost complete monopoly of the trading activities of the Eskimos of the area. The R.C.M.P. set up their post in 1924, and took over certain functions from the Company and added some of their own; their influence has not been nearly as great as the above two agencies.

Between the wars, the settlement flourished, with an area population of around 300. A number of other white agents lived there for some time, notably the late Dr. Dewey Soper of the Dept. of the Interior, and a Company post also flourished at Amadjuak. During World War II, trapping became less important, and a U.S.A.F. Radio Station was located in the settlement for four years. After the war, this was abandoned and a Nursing Station was built and put into operation. This was run at first by Anglican Church personnel, and was later taken over by the Department of National Health and Welfare. Unfortunately, lack of understanding on the part of the Eskimos, and practical and personality difficulties on the part of the whites, curbed the success of this project. The resulting lack of co-operation was followed by the closing of the station in 1953. The other significant introduction since the war has been the boat-building project. This was



set up by Mr. Thorpe in 1953 for the Dept. of Northern Affairs, and has since been run under the supervision of the Company. It is still in operation, and continues to provide a useful source of income and employment to a small number of skilled Eskimos.

With the decline in population since the late 1950's, one agency after another has left, or is considering leaving. The Nursing Station was the first, and was followed by the Anglican Mission which decided that by 1960, its services were more urgently required in Cape Dorset. This leaves the Hudson's Bay Company and the R.C.M.P. the sole remaining permanent agencies. The former has for some years been considering leaving because the volume of trade is such that the profit is negative. Though they admit it "would be a pity" and they have delayed decisions from year to year, they will probably leave within a year or two if the volume of trade does not improve. The R.C.M.P. similarly is loath to leave and has considerable investment in its property there; however they have relatively very little to do, and the growing size of Cape Dorset would certainly cause a move if the Company left. The innovation of the Summer School in 1960 may have done a little to stabilize the deteriorating situation, but, though continued, it is by itself not enough to stop either Eskimos or whites completely deserting the post. Other proposed innovations are discussed in the last section of this report.

#### POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF LAKE HARBOUR AND AREA

Population counts of the area have been taken or estimated from the 1880's on. The area seems to have contained between 250 and 330 right up until 1954. Recent figures show the decline:

Table I: Population Decline 1956-1960

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
237	243	Jan. Dec. 174 140	(June) 126	July 120

This last figure includes about 10 residents who were away in hospital, but there was no certainty that they would return to Lake Harbour on release. The age and sex breakdown shows some fairly typical characteristics:

Table II: Age and Sex Breakdown

	Lake Harbour	Sugluk (1959)	Canada (1956)
Under 15	46%	45%	32%
Over 49	10%	9.3%	18.5%
	Males	Females	
Over 40	16	9	
Under 10	12	26	

Table III: Birth and Death Rates

	Lake Harbour	Tuktoyaktuk (1957)	Canada (1957)
Birth rate per 1,000	50	85	28.4
Death rate per 1,000	30		8.2

This rate did not decrease significantly during the period the nursing station was in operation.

Table IV: Annual Net Emigration As Percentage of Total Population

1938-47	1948-57	1958-60
4.4	3.9	17.9

Table V: Fertility. Average for 1953-60

	Lake Harbour	Sugluk (1955-59)	Frobisher Bay (1957)	Canada (1957)
Live births per 1,000 women aged 15-45	244	261	256	109

Table VI: Illegitimacy:

Lake Harbour	Port Harrison	Canada (1955)
(Children under 20) nil (2% in this century)	9.6%	3.8%

DISEASE AND MORTALITY

Most of these data area derived from the same sources as the above --the R.C.M.P. Birth and Death Certificates 1928-60 and extensive genealogies taken by the author. The older the data, the less reliable it is.

Table VII: Life Expectancy

Life Expectancy:	1938-47	1948-57	1958-60	Port Harrison
At birth	17.0	20.0	22.3	20.5
At 1 year	21.8	26.0	33.5	31.6

Table VIII: Age at Death (as percentages of total deaths):

	1938-47	1948-57	1958-60
0 to 1 year	21	22	30 (approx.)
1 to 4 years	24	18	0
5 to 20 years	21	16	27
Adult	35	43	53

Table IX: Causes of Death

(Figures for 1958-60 are too small for much reliability):

	1928-60	1948-57	1958-60
Pneumonia	23.7%	7.9%	47%
Tuberculosis	9.7%	12.5%	3.3%
Childbirth	4.3%	3.4%	6.7%
Accidental	6.3%	2.3%	0
"Old Age"	5.4%	0	0
Meningitis	2.9%	2.2%	0
Botulism	4.3%	0	6.7%
Other causes	6.6%	13%	6.7%
Unknown	30%	49%	13.3%

The outstanding features of table IX are the high proportion of "unknown" causes, the high incidence of respiratory ailments and T.B., of which the latter is endemic, and the former are brought in regularly by visitors leading to annual epidemics. "Other causes" includes non-endemics such as mumps, measles and whooping cough. Actually the techniques for diagnosis leave much to be desired, and too much reliance should not be placed on any but the most obvious of the above figures. There have been only two cases of starvation (included under "Accidental") in the past 32 years. These concerned two small children in the winter; it is not known whether this case was accidental or voluntary. Malnutrition may, of course, have contributed to a number of deaths from other causes.

#### COMMUNITY HEALTH

Pneumonia and T.B. still remain the scourges of the Eskimo. The latter is being alleviated by the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol, though many "carriers" are never detected till it is too late. The former results from organisms of respiratory ailments brought in by nearly every white visitor. The removal of people to sanatoria down South causes much social and emotional upheaval, particularly for those left behind, but as yet no other means of combatting T.B. has been found. Skin diseases, such as impetigo, occur amongst the children but are not disabling. No vermin were found (a fact on which the Lake Harbour Eskimos pride themselves) and personal hygiene seemed fairly good (at least in the summer). Botulism has

occurred in the area. The most significant outbreak was in 1946 when a large proportion of a winter camp was wiped out from eating infected meat. The 6.7% for 1958-60 represents one case that occurred during the summer of 1960, again from meat that had been kept uncooked too long.

The health of Lake Harbour is not "good"; it may even be worse than other settlements. The R.C.M.P. are in charge of dispensing medications now. The paths to better health are twofold:--

(1) Better communication with the agents of cure, especially in cases of emergency. This could halve the deaths due to communicable diseases in the summer. Perhaps in the winter each camp could be issued with a simple emergency radio for such purposes.

(2) More importantly, better health education. This would entail effort on the part of both Eskimos and whites. Such co-operation seems to have been less than good, except during the summer of 1960. The Eastern Arctic Patrol Report 1958 noted:--"There is apparent disorganization and lack of communications between the Eskimos and the whites... In some cases of death, malnutrition may have been a contributory factor."

#### THE ROUND OF LIFE

This section includes pertinent background data on the daily and annual cycles, and the social life cycle. The present population is a curious mixture of "sophistication" and "primitiveness", perhaps more so than other settlements. At least 25% have visited Frobisher Bay (and returned) within the past 5 years with some consequent influence.

#### The Seasons

The present population is, from choice "camp and hunting" orientated, and there is no such thing as the "post parasite". From November or earlier all except three families, whose heads are permanently employed, live in camps. Though there used to be 15 to 20 camps, there are now only five of which four are in the North Bay area and the other in Aberdeen Bay. The usual hunting methods are employed, while some men go inland to trap. During the spring the camps generally break-up and the men move out on to the ice for the excellent hunting. A few families drift into the settlement to get occasional wage employment such as is available in the "spring clean-up". Soon after break-up, most of the families move into the settlement, or nearby, to wait for the "C.D. Howe" and the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship. Hunting and fishing are very good at this time, and most men spend their free time away from the post. The people who do not have jobs move out on to the land again once the ships have come and gone and they have traded for more supplies. This exodus is eagerly awaited, and late ships cause great irritation. Some of the families will hunt in the North Bay area all the year round, while others go over to Markham Bay and strike inland for the caribou in the Amadjuak Lake area; this area is also excellent for seal hunting. Then back to the coastal camps for the winter.



### Daily Routine

Daily life is much as in other settlements where hunting is a major activity. The hours of going to bed and getting up are mainly determined by the season and the sun. Work, sleep, and recreation may take place at any convenient times. The wage employees "go home for lunch" though the hunters may stay out for the day or days. There is no "night life." Trading is done in money, not tokens. The trading of large bundles of skins or pelts is a big affair, and the whole camp with the wives turn up to deliberate on the prices and the supplies needed. Recreation is very spontaneous and group games arise during most of the summer evenings. Visiting and chatting occur at any time. No gambling of any sort was observed in spite of the examples of the local whites and the patterns at Frobisher Bay. Quite a number of radios are owned and used in the evenings, and musical instruments are played by most young people. Wrestling and archery are "traditional" Eskimo recreation very popular with young people. Weekly occasions include at times, church, dances or films, though only the former seems to draw the maximum enthusiasm.

### Living Conditions

Clothing and footwear are surprisingly "sophisticated.". They are generally adequate to good; caribou clothing is adequate for all the hunters, with some to spare. From May to October the families live in duck cloth tents, generally large and adequate. One camp, however, had poor tents in need of repair. Utensils seemed adequate and the soapstone kadlik was in use everywhere (though some were made of metal.) In winter all the camp people live in wooden frame houses covered with double duck cloth between which is moss for insulation; the snow is banked up outside. These "houses" have many features, but are poor in comparison with those of the three employed families. The latter houses are of frame and plank insulated construction, with electricity and two or more rooms. They are better than the usual rigid frame type found elsewhere, except perhaps in insulation. The housing is almost certainly better than that at Ikaluit (Frobisher Bay) in all respects.

### Food and Diet

Nearly all meats are cooked (boiled). Bannock is cooked over the sea-oil lamp and probably forms 30% of the total calorie intake. Relatively little store food of other kinds is consumed except powdered milk for children. As ever, tea, made in the kettle is consumed in vast quantities. Adult protein (meat/fish) intake was estimated to average  $1\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. per day. Vitamin deficiencies were not apparent so presumably meat, eggs, liver, etc. supply adequate amounts. While the diet is judged to be adequate for the hardy life led, this does not mean that there are no times of want--capricious weather of difficult ecological conditions can occur at most times of the year, causing hunger if food stocks are inadequate. This happened during August 1960 when the ice was blown back into the inlet after break-up preventing boats getting out to North Bay and requiring a long walk by land. It was during this period that the fatal case of botulism appeared.



### Material Luxuries

A number of items were seen which were not available at the local store, e.g. handbags ("purses"), electric razors, bread-boxes, an electric toaster etc. These probably came either from the store at Frobisher Bay or from some resident white, probably the missionary. In addition a number of the "usual luxuries" were quite common,--nine radios, eight record players, seven accordions and, surprisingly seven cameras. In these goods Lake Harbour is more "sophisticated" than larger communities such as Sugluk, P.Q. and Port Harrison, P.Q.

### THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA

Economic factors are vital in controlling nearly all other aspects of life. In this sphere the Eskimos of Lake Harbour have been more fortunate until recently than their neighbours. The economy of a settlement can in no way be looked upon as an "independent unit" any more. It is--especially for the mobile Eskimos--very much bound up with the whole area, and indeed the world. Though much of the subsistence economy is intact, the means to pursue it now depend almost entirely on the goods and money of "civilization." However, in the former sphere, Lake Harbour is fortunate in being endowed with all but one (the Musk Ox) of the game species found in the Eastern Arctic, many of them in some quantity.

### Hunting, Fishing and Gathering

The sea mammal resources of the area particularly the seals are good. According to Maclaren, (1958) the coastal area near Lake Harbour is capable of giving a maximum sustained yield (a low estimate here) of 3,500 Ringed Seal, and 200 Bearded Seal. Though some of the seal will be lost through sinking, the equivalent will be made up by the catch of the rarer Harp Seal. These yield a total of 80,000 pounds of meat and liver, 20,000 pounds of dog food and 95,000 pounds of fat. Using his figures, these amounts would be able to support an efficient hunting population of some 55 families, or 250-300 people. This does not take into account the other land, sea and air resources. In fact in the period June 1959 to June 1960 30 hunters traded 865 Ringed Seal and Silver Jar, 440 common seals and 22 Bearded Seals. The latter two figures are a relatively small proportion of the total obtained, as the rest of the skins are used by the Eskimos themselves for making boots, lines, dog traces, etc.

Other sea resources are rarer. Walrus and White Whale are only killed in small quantities, the estimated numbers being 20 and 30 annually in recent years. They contribute significantly, however, to dog and human food needs, especially when cached for the winter.

### Fish (Arctic Char)

Arctic Char occur in a number of rivers and streams in the area, especially around break-up and in the fall. The estimated total take in recent years is 5-10,000 lbs. annually, which is approx. 10-15% of the total safe maximum annual yield for all the sources of this coast.

Shell-fish and Crustacea are hardly ever taken for food, though in times of need, some of the former may be gathered at low tide.

Caribou was formerly most important in the economy, but its range (and probably numbers) have diminished during the first half of this century. They are only available to the Lake Harbour people by hunting inland off the Markham and Amadjuak Bay areas, where formerly there were many more camps than in the past 5 years. The average annual catch is in the region of 20-35 which supplies enough skins for most clothing purposes, but does not add significantly to the food resources.

Other land animals (except for fox) are of little significance. Twelve Polar Bears were killed in Winter 1959-60; this figure is above average. Weasels and hares are reasonably common locally, but are not of much economic or nutritional value.

During the seasons of migration, birds are killed in quite large numbers. Certain localities are good nesting sites, and large quantities of eggs are taken during the early summer. They are eaten cooked or raw, in all stages of development, but do not seem to be preserved in any way.

Wood is not native to the area, though there are some dead fir trees in the Soper River valley. Supplies are comparatively abundant from the old Radio Station, the H.B. Co. operations and the boat-building leftovers, and have been used to build wood houses for all families in the winter.

#### The Money Economy

A steady money income is very necessary for the population to make use of the resources mentioned above, and a large one for those not making use of them. The area obtains its incomes from a very mixed bag of resources, and the recent history may best be seen from the following table.<sup>1</sup>

Table X	<u>SOURCES OF CASH INCOME</u>				
	<u>1955-6</u>	<u>1956-7</u>	<u>1957-8</u>	<u>1958-9</u>	<u>1959-60</u>
Sealskins	7,000	8,000	5,000	4,000	3,000 (approx.)
Trapping	6,800	7,900	7,000	3,400	7,500
Handicrafts	4,000	2,900	1,200	2,200	1,700
Wage Labour	14,100	13,700	11,700	11,600	8,900
Unearned	12,000	11,500	11,000	7,000	5,500
Total	44,000	48,000	36,000	33,000	26,000

Table XI	<u>POPULATION AND PER CAPITA INCOME 1955-60</u>				
	<u>1955-6</u>	<u>1956-7</u>	<u>1957-8</u>	<u>1958-9</u>	<u>1959-60</u>
Population	250	240	240	150	120 (approx.)
Income per capita	\$175	\$200	\$150	\$220	\$215

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these figures were kindly supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company, Arctic Division, Winnipeg.

### Sealskins

Though the prices are low (about \$4 for Silver Jar and Bearded, \$1 for common) large enough quantities are sold above the traditional needs to form a reasonable proportion to the total income. In addition, much meat is gathered at the same time, and most of the population think that seal hunting in this area is very profitable money-wise, better than trapping or boat-building in terms of effort over gain.

### Trapping

Foxes are fairly common in this area, though never abundant. The relatively low prices (average \$11 per pelt since 1945) make it an unprofitable occupation for all but a few men, as there is no meat or other useful product for their consumption. Some have said that they only trap to "keep the H.B.Co. happy" knowing that they depend on the latter institution, and it depends on furs.

### Carving and Handicraft

This is very limited, and only a few men engage in this occupation to increase their income significantly. Though soapstone and some ivory is available, the great majority of men consider it unprofitable except when weather or other circumstances preclude all other forms of earning. The effort brings only 5-15¢ per hour for all except the most skilful. Only one man, Davidii, a fine ivory etcher, has the requisite skill and interest to make it anything but a part-time occupation. Much encouragement will be needed to find the necessary talent and interest to make a significant addition to the area economy, at least amongst the 1960 population. The market is so variable and tends to become saturated or flooded with low quality articles, and it would only be practical and fair to encourage the best talent.

### Wage Employment

The only permanent posts in Lake Harbour are those for assistants to the H.B. Co., R.C.M.P. and the Department of National Health and Welfare I.N.H.S. As is unfortunately usual in Northern settlements, these are all held by members of the same family (father, son and son-in-law.) They are consequently materially better off than nearly everyone else. However they are not completely satisfied with this, and one may go back to the "country" life.

### The Boat Building Project

Started in 1953 by Mr. Thorpe, this is now under the aegis of the H.B.C. However, the manager takes very little interest in the affair and it is really run by the Eskimos themselves. The pay is low, though changed recently to piece-rate, and four men are employed for the summer each year. Though the total output and income have not changed



much in the past 8 years, the contribution to the total income has risen from 6.8% to 13.4% because of the smaller population. There are plenty of orders, but the tools are primitive and output slow. The Eskimos, though trained and skilled, say that in general they would make more money hunting during this period, but that they keep on to "please the Company" which might leave if they stopped. They consider the pay (\$90-120 per month) very low. If the project could be expanded, better tools provided, and perhaps extended through the winter by better building(s), the pay could be higher and the project, though successful now could make a much greater contribution to the economy of Lake Harbour, and indeed to the Eastern Arctic. It is ideal in that it provides needed products for its own area, without the money all being drained off down South. Furthermore it operates with little subsidy.

#### Other Employment

Casual jobs are available to most men at some time in the summer, but produce little more than good hunting would. Furthermore, the numbers employed depend very much on the total numbers present. Wage Labour has declined as well as population in the recent years. With a rise in population, and perhaps the number of operating agencies, the employment would presumably automatically climb again.

#### Unearned Income

This includes Family Allowance, Relief and Pensions. Only the first is a significant factor in the total income of the majority of families. It is often saved for capital goods, and can be drawn on in emergencies. However, some families, who have been elsewhere, say they should be given cash as at Frobisher Bay; this would allow them greater freedom in how it is spent than the R.C.M.P. now gives. Relief is rare, and practically unknown to many, and pensions only apply to the privileged few.

#### The Real Per Capita Income

In making comparisons here between Lake Harbour and other settlements, the per capita income is not enough. Allowance must be made for the money equivalent of the traditional products that would have to be bought as essentials in places less well endowed with "country" food, or by those engaged in more wage labour. Though these calculations are in no way really accurate, they should form good guides to those concerned with real standards of living.

Table XII

#### COMPARATIVE HOUSEHOLD INCOMES

	Frobisher Bay	Lake Harbour	Sugluk	Port Harrison
Income per household from the land (adjusted)	\$200	350	230	300
Total annual income per household (approx. average)	\$2,400	1,720	1,480	1,350

This shows that although a large proportion of the Eskimos at Frobisher Bay are better off (materially) than those at Lake Harbour, many there and the majority at Sugluk and Port Harrison are not. This is reflected in the proportion of capital goods, and material luxuries found in these settlements.

### Hunting Equipment

The welfare of at least 85% of the present families depends on hunting. Although the population "has it easy" with respect to the abundance of many resources, the maintenance of the equipment and efficiency of hunting is of a far higher standard than I have seen or heard of in other "acculturated" communities.

### Boats

These are essential to much hunting and travel, and a comparative table will emphasize the overall situation.

Table XIII A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF BOAT OWNERSHIP IN  
LAKE HARBOUR AND NEIGHBORING ESKIMO SETTLEMENTS

Type	No.	Households with: No.	Hunter per boat		
			Lake H.	Sugluk	Frobisher Bay
Peterhead	1	3	27	35	150
Trap Boat	1	5	27	0	150
Whaleboat	2	2	14	35	71
"Runabout"	3	2	9	8	5.6
Canoe	7	7	4	14	3.1
Kajak	1	1	27	-	-

Table XIII shows the dependence on hunting in these three places, though the Frobisher Bay figures may seem high in that many "rich" employees can afford good boats, but do not use them nearly as thoroughly as at Lake Harbour. McLaren has pointed out the varying efficiency of each type for hunting:

"the canoe..gives twice the kill per hunter per day (2 men per canoe) compared with powered Peterheads and Whaleboats. However the Peterhead produces more seals per boat per day (4-6 hunters per boat) and has smaller overhead costs." (McLaren 1958: 74-5)

This should be taken into account when considering the needs of any particular settlement for hunting uses. The larger boats also score in terms of transportation costs and in adverse weather conditions. It has been suggested that Fibreglass should be used for Arctic boats instead of wood. Fibreglass does not appear to last as long as wood, and I believe such craft are less stable. However, should the need arise, the men of the boat-building project could easily be re-trained to use the new material.



Guns

The hunters of Lake Harbour are fairly well supplied with guns, and have modern firearms including .22 semi-automatics; .222s, Winchester .270's, but very few shot guns. Comparisons are:

Table XIV Guns per Hunter in Some Eskimo Settlements

Lake Harbour	Sugluk (1959)	Frobisher Bay (1958)
2.9	1.7	1.6

Sleds and Dogs

Sleds are adequate in numbers, and so were dogs until the epidemic of Spring 1960 which killed 78% of them.

Table XV Dogs per Hunter at Some Eskimo Settlements

Lake Harbour	Sugluk	Frobisher Bay
(1958)		2.7
(1959)	5.9	
(1960)	1.3	

This was a severe blow to many families and limited their travel, trapping and, to some extent, their hunting. Efforts to procure more were made, but were unsuccessful. It will take at least three years for their numbers to become adequate again.

Other Equipment

Harpoons, fish-nets etc. seen to be adequate. It might be profitable to make available some whale (or seal) nets to be owned and used co-operatively by camps in a few areas. There are none at present.

RELIGION

The Anglican Mission was set up, and has been fairly continuously occupied, since 1909. The last incumbent left in 1960 and is unlikely to return though all buildings etc. are in good shape and used. The present population is deeply involved in the Church. No other missions have been set up, and all the people are practising Anglicans. The Church is run by a small number of chosen men who may be called the "power élite" of Lake Harbour, and who, in most cases, are also Camp leaders. They run the Church services and other matters, control morals and some social life, and run Sunday school while training younger men to take over later. The whole system is very self-sufficient and does not need a missionary for anything but communication or confirmation. It is thoroughly integrated with the traditional authority structure (in fact 50% of these men had an angagua as a parent) which will be discussed later.

The most important secular contribution of the missionary was the introduction of syllabic writing, together with some other general education. All the present adults and most children are literate in Eskimo, and the power élite runs classes to teach the younger people syllabics and to keep up the standard of the Eskimo language!

There seems to be little or no knowledge of the traditional religion and spirits. The people were shocked to hear (from the author) that the Sugluk people still see tungait regularly. Services are held three times each Sunday in the settlement. In the camps they are held in tents, and singing hymns and reading the Bible seems to be major entertainment among many of the people in everyday life.

#### FORMAL EDUCATION

Until the establishment of the Summer School in 1960, little had been attempted or achieved in this sphere. Some children had learned some English when in hospital or other settlements, which helped them with their 1960 school work. However, in 1960, there was not one Eskimo whose Eskimo was good enough to be used as an interpreter except for the very simplest things. The effort of Mr. Hughes, the summer teacher, in 1960 were limited to three months, with constant interruptions. However, considerable interest was aroused and progress made. Many of the young adults attended the classes when they could. His emphases were not purely academic. Carpentry tools and instruction were made available. Dances were held, and some reasonably educational movies were shown.

However, presumably education given to the Eskimos should be functional, and that function should be to educate, not to "relieve mother... and provide warmth and one meal a day." (Willmott, 1961; 108) Presumably this education should have some bearing on the future needs of those educated. Willmott (1961:105) noted

"(the) manifest function (of formal education) of preparing children for adult life in Canadian society has no relation to the extant Eskimo society, where it serves an entirely different function..."

While it is remotely possible that future Eskimo society in the area may resemble that of the Canadian majority within the next few decades, the practical aspects cannot be ignored. Lake Harbour will need three or four interpreters, (if it does not disappear entirely) and only a few children present would ever be able to fulfill this job. These children might be better encouraged by special, more intensive courses in English. Elementary arithmetic is useful to the whole population, male and female. Certain more technical subjects, including cooking, mechanics, carpentry etc. will be very useful to some proportion of the population. It is hoped that efforts along these lines can be made in the same way as the boat-building project was initiated in 1953. Health education could be very usefully carried out in

The problems of full-time education, when so many of the families spend their time out in camps 150 miles along the coast-line, is difficult. A partial solution was effected by Miss Hinds the teacher at Port Harrison by duplicating lessons and questions. These could then be read and answered by the individual children, and brought back to the settlement by their parents on occasional trading visits, in exchange for a new set.

### MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Nearly all the households in Lake Harbour are of single nuclear families some of which have older or unmarried close relatives living with them. Very few have two nuclear families. The limitations are size of dwelling and conflict of roles. When there are more than one eligible and/or married women in a household, the younger will have her own kudlik lamp and cooking equipment. Older children tend to have separate beds or sleeping platforms, emphasizing their growing independence of their parents. Authority in the family generally devolves on the father, with the mother and other adults making contributions. The authority is gradually handed over to the younger generations as the parents' faculties become less acute, though this may not happen until they are well into their late fifties or sixties. There are very few intra-family conflicts.

### Marriage

Marriage is effected after a trial period, usually in the girl's household, during which the couple sleep together. It usually become permanent upon pregnancy of the fiancée, and there is no recorded illegitimacy amongst all the children under 20 in the present population. The marriage may later be solemnized in church, though this is not necessary.

All "normal" Eskimos get married, and there are only 2 men and one woman over 30 unmarried in Lake Harbour, (1960). Unfortunately there is a problem apparent in this sphere. Though the mechanisms are intact and functioning, the actual numbers of the sexes are unbalanced.

Table XVI

### MARRIAGE DATA

#### Married and Unmarried by Age Groups

	<u>15 to 20</u>	<u>20 to 30</u>	<u>30 to 40</u>
Men--married	0	5	6
unmarried	5	3	2
Women--married	2	7	6
unmarried	1	1	1 (un- suitable mentally)



This is reinforced by the fact that there are five widowers and one widow, twelve men over 40 and seven women. This causes social and physical frustration for many of the young men, and some have thought of going elsewhere to find wives. In fact, the uneven numbers themselves are due to selective emigration to Frobisher Bay. Of those who left to find a wife, either they have not returned at all, or they have returned unmarried. This may be, in fact, a greater reason for many going to Frobisher Bay, than many of the more obvious ones of size and employment. It is to be hoped that residents returning to Lake Harbour will include a number of unmarried women.

Other solutions to the problems are less desirable, involving polyandry, adultery, emigration, deaths, or waiting around for the eligible adolescent girls. It has been noted that the age of women at marriage has dropped to a new low (compared with the last 50 years) of 17 years recently, while that for men (21-22) has not dropped significantly.

#### Adoption

This takes place through the traditional patterns; it is pre-arranged and effected at, or near birth.

Table XVII      ADOPTION OF CHILDREN. LAKE HARBOUR AND  
NEIGHBOURING ESKIMO SETTLEMENTS

Lake Harbour	12.5% (of the children born in past 20 years)
Sugluk	15.3
Port Harrison	16.0
Frobisher Bay	16.7 (Includes some "boarders").

The rate at Lake Harbour is a little lower than elsewhere, which may be due to the fact that none of the children has been adopted out to post-menopausal couples as has commonly happened elsewhere. In general, the mechanism seems to work effectively, and there are no cases of "slave" adoption at all.

Generally, then, household and family life function smoothly, with no friction or delinquency. The socialization is permissive and the sense of responsibility and learning adult tasks takes place fairly young, but at a gradual rate.

#### CAMPS AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS OF AUTHORITY

The average household spends 65% of its time along the coast in hunting camps. This is their preferred way of existence, and it proves highly attractive at times, even to those with permanent employment. The distribution of these camps along the coastline has remained practically constant until the past 5-8 years. During the latter period, emigration has gradually denuded certain areas.

Table XVIII POPULATION DISTRIBUTION LAKE HARBOUR AREA  
1913, 1953, 1956, 1959

Area	Percentage of total population			
	1913	1953	1956	1959
Middle Savage Islands	19.5%	12%	8%	--
North Bay Area	15	29	53	78
Crooks Inlet Area	43	4	--	--
Markham Bay/Amadjuak	23	25	39	29

Owing to the decline in population, the North Bay area has no more households now than it had in previous decades. When asked why the population had moved in so close to the settlement, a number of men pointed out that it had not moved in, but that the area (North Bay) had always had a population fluctuating around the present number. Also they claimed that the area was quite capable of supporting 70-100 people living "off the land", and that the only comparable area along the coast was Markham/Amadjuak Bay--over 100 miles to the West. It is also significant that the two areas which have completely lost their inhabitants--Crooks Inlet/Wight Strait and Middle Savage Islands--are those with relatively simpler coastlines, less suitable for seal hunting. It is in these latter two areas that informants stated that walrus and white whale are more common seasonally. These large mammals are relatively rare now, and do not form the mainstay of the Fall/Winter economy as they used to, some fifty and more years ago.

The seals are still just as abundant, and provide a steady money income in addition to their traditional uses; this explains much of the present camp distribution. It is also significant that the two vacated areas are those where a large number of deaths occurred about the time of the start of the migration to Frobisher Bay. Some families of the 1960 population were considering moving out to winter near their former campsites in the Markham Bay area, citing good seal-hunting and the presence of nearby caribou as motives. This move was facilitated by the acquisition of a motor for the communal whaleboat, which had had to be sailed for some time previous to this.

#### Camp Structure

The number of winter hunting camps has declined from 15 to 6 in the past 50 years, and the number of households from 61 to 18. There has thus been a reduction in both the numbers of households per camp, and in people per household. The former is probably due to the greater present dependence on seal rather than the formerly abundant walrus, while the latter fact may be partly explained by the reduced pressure on materials for winter houses, i.e. wood, allowing more nuclear families to live in houses of their own since many of their relatives have left for Frobisher Bay. Ecological conditions may determine the camp size, but social and demographic factors determine membership. Nearly all of the present camps consist of groups of relatives centered on some large adult sibling group, the women joining the camps of



their husbands more frequently than vice versa. This pattern has not changed much in this area since the first records taken; however, in a few cases a camp group has been so depleted by the emigration of members of the original sibling group that it has been left too small to be economically viable. In which cases these "half camps" have joined up with others to form groups of more normal size. This in one case has caused some confusion of leadership, though no friction, but I think this was solved by the time I left the area in 1960. Because camp members are so closely related, courtship and marriage usually take place between members of adjacent camps, or during the summer when everyone is in the settlement for a time.

### Leadership

Each camp has a known leader. This leader is usually an older but active man whose hunting and social experience may be relied upon to provide guidance in both economic and spiritual matters. In fact, these leaders are also, in most cases, members of the "power élite" of the religious set-up and the supra-camp structure. They deal with many daily matters in Eskimo life, and are rarely concerned with White-Eskimo interactions which are relatively few anyhow. Their main functions may be summed up as follows:

1. The leader owns or is co-owner of the largest boat in his group, thereby, controlling much of the group's hunting and travel.
2. He has the final decision on movements between camps, hunting grounds and to and from the settlement, thereby controlling, partially, the trading, wage employment and medical attention of his group.
3. He supervises the sharing of the products of hunting, traditional and monetary. This, of course, also depends on the personalities involved.
4. He may co-ordinate and control the buying policies of the group, so essential for survival on relatively small incomes and expensive store wares. The head's wife may also have a large say in this.
5. He is always the first to be informed of any life crises amongst members of his group, and he has considerable influence in social matters such as marriage etc.
6. He has the final say in matters of emigration from the area, though in some cases he may be over-ridden and part of the group leaves anyhow. However he remains the leader whether he goes too, or is left behind.

The filling of the position of leader depends as much on experience and personality as it does on kinship relations, though the latter may back up the former. In addition to the responsibility, the leader gains some material and social advantages from his status, e.g. in sharing, or in being served at a meal when visiting.

Lake Harbour Community Structure

Above the camp level, the population has a feeling of unity from the fact that they all trade in one store, they are all inter-related, and in fact, the members enjoy face to face interaction with others of all camps more frequently than they do with any other Eskimos elsewhere. Co-ordination between all groups is sometimes seen in social and economic matters, and continually in religious matters. A group of the more powerful men was appointed by the missionary some time ago to look after church and moral matters when the missionary was absent. This group is self-sufficient and self-perpetuating. Its members are mainly camp leaders and the overlap appears in Table XIX.

Table XIX      Leaders of the Lake Harbour Eskimos. Winter 1959-60  
(In order of importance of their groups and the community)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Member of "Power Elite"</u>	<u>Camp Leader</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Quju	44	X	X	Aberdeen Bay leader; tightest group control.
Akavak	49	X	X	Settlement leader; "rich"; R.C.M.P. Assistant.
Anurak	66	X	X	Older leader of North Bay camp; good co-ordinator; formerly excellent hunter and navigator.
Napatchi	42	X	X	From Frobisher Bay; foreman of boat builders; consulted on moral matters, White-Eskimo relationships.
Kautcakuluk	54	(X)	X	Camp leader on and off; morally conscientious.
Qialukti	41		X	Powerful only as camp leader
Qaapik	34		(X)	Good hunter, former camp leader.

These men co-operate amongst themselves and with Whites. They are very quick to act when necessary, but are also deliberate in considering important plans and policies. It is the first four who "hold the reins". They keep a fairly tight hold on moral and social matters, and use their power and chosen younger men to bring deviants into line. They plan the community's religious activities, secular and religious training, and "groom" younger men to carry out their duties in the future. It is suggested that administrative affairs and planning be carried out in consultation with these men. Returning Eskimos will certainly consult them upon arrival in the community, before making important moves. They carry the weight of public opinion with them, and have a greater influence over group control than in any area I have ever heard of in the Eastern Arctic, except, perhaps, in the cases of the legendary Putaguk of Cape Dorset. It may fairly be said that if these men, or a majority of them decide to leave Lake Harbour, it will surely die. If they decide to stay, it will not.

### EMIGRATION--CAUSE AND EFFECTS

Lake Harbour may be thought of as either a weakened community, or as a community stretched between two geographical locations. Over 150 former Lake Harbour residents are now in Frobisher Bay, and the ties between the two places are almost as strong as the ties within one settlement. Of the present Lake Harbour population, 45% of their nuclear family relatives reside elsewhere, as do over 400% of their extended family relatives. No wonder that the community is "torn" in fact and in feeling. These figures are very high compared with other settlements, except, perhaps, Frobisher Bay itself, which has received so many recent immigrants and hence has similar ties.

The following analysis would apply equally well to many of the other large population movements that have taken, and may take place, in the Arctic.

Any acculturative situation can be analysed on a number of bases, amongst which one of the simplest and best might be called the "theory of Needs". (Gillen 1948) Acculturation involved the acceptance or rejection of new cultural "items" by one (or both) of two cultures in relatively long term contact. These items will be accepted if they are in some way "felt needs" and may be of two types (i) mechanisms for fulfilling needs which were fulfilled in other ways in the previous culture, but are judged to be better by the accepting group, or (ii) new needs that are promoted (consciously or unconsciously) by the innovators usually by the "dominant" culture. The latter type may replace or supplement those already present. A number of points and other situations underlie this.

1. The "whites" are the dominant, manipulating culture, and the Eskimos are the subsidiary, accepting people.

2. The relevant Whites are presumably specialists within their own culture, trained or experienced in such situations and in social manipulation in general. The Eskimos concerned are "normal" members of their own culture, trained to deal with a particular physical and social environment. They may be ill-equipped to deal with certain types of social innovations and make "poor" judgements (though less so than many other cultures under contact).

3. The acceptance/rejection by the Eskimos will be based on their former value system and therefore some knowledge of this is necessary. The "new" needs offered are determined by the value system of the innovators, but items offered are always a selected few from the total in their own culture, and are "tailored" to the situation.

The major "item" offered to the Lake Harbour Eskimos was the opportunity to live in the vastly different settlement at Frobisher Bay. This in turn could satisfy most old needs in new ways, and tended to create new needs. We may outline the major ones in each group:



I "Old Needs" satisfied by new behavior patterns (or thought to be satisfied.

- a. For procuring adequate livelihood for self and family.
- b. To live in a "healthy" community where the agencies upon which one depends are not threatened with extinctions, e.g. store, medical personnel etc.
- c. The need for sociability with one's friends and relatives, etc.

II New (or increased) Needs not readily available at Lake Harbour.

- a. For earning money fast, leading to better housing, clothing, etc.
- b. For freedom from the relative drudgery of camp life.
- c. For increased freedom from the authority of one's elders, etc. (at least amongst some younger people).
- d. For increased contacts with Whites, more rapid assimilation, better education, etc.
- 3. For choices of work opportunities, mate selection, recreation on a much wider scale than previously available etc., etc.

We may now outline the major factors that started and maintained the "exodus" to Frobisher Bay, with its:

- a. Demand for Wage Employment
- b. Relatively high rates of pay.
- c. Consequent material advantages, especially housing at the Apex site.
- d. Consequent relative ease in purchasing new and better hunting equipment, one of the major motives of many moves.
- e. Initially good hunting in the accessible Bay area.

The initial influx brought certain further factors to sustain the flow:

- a. The expanded schemes of the Department of Northern Affairs as a response, with increased demands for wage labour, and further housing plans.
- b. The presence there of friends and relatives, who, having "got in on the ground floor", sent favourable word back, encouraging further economically motivated moves.
- c. The felt loss of friends and relatives who had left, and the desire for re-establishment of these personal bonds, so important to Eskimos, at the expense of leaving the place of birth and familiarity.

Most of the economic motivation was initially to "get rich quick" with the high rates of pay etc., and to return "home" with superior hunting equipment, and material luxuries such as clothing and radios etc., however unforeseen difficulties arose regarding the return "homeward".

- a. With the acquisition of hard-earned good capital equipment, the transportation problem was beyond the means of most whose very ideas had been to go "temporarily" for this objective.

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- a. With the acquisition of hard-earned good capital equipment, the transportation problem was beyond the means of most whose very ideas had been to go "temporarily" for this objective.



- b. Unless large groups of kin or friends left together, they would again be breaking the very ties that many had moved in order to consolidate.
- c. Many new ties had been created in daily life at Frobisher Bay with people who were not originally Lake Harbour people, and who didn't intend going there at all.
- d. Many of the new ties were of a permanent and "divisive" kind, even with nuclear families. For instance, many of the Lake Harbour "children" married non-Lake Harbour people and did not want their parents to leave again.

Finally there are those for whom the Frobisher Bay situation fulfills old and new needs better than Lake Harbour did or could, and who would not return even with the opportunity, because:-

- a. They are materially more prosperous than ever before under the new cultural set-up. They may even have been poor hunters etc. and "marginal" Eskimos, who had, however, learned rewarding new trades in which they were successful, compared with those who might have excelled at camp life.
- b. Many people, especially amongst the youth, preferred the new way of life, with its "fast" social environment, greater choice of friends and relative freedom from the social control of their elders and former leaders.
- c. Amongst these are those who have embraced the new "values" of promiscuity, and later, drinking, while high wages and low costs have given rise to patterns of regular gambling.
- d. Many of the women were glad to be relieved of the arduous tasks of camp life, and were further relieved of many of the burdens of rearing their own children owing to lack of a school system in Lake Harbour.
- e. An increasing number of women, young and old, married and unmarried, have also been involved in illicit sexual relations with other Eskimos and members of the White community (which is predominantly male). Whether for drink, "fun" or monetary reward --all common--is not known. Many Eskimos tacitly approve this behaviour, while others voice fears, whether founded on jealousy or fact, that some Eskimo women prefer White men to Eskimo men.
- f. Some of the older people also prefer the life because of the lack of physical strain, and the constant available companionship and medical care.
- g. A contributory factor is the practise of flying old people from hospital to Frobisher Bay and no further, to await native transport or other irregular forms, back to their home settlement. Often

the wait is for months, and the older people get accustomed to the life, and call on their more healthy and easily transportable families to join them, rather than make the hazardous journey in the opposite direction.

The reverse of the above factors applied to Lake Harbour in many ways (and to other depleted settlements.)

- a. The lessened population at Lake Harbour meant lessened opportunities for wage labour with many of the agencies, hence economic insecurity.
- b. Certain agencies closed down (Nursing Station, then Mission) owing to the decline, decreasing Eskimo confidence in their own community, whilst new ones were opening all the time at Frobisher Bay.
- c. The fears culminate in the rumour of the closing down of the Company store, the back-bone of the dependent economy and the source of much money income. This fear is still present, voiced and grave, and is probably the most unsettling feature of the whole incomprehensible affair in the minds of the inhabitants.
- d. The continuing loss of kin and friends to Frobisher Bay further weakened the ties with the home community, allowing the economic and other factors to assume a greater relative importance.

Certain factors may or may not have been peculiar to Lake Harbour during this particular period.

- a. Hunting results were said to have been relatively bad in some areas, in the winters of 1956-1957, and trapping was said to have been bad in the winter 1957-58.
- b. A series of epidemics of respiratory diseases struck certain areas during this period, killing some heads of families. A number of widows and widowers left the areas for Frobisher Bay, where they presumed life would be easier in their bereavement where remarriage was possible.
- c. The section of the population that left was not a balanced demographic sample of the total population. In fact, many daughters of eligible age left with their families, being more dependent than the similar group of young men. Consequently the desire for obtaining a wife tipped the balance for a number of men, who had been thinking of leaving for economic reasons.

The whole affair, then, gained momentum, and in doing so provided further motives for further moves. The numbers of families that are thought to have left Lake Harbour annually are 18 in 1956-57, 14 in 1957-58, 9 in 1958-59 and 2 in 1959-60. The figures before 1956 are not available, but are thought to be smaller than subsequently.

In order to validate the above analysis, a control situation is necessary, one where the cultural "item" was not accepted and people did not take up the "offer" to move to Frobisher Bay. Luckily this occurs in the very same situation, in the cessation of the emigration to a trickle by 1960, and an analysis of this may provide comparative data. We must see how the patterns of "needs" ceased to be satisfied, or were finally displaced by a number of more important ones. Quite a number of the 1960 population had visited or lived in Frobisher, and returned, and their experiences are very important.

Factors tending to end the "exodus" to Frobisher Bay included:

- I After the first few years, as Frobisher Bay got more crowded, information reached Lake Harbour by letter and word of mouth, that:-
  - a. Wage Labour was not available to more than a few new applicants now.
  - b. Good housing was not available to most of the new arrivals.
  - c. Some people were thinking of leaving and the Government was thinking of assisting them.
  - d. Many unpleasant social and material phenomena had arisen, with consequent widespread social and emotional conflict.
  - e. Many unpleasant experiences with Whites were encountered, e.g. R.C.M.P. shooting of dogs, seduction of women under drink, etc.
  - f. The greatly reduced hunting and trapping opportunities.
- II Other factors, at the Lake Harbour end, increased the desire to "stay put" there, or come home again, including:-
  - a. The lessened overall hunting activities and consequent rise in seal populations, had increased the per capita catch.
  - b. The greatly increased per capita trapping income.
  - c. The increased per capita income, higher than many were getting in Frobisher Bay, from the above, and from an irreducible number of jobs amongst the agencies still left. The Real Income, adjusted for non-monetary materials, must be reckoned with here.
  - d. The coming of the summer school to Lake Harbour in 1960, possibly to be continued, restored confidence in their own settlement and in the Government policies.
  3. Talk of the continuance of the Company at Lake Harbour, along with the possible setting up of new institutions and the official discouragement of further emigration.

Some of the migrants to Frobisher Bay felt just "plain homesick", in addition to their disgust with certain material and social aspects.

By no means are all the needs now as well satisfied at Lake Harbour as they are for a large proportion at Frobisher Bay, and in order to stop or reverse the flow, Lake Harbour must satisfy the major needs:-

1. The provision of an adequate and secure livelihood.
2. The promotion of a sense of stability and security in the present Lake Harbour institutions, particularly the Company, and possibly the establishment of further agencies on a permanent basis.

Luckily the administration wields the power to control nearly all the major factors involved to promote any type of situation or state that they feel best. By manipulation of the major factors, e.g. transport and employment, as many or as few as are wanted will move in whichever direction is considered best for the welfare of all.

#### Some Effects of the Emigration on the Lake Harbour Community

Many of these have already been discussed in the descriptive sections above. The most obvious and important are:-

1. The emigration rate has been greater than that of immigration and natural increase, with a resulting net loss of population. This is not always the case in other settlements, such as Ivugivik.
2. Consequently the White agencies, which are symbiotic with the Eskimo population have either
  - (i) closed down
  - (ii) lessened their activity and hence employment
  - (iii) threatened or been rumoured to close down, even if this is not probable.
3. An emotional impact on the remaining population, leading to a feeling of personal and economic insecurity, together with incomprehension of the motives and future policies of the all-important White agencies.
4. The unequal sex ratio, and concern over the possibilities of marriage, the splitting and rejoining of camp groups with changes in leadership structure.
5. These facts may have, in fact, strengthened the feeling of group unity, and even tightened the control and actions of the "ruling clique".
6. The per capita hunting catch and per capita income have both risen slightly owing to lessened pressures on both quarry and labour opportunities.



Many of the immigrants at Frobisher Bay have expressed their direct wishes to return to Lake Harbour. An even larger number still talk of Lake Harbour as their "home", though they are undecided on their return. The recent dog disease may tend to upset returns, and the stability of Lake Harbour itself.

### THE FUTURE OF LAKE HARBOUR

Having outlined in the above sections most of the features of the Lake Harbour community, it might be as well to examine future possibilities. Most of the possibilities mentioned below have been suggested at one time or another in official records, and may or may not have already been implemented or rejected. A further point to bear in mind is that the author knows relatively little more about many problems of administration in the North.

The question "Is it right that the Lake Harbour community should continue to exist?" has already been answered in the affirmative both by the administrators, and by the author. The question "In what form?" has brought less unanimous replies, but it is generally agreed that it cannot continue much longer in its present form. At present, the situation throws great burdens of uncertainty and strain on the population. These can only be reduced by reaffirmations by the White agencies to stay put or increase in numbers, and this will only be achieved by firm policies and the possible return of more Eskimos to the area. The latter will not take place until the former unstable condition is rectified. Logically it is up to the White agents to initiate the cycle of events leading to repopulation and a flourishing community. Though the Eskimos moved out of their own free will, the underlying conditions were created by the "omnipotent" Whites, and the same can happen in reverse. Though the Eskimos may have failed in their long-term judgements of the move, the Whites made parallel mis-judgements, and are presumably better equipped culturally to see the consequences of their actions.

Economically, Lake Harbour is not "viable" at its present size. The H.B.C. turnover, and hence profit, must be made larger or the Company will presumably withdraw, and a parallel situation applies to the other agencies.

### The Store

This is the most important agency by far, being the very raison d'être of the settlement. It is of central importance, deeply entrenched in the minds of Eskimos. Other agencies do not command the same importance because the Eskimos are not really functionally dependent on them, or because they have never shown adequate persistence in time to let this happen. The Government Nursing Station and other personnel and the Mission have come and gone. The R.C.M.P. has been long established, but with limited functions that could probably be taken over by the store. There is no area administrator and only temporary school. The Eskimos have little idea of what the Government is, whether it is to be trusted or not, whether it is really "trying to help" or just "to be tolerated." To the majority of the population "Lake Harbour is the Company store" and without it there would be no Lake Harbour.

In this light it would only be with extreme difficulty that any Government agencies could take over the functions and respect of the Company, unless a particularly dynamic personality were in charge of the project. I do not know what the approximate number of individuals (or turnover) is for the Company to "break even" but from recent comparisons it is about 250-300 people or well over \$50,000 per annum.

In the event of the withdrawal of the Company, there are three choices:-

1. The evacuation of the settlement. This is least desirable.
2. The establishment of an H.B.C. "Camp Store" with an Eskimo "Camp Trader." Although this might suit half or more of the present population, the permanent population would most likely be under 70. Also a store of this size and turnover is not profitable to the company at the moment, and is hence "unpopular."
3. The establishment of a Government-supported store, possibly an Eskimo Co-operative. This has been said to be acceptable to certain members of the present administration. However, with the present population, trained Eskimos or Whites would have to be brought in to run it for some time to come, owing to the lack of ability in the present inhabitants. The real task, whoever the "manager" is, would be to inspire trust in the establishment. I am told that it might be possible to maintain such a store, even in conditions of continued financial loss. This is a step in the right direction, for the Eskimos at least; Unless a store is assured the Eskimos will stay in a similar or greater state of apprehension than now, and would probably drift away in spite of the presence or arrival of other agencies. Such a store is unlikely to make a real profit for years to come.

The store then must go on either in its present form, or as a subsidized co-operative of some sort. The former path would present least difficulties, though the latter might yield greater opportunities for long-term results which stretch far beyond the financial.

#### The Return of Eskimos from Frobisher Bay

If Lake Harbour is to sustain immigration, the people most suited are obviously former residents of the place. Many of those in Frobisher Bay have expressed such a desire both to the author and to responsible officials. The writer heard of a proposal to move eleven families (approximately 50 people) back to Lake Harbour; the cost of their assisted passage would be written off if they stayed there a reasonable length of time. This would be a good start. These people would probably have some savings, and, even without direct wage employment, other sources of income usually suffice until capital goods are required. Further, such a move would increase the

total population to approximately 150. Benefit is also likely to accrue to Frobisher Bay, especially if those removed were not the most adapted to civilization. Although the move is presumably at the will of the Eskimos, some thought might be given to the type most suitable. Initially, during a period of social re-adjustment, stable family men, adhering to the normative values and probably with some money saved or equipment bought, would be most preferable. Such men occur amongst those who may have worked for some years, and have had enough of full-time time-regulated wage labour; they are said to be present in some numbers in Frobisher Bay and other settlements, and are even found in Lake Harbour itself. Later perhaps, youths and less stable people could be re-assimilated, though consideration should be given to encouraging single young girls to move to Lake Harbour. The timing and rate of any moves depend on two main opposing factors.

1. Speed is dictated by the losing position of the Company and the confidence of the Eskimo population itself, or both will move out.

2. Caution is indicated by:-

- (a) The rate of acceptance of new members into the community. This will depend on the type of people represented and the nature of their social groups. Large families, or better, extended families or even "camp groups" would fit in best, rather than unattached individuals.

- (b) The all important economic situation. This is judged generally adequate as far as "country foods" are concerned, but money income is also necessary on a larger scale than is now available, both for the running of the store, and for the maintenance of some families from the start and all in the long run.

The methods of relocation may be dictated by financial considerations, but it is hoped that those chosen will be allowed to transport back to Lake Harbour the all-important capital goods acquired in Frobisher Bay.

Methods of inducing enough, and the right kind of Eskimos to relocate depend on the relative need-satisfaction of the two settlements. The balance at the moment is in favour of the return of a few, but not really enough, families from Frobisher Bay. The task will get easier as more people move, owing to the need for continuance of personal relationships. However, the permanency of the moves remains to be seen.

Amongst the younger, unattached people, it is likely to be low, and many might return of their own accord to Frobisher Bay. However, if the transport of bulky capital goods has been subsidised one way, the owners are not likely to leave them in Lake Harbour. Assisted journeys, with advantages for those who stay, would definitely be a stabilising factor.



The optimum number of people for "new" Lake Harbour depends to a large extent on the activities of the new agencies established. The maximum for reasonable population would appear to be about 200, and this would probably show a large natural increase over the next few years. The maximum number depends on the finances coming to the community, being about 250 for those living mainly "off the land" using all possible resources. Above this, any number could live if provided for, but the practical limit would be about 400; this might be reached within five or six years.

### THE TOTAL ECONOMY

Presumably those concerned intend to maintain the Lake Harbour population with a standard of living equal to or better than that presently found in either Lake Harbour or Ikaluit. This standard of living must take into account the non-monetary resources. Two thousand dollars can be considered as a minimum average family income. With a projected population of 50 families this is \$100,000 for the whole settlement. At present only about \$20,000 is available from non-hunting resources. With the new population enjoying the same income from hunting resources, (cash and non-cash value) another \$30,000 is an assured maximum, with a further \$3-10,000 maximum from trapping. This leaves \$50-60,000 still to be found and various suggestions have been put forward on how this can be raised. The social and economic implications of some of the latter will be given below.

#### 1. Boat-building

This is one of the few steady sources of employment. Furthermore it is a most useful industry in the area, and there is plenty of demand for the products. As already suggested improved equipment, perhaps second-hand from Frobisher Bay, and a new and enlarged shed, could raise the output and employ more men. The greatest need is said to be for a better plank-steaming apparatus, which could perhaps be used indoors during cold weather. I would not myself advise making this into a year-round project, unless some of the incoming men are skilled workers whose physical condition precludes intensive hunting. The shed, and its valuable equipment, could be used in the winter for carving, handicrafts and other purposes, as it is sometimes today. It has also been suggested that the venture be expanded into a more general type of wood-working centre, making other products in addition to boats. If new agencies were set up, much of the building and furnishing work could be done here, and a pool of skilled labour built up for work here or elsewhere. There always seems to be a need for carpenters in the Arctic and who better to have than resident ones?

There has recently been some criticism of the types of wooden boats made and used these days. Although I am not entirely in agreement with the proposed plastic materials and standardized types, I am sure that the men at Lake Harbour (and elsewhere) could be retrained to construct them, just as they do wooden ones now. It might require new equipment in the shed, but it is hoped that some will be forthcoming in any case. The expected gain in income from a reasonable step-up in boat building activities might be as much as \$4,000 in the next year or two.



## 2. Arts and Crafts

It has been suggested that there might be a great expansion in this field, which is poorly represented at Lake Harbour. The soap-stone is there, the skins are abundant and wood and ivory are present in reasonable amounts; more could be imported if needed. The present population look upon such efforts as relatively unrewarding when compared with hunting. Unless prices rise, or techniques are speeded up, this attitude is likely to persist amongst all but a very few.

New types of ventures--sealskin prints, women's sewing--might be encouraged or at least, a few specialists might take them up as a major occupation. A Co-operative Carvers' Craftsmen's group similar to those at Cape Dorset or Povungnituk might be of great use. At present I see relatively little talent in the crafts now being practiced, but no doubt more would arise or be imported if new and more rewarding opportunities were given.

The idea of an arts and crafts hut, or even school, for the introduction of new techniques and the training of new people, seems an excellent idea if kept on a small basis. Not only would it increase the numbers and quality of products, but it would supply some steady and additional income for a few people.

There has been much dissension over the amount of dependence that the Eskimos should be allowed to develop on this small specialized "art industry." While Povungnituk and Cape Dorset might successfully exploit the present demands, it seems advisable not to make it the major occupation of more than a few artists of proven high quality. The market is uncertain and is a "diminishing asset" in that it can easily be saturated. The rate of earning is low for all but a few of the best people.

I strongly suspect that the total income from handicrafts would never rise above \$25,000 p.a. i.e. 25% of the projected total, though it could well expand beyond the present \$2,000 (less than 10%).

## 3. Tourism

Many people have stated that Lake Harbour is one of the most beautiful areas in the whole Eastern Arctic. It is well known that it has game and fish in greater abundance than most places. Hence it has been suggested as a tourist camp for hunting and fishing. There are a number of drawbacks, the most serious of which is transport. From Frobisher Bay, the nearest accessible travel centre, charter flights are expensive and landing on the ice is often difficult. The author's own experiences of the difficulties of getting in and out showed delays that would be impossible in any commercial venture. There is practically no possibility of building any sort of airstrip nearby because of the uneven nature of the land. Using

the ice of the Inlet and its waters involves lengthy times of the year when no communication is possible; I have been told that these are the very times when the greatest traffic could be expected. However, as the nearby Soper Lake experiences different ice conditions, the problem would not be so serious. If the number and reliability of available planes is increased, the transport problems will not be so difficult. The use of shipping for tourists is less likely because of the long journeys involved and the uncertain nature of ice conditions in Westbourne Bay through most of the summer. Helicopters might overcome this. Both of the above means of transport would be very expensive.

The impact of the summer "sporting" tourist and his family, on the population would not be adverse. The Eskimos here are long used to "dealing with" Whites of various types, though interpreters would be essential. The latter would have to be imported from elsewhere, as none of the present inhabitants could possibly act as interpreter without one to two years intensive training. The "guides" could be drawn from almost any part of the population, as they are generally very knowledgeable in matters of game, and competent in handling boats and in methods of hunting.

The housing problem would probably entail the construction of a number of huts or the availability of good tents. These could both be built by Eskimos, perhaps in conjunction with the boat-building activities. At the same time, the presence of Whites would undoubtedly promote the budding handicrafts industry.

Though very difficult to calculate, the total net income from such a venture in Lake Harbour is not likely to be more than \$1,000-2,500 if that, at least in the next few years.

#### 4. Mining and other Mineral Resources

Lake Harbour was the centre of the thriving Mica-mining operations around the turn of the century. However, the increased costs of extraction, and new forms of electrical and heat insulators put an end to it, and no similar activities have arisen since.

Apart from this, there are few known mineral deposits in the area of any value. In the spring 1957 a party of "prospectors" surveyed the area and claimed to have found wonderful deposits of iron, copper and nickel ores, as well as asurite. These were never confirmed, and the claims lapsed. Later factors lead one to suspect that nothing of value was ever found there, and no other discoveries have since been made.

#### 5. The Store

Whether the Hudson's Bay Co. stays, or an Eskimo Co-op. is started, the sheer increase in numbers proposed, and hence trading activities, would lead to greater employment. The latter possibility would probably turn a greater amount of the total turnover back into the community than would the Company, in addition to its social and psychological benefits. The increased wages would be spread (presumably) over a number of families sharing the many temporary jobs, but only two or three would benefit the

whole year round. The total contribution from this source would probably not be over \$5,000 in excess of what is now being paid out. A "Camp Store", on the other hand, would considerably reduce the amount being put back into the community.

#### 6. Rehabilitation Centre and Penal Institution

While the present social situation is very healthy in most aspects, it is hoped that not more than 10 (or 14 at the most) deviants are brought in. The system would be strained by the mere advent of large numbers, and it would perhaps be better to wait until the community had re-adjusted to these, before bringing in "troublemakers." At present the R.C.M.P. look after the deviant ward Sailasi, but he is old and relatively inactive, and constitutes no threat to the population. It is assumed the young "delinquents" from Frobisher Bay would likely fill the Penal Centre. Their behaviour could threaten, directly or indirectly, the Lake Harbour population. Great forethought should be given before disturbing what is in many ways one of the few "healthy" Eskimo communities left.

An extension of the Frobisher Bay Rehabilitation Centre into Lake Harbour might be eminently suitable for re-introducing people into a "mixed" way of life. Opportunities are present which are not to be found in Frobisher Bay, and the social and physical environment would be very beneficial. Here again transport could be a problem, or, at least expensive.

Both these agencies, or a combination of them, would probably employ a few adults and odd jobs would be found for many more. The total gain, like that of the store, might be over \$5,000, and much more at a later date.

#### 7. Other Institutions

The revival of the now defunct mission is a possibility. The Church is unlikely to sell or rent its building while "things are in the air". If the number greatly increased, and some of the above agencies were introduced, the presence of a minister, in addition to the local "power elite" might help social re-adjustments, and strengthen the threatened social good-health. It would also provide some extra employment.

In view of the conditions described above and elsewhere, some thought ought to be given to the revival of the Nursing Station. Some practical difficulties would have to be overcome, as in all such settlements, and provision for communication with the camps, possibly by radio, would be a great improvement. Co-operation on the part of the Eskimos would be ensured by the right type of personnel, and by generous provision given to increasing comprehension of the efforts and the spread of elementary hygiene. The necessary buildings are there (though the generators have been removed) and so are many of the medical and other provisions. The station janitor is still getting a retaining fee, and some extra odd jobs might accrue from the re-opening.

The summer school system works remarkably well, as most of the population are in the settlement at the time. However, a permanent system would find difficulties in dealing with the camps, which are scattered over some 200 miles of coastline for much of the year. There is a danger of this greatly increasing the segregation of camp and settlement people, as has happened in Port Harrison. The type of education given might be keyed in with the realistic needs of the Eskimos in the next few decades, as discussed above.

The total increase of income from the re-institution and expansion of the three above agencies might be as much as \$5-7,000, and more during the necessary construction period.

The above proposals are the main ones discussed in departmental circles. If instituted they might add about \$50-60,000 p.a. to the present \$25,000. This would still fall short of the desired total. Other sources for increased income may be unknown to me. Smaller contributions would come from Family Allowance and Pensions, probably amounting to \$5-7,000. A possible rise in fox pelt prices or their numbers might yield a similar amount, though it cannot of course be counted on. The total annual income would seem to be inadequate for a proposed 250 people, at least for the next few years. Subsidy, in the form of handicrafts, employment, relief, etc., could supply the difference, or the standard of living may have to be slightly lower. The amount of the subsidy would be relatively small compared with much that is spent for a similar number of extra people (150) at Frobisher Bay.

#### CONCLUSION

Apart from the above specific proposals, the very establishment of any permanent institutions in Lake Harbour would do much to increase the confidence of the Eskimo population in their future. This is the most important single factor in the whole affair. Upon it would depend the success of any government initiated Co-operative project and other ventures. The proposed "show of interest" has been seen in its proper perspective by a number of officials already.

The main points are, then:--

1. A sound economic basis, with a diversity of income sources, allowing full use of the local resources and skills.
2. Maintenance of the present indigenous social system, in co-operation with all administrative plans and efforts.
3. The restoration of the Eskimos' confidence in their future, their settlement, and their Government, allied to efforts to increase understanding, and hence co-operation, in all planned moves.



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