

**SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF ACCULTURATION HISTORY
IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC**

**Analysis of the Forces of Inuit and
Southern White Interaction until Mid-Century**

Socio-Cultural Background to a Government Relocation Project

R. G. Williamson, C.M., Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREAMBLE	1
INTRODUCTION	3
The Impinging Modern Culture	4
The Era of Separation and Dislocation	4
Questions Still to be Answered: Actions to Consider	5
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	6
Identity	7
Cultural Persistence and Cultural Reinterpretation	10
Nuna - the Habitat	12
Namescape, Sila, and Soul Belief	14
Exteriorisation	17
Cultural Commuting	18
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL RE-STRUCTURING	20
The Whaling Era	21
Inter-cultural Brokerage	24
The Fur Trade Era	26
“The Troika”	29
The Arctic “Settlement” and Canadian Identity	33
Secularisation	37
The R.C.M.P.	43
The Eskimo Affairs Committee	45
THE IMPINGING MODERNITY	46
The Era as a Sub-Culture	46
Bent Gestur Sivertz: The Man and His Times	51
The White Horse Brigade	61
The Era of Separations and Social Stratagems	67
Social Strategies in Eastern Arctic Cultural Change	69
The Social Protection Response	69
Communication and Interpretation Problems	70
The “Education” Policy	71
Stratagems for Macro-Social Organisation	73
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION	83
ENDNOTES	87
REFERENCE MATERIAL	91

PREAMBLE

The work of this essay has been undertaken at the request of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, before which I was called to testify on June 30, 1993. At the time, the specific focus of enquiry by the Commission was the history of the federal government relocation project involving the transfer of eleven families from the Inukjuak area (then designated on official maps as Port Harrison, P.Q.), to two places in the Queen Elizabeth Archipelago, during the summer of 1953. The leadership of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the national representative organization, had made a major issue of this event and its aftermath, in presentations to the Standing Parliamentary Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and in April, 1993 before the Commission itself. This was because it was believed by ITC that the Inuit had been misused as pawns in a larger strategic plan to assert Canada's sovereignty over the High Arctic region, had been the victims of some form of human experimentation and had been callously betrayed in the matter of promises of repatriation. The highly-charged atmosphere was intensified by the way in which the Inuit RCAP presentation developed in April, 1993. Many of the 35 witnesses brought down by ITC to Ottawa from the High Arctic relocation settlements of Resolute Bay and Grise Fjord were moved to tears by the feelings they relived as they testified. John Amogalik, a long-established Inuit national leader, was himself one of the people relocated (as a child of seven) on that fateful voyage of the C.G.S. "C.D. Howe" in 1953.¹ Understandably, he was vitally involved in the ITC representations to the federal government in which at least some form of apology and compensation was sought for the suffering, privation and separation which the High Arctic-living Inukjuak people spoke of. Mr. Amogalik was quoted in the press as saying the old administrators had been callous and uncaring, and still remained unrepentant.

On the other hand, a succession of distinguished civil servants spoke firmly of all their colleagues of administration and the R.C.M.P. as the finest of their kind and above reproach. The whole development of a new administration for the Arctic was described as unprecedented and untried and, therefore, of its very nature experimental, as all involved learned new methodologies together by trial and error. Other speakers on

behalf of the public servants and the R.C.M.P. expressed strong objections to the imputations of callousness and criminality on the part of the officers, civil and police, who were involved, and by way of rebuttal made inferences of calculated calumny and politically-motivated "smears" by the Inuit organizers. Some even suggested in conversation that the emotionality of the Inuit was orchestrated and intentionally dramatized.

The Commission showed some awareness of the suggestion that, however inadvertently, they had staged a situation in which a tense and bitter confrontation was growing. Indeed, in my statement to the Commission, I was moved to express my dismay and alarm that such a poisoned atmosphere had been allowed to develop. I had sat through hours of presentations in a room discernably divided by culture (the Inuit and their associates on the left, facing the Commission, the administrators and their associates on the right, across the aisle), and I observed with sickened feelings the playing out of the drama of historic revisionism. (I was seated with two of my children, both of whom work for Inuit organizations in Ottawa.) From this vantage point I could hear the bitter expostulations and cynical remarks of some of the mid-years Inuit as the administrator-favouring testimonies were presented, and at the same time hear the bursts of applause from the "old-hand" administrator bloc whenever someone was seen to make a point in their support. I was saddened that what had started out as a sincere search for truth, had come to this. As is so often the case in conflicts of historical interpretation, the truth lies somewhere in between the politicized positions of the apparently-opposing "sides"; and moreover, some larger truth surrounds the focal situation which has become the cynosure of attention and contradictory interpretation of detail. It is that needed objective balance concerning the High Arctic relocation, and some broader analysis of the larger socio-cultural context, which is presented in this essay. It is a contribution requested by the Royal Commission, a request I felt duty-bound to honour, in hope that this work will help resolve conflict and create positive relationships in the search for truth, fairness, goodwill and future social solidarity in the Arctic.

INTRODUCTION

The plan for this essay is to place the circumstances of the Inukjuammiut relocation to the High Arctic in the wider context of the socio-cultural realities which conditioned the thinking of those involved in the era of the 'fifties. To do this properly, further socio-historical depth is needed in understanding the cultures as they inter-related during the period of accelerated culture change which began in the meridian decade of this century. To understand the processes of Eastern Arctic acculturation over the period most directly involved, some basic concepts are needed analytically, and they will be set forth as the foundation and first task of this undertaking.

The conceptual framework will deal with such phenomena as cultural persistence and cultural reinterpretation, and environment defined in physical, social and metaphysical terms, showing the significance of habitat-relatedness² in terms of cosmology and cognition, identity and social structure, in other words the cultural ecology of Inuit society. The belief system and the value system become areas of vital insight, in not only traditionalistic but also in transitional and contemporary societal terms, with the importance of naming emerging as a vital integrational factor, not only as between kinsfolk, but as between souls and as affecting land-relatedness and the totality of recollected experience. Identity remains a crucial and complex concept, and a pivotal factor thematically.³

The second part of the essay will explore and explain in contemporary history such concepts as "exteriorisation", which I have developed as an operational notion directly related, in Arctic contexts, certainly, to the broader concept of acculturation. This will carry the narrative analysis briefly through an examination of the long-term impact of the whaling era, the fur trade and its allied influences in the form of value-sharing missionaries and R.C.M.P. members (each also with their special value emphasis).

The Impinging Modern Culture

Thirdly, in providing the desirable balance essential to such acculturation analyses, it will be appropriate and necessary to examine the culture impinging upon the indigenous population, with the factor of identity again emerging as significant, and turning some attention to the people who saw themselves as having a mission of "Canadianisation" of the sector of the Arctic claimed historically and formally by Canada.

Though this essay will leave to qualified analysts the necessary detailed description of the economic climate of the mid-century era, it would be inappropriate not to at least recognize the significance of this factor among the forces affecting the Canadian Arctic during that period. Against a background of strong economic growth across the continent, Canada was in an expansionist mood, particularly in its traditional role as a provider of raw materials. The extractive industries were notably developmentally-minded, and the politicians were beginning to look to the north as a region with potential to capture the business community and general public imagination.

The Era of Separation and Dislocation

The fourth section will provide some detail, describing and analysing the interrelations which developed as a result of newly-minted government policies and initiatives. Again this will be in cultural contexts, other contributors in various other disciplines being expected to provide documented analyses of economic factors, political dynamics, and health and welfare statistics. Important will be the notion of dislocation as we look at the impact of T.B. and other epidemics, Southern hospitalization, exile institutionalization for schooling and cultural alienation between generations as a result of both these major social convulsions (i.e. illness and schooling). The positive initiatives and outcomes must also be recognized. Beyond the working of such interactional paradigms as the Social Protection Response, as I have developed the concept, we must observe the assertion of new, young leadership among the Inuit, and come further in understanding the success


of para-politicization in Inuit macro-social organization. The inevitable emergence of women as publicly discernable powers in Inuit political growth, and the perspective that this implies (recalling then the 1990 Parliamentary and April, 1993 R.C.A.P. impacts of these perspectives), will be given appropriate attention.

Questions Still to be Answered: Actions to Consider

Fifthly and finally, following a very brief but important assertion of the powerful emotional character of the High Arctic relocation as symbolic of a whole generation's agonizing, for all concerned Canadians, though most profoundly for the Inuit, the essay will conclude with a listing of questions which I have raised and which still remain to be answered properly before full, irrefutable and unrevisionist truth is completely established. This will lead to a few recommendations for action by the Commission and any other appropriate bodies, especially in the realm of Arctic indigenous governance and Federal fiduciary responsibility. Again the vital elements of identity, language and cultural survival will be brought forth as deserving and needing serious attention.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In the public conduct of affairs by Inuit leaders, and in the new urbanized life of the great majority of Canadian Inuit in the Arctic, southerners are struck by the modern sophistication of the present generation. Most observers realise that the mid-years adults of this decade are the children of iglu-dwelling, dog-team and qajaq-using hunting people (the kind of people with whom I spent my earlier years in the Arctic). Indeed, many Canadian Inuit now entering their forties were themselves born in iglus or Arctic-made tents, and remember their early childhood years "on the land". These same people are now representational organisation presidents and executives, lucidly capable of nationally-televised jousting very successfully with such as Pierre Elliot Trudeau, and of demolishing the awkward arguments of other First Ministers. These iglu-infants now operate as adults their own indigenous TV network, their own airlines, and skilfully negotiate complex land agreements involving totals in the billions of dollars. They have large corporate interests and govern financial affairs of major national and international dimensions. They are effective and thoughtful in national and international political representation, and are heard respectfully at the United Nations and in other global and hemispherical forums. In the Arctic communities, some of the daughters and sons of the strictly hunting-life folk are now teachers, technicians, salespersons, administrators, private entrepreneurs, world-famous sculptors, poets, film-makers, writers, dramatists, widely-esteemed graphic artists, traditional and popular singers, traditional dancers, broadcasters and local or regional politicians. (These facts need to be noted in the context of public and press tendencies to emphasize only social problems, of the type found also quite extensively, by the way, in "world class" centres of commerce, governance and the arts like Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Vancouver.) What, then, is there to be discerned of the culture of the Inuit? By what means is the central pillar of societal stability, identity, maintained? This leads us to the discussion of a number of vital concepts essential to our understanding of contemporary Inuit society in Canada.



Identity

Identity is a compound concept giving focus to an agglomeration of social and emotional factors with which people associate themselves, in establishing their own sense of belonging in a personally-respected group of people sharing a wide range of common relationships, values and needs. A central characteristic of the identity complex is its symbolic and emotive importance, whereby the various indices of identity evoke feeling-responses, sometimes of great strength, either in the assertion of identity or in its defense where it is seen to be diminished or endangered.

Examples of identity symbolism include national flags, various forms of national or regional or tribal dress, regional or ethnic or national music, such as anthems, folk-songs and the works of revered composers who evoke nationalistic themes. A basic source of identity obviously, is gender. The factor of gender is very fundamentally a source of personal identity, and group identity in some contexts, and it will emerge as significant in the analysis that follows, in a way that may appear complex and paradoxical. No one seriously opposes the notion that in any (highly gender-conscious) society, people are conditioned from infancy to perceive their social environment and its issues with a set of perspectives governed by their gender. Behavioral values, aesthetic judgements, and attitudinal guidelines from personal interactions to public policy are affected by gender socialization. In the case of the Inuit we will see how the prevailing and paramount positive value for intelligence provides for respectful response and feelings of equality toward women taking leadership initiatives, partly because of the belief in the genderless name-soul. At the same time, contemporary Inuit women leaders have passed through a male-dominant educational conditioning, and have succeeded despite that, because of the persistence among the Inuit of culturally still-cogent traditional beliefs and values. Beyond that, of course, nuclear and extended family are universally a basic and often strong part of the basic human identity complex, not only in the forms of remembered and currently vital and personal relationships, but in the general matter of kinship networks. The highly significant factor of naming is also part of the basics of identity.

Kinship terminology, i.e., family-relationship words (e.g., “mother”, “son”, “older brother of my father”, “daughter of my mother’s younger sister”, “sister of my father”, “brother of my mother”, “grandfather”) all help to place the individual in a known and inter-connected social matrix, and reinforce the person’s identity. These kin terms also automatically predicate the individual’s behaviour, the “labels” giving stimuli to known and formalised inter-relational conduct learned in earliest infancy. This all adds up to that sense of belonging referred to earlier, something which is socially and psychologically expressed, and is at the core of the individual’s cognition and reality-field.⁴

Naming also strengthens the identity of the individual, not only within the family, but in distinctive relationship with other families, and other reference groups (such as hunting band, urban class, regional group, tribe or totemic clan). Family names, personal names, nick-names, titles and forms of honorific address or reference all are functional parts of the identity complex⁵ in which every human finds reality and operates socially. In many societies in the world, naming and identity are also strongly linked with geographic location and group belonging within a known habitat. The group’s own name and the names of individuals within the group may be taken from their traditional habitat, and the people in past group history may have “given their names”, i.e. become toponymically associated with some area or feature of their environment. Always, whether one considers a long-established sedentary agrarian community, or a semi-nomadic pastoral group, or a hunting and gathering society moving widely over an intimately-known and named traditional habitat, one finds that habitat-relatedness and identity are inextricably linked. People draw a part of their identity from their traditional place of origin.

So far, identity has been discussed in largely physical terms, but the metaphysical dimension of identity is often of major importance. Every society has its mythic traditions, its sanctified accounts of cosmic and earthly origins, usually with quite graphic accounts of beginnings of features in the group’s habitat, and often laying a foundation

for the belief and value system. Thus both habitat and life-way values developed in that setting have a sanctity which elevates these components of identity onto a spiritual plane. Identity has cosmic tradition, sanctity, an historical social context and a known and named habitat. The maintenance and reinforcement of identity is achieved, certainly through oral tradition, and through values sanctified by mythic origins, symbolised and entrenched by ritual and symbolic behaviour, but identity also requires a solid social context and must be acted out practically. Identity must be made meaningful by habitual and culturally-valued behaviour, inevitably related to the established main economic life-way of the society. Thus the central economic activities of the society are linked with and part of the identity complex, whether the group is seen as a society of industrial and agrarian artisans, foresters, fisher-folk, cattle-grazers, horse-raiders or tundra-coastal hunters. Doing the life-supportive activities of the group is therefore usually an integral part of identity-maintenance, and at the same time spiritually and psychologically rewarding, particularly as carried out in the traditional environment, and as recounted in small-group and family narrative and in the oral tradition of the culture of a whole.

This leads us to one other vital factor of identity, and that is language. People are customarily identified by themselves and others as speakers of a certain language, and the dialects of a language are more immediately identified with specific geographic areas. A person identifies herself or himself to fellow language-bearers as soon as speech is initiated. Dialect and accent establish a person in terms of region of origin, and identity value-judgements are made, particularly if speech habits are significant in class-structured societies. Any language is both consciously and inferentially loaded with references to cultural values, mythic traditions, figures and precedents, artistic usages, historically-entrenched events, people and places. Language is obviously a very useful instrument of social bonding and communication of culture, and a significant component of identity. These notes concerning culture and identity might usefully be borne in mind as we trace the history of culture change in the Eastern Arctic.

Cultural Persistence and Cultural Reinterpretation

Culture is an essentially human social phenomenon which has a number of paradoxes. For example, culture is the over-arching guidance system for a society's behaviour, which gives a society a sense of continuity, drawing richly upon the past, affecting its present and giving leads towards its future, providing each generation with solid behavioural and cognitive contexts dependably and with reassuring familiarity, yet culture is constantly changing. No generation is the mirror-image of its predecessor, to the extent that all individual experience is in some ways unique, though similar, but never quite the same as that of others in the society. The cumulative effect is one of usually subtle change, generation by generation. Equally, though people are the product of the sum total of their culture, no one can ever know every part of its history and development over time and space.

These definitive observations concerning culture provide us with a context for understanding of the phenomena of cultural persistence and cultural reinterpretation. Both are usually unplanned but vital socio-psychological strategies for societal survival. Certain aspects of cultures tend to persist in the midst of great pressure for social change. Sometimes observers find it hard to explain or understand why some cultural factors tend to persist though apparently impractical or meaningless to the outsider's eye. In fact there is inevitably some very real and practical social reason for the cultural values or practices which tend to persist amidst circumstances of change. Indeed the tenacity with which traditions are held onto is a clear indicator of their significance to the existing society.

Often it is necessary to develop adaptive flexibility in enabling cultural persistence. Insistence on pure traditional form is often a brittle and frangible⁶ posture. Adjustment permits persistence. Simple but very important examples are found in the paramount significance of family in Inuit society. The multi-unit composite dwelling style of hunting-band family life has largely disappeared from the social scene of the

contemporary Arctic. But this materially and spiritually supportive structure which could not be transplanted wholesale into the modern Arctic urbanized centres has been modified so as to permit the survival of its central value and function. The importance of family relationships, interdependence and mutual commitment, earlier lived out but less frequently articulated, is by no means "taken for granted" in the modern era. Family values are seen as vital to cultural and social survival, and are asserted by Inuit with an intensity rarely heard in less culturally-threatened days.

The practical way of acting out both family values and habitat-identity values, is to relate intimately with the family-group's environment in the traditional way - by hunting. But this does not mean that modern people have to live in iglus or sealskin tents, or hunt with antler, bone and stone implements, using dog-team or qajaq transportation. It is the relating intimately with the environment in the process of hunting which is important, and the mode itself, in order to make hunting reasonable and effective in modern times and living circumstances - must employ modern means of hunting. It is the habitat-relating experience which is the spiritually-satisfying and identity-reinforcing factor, not so much the implements and technicalities. Of course the modern means of shooting and travelling have seriously changed the spatial, time-involvement, socio-economic and organizational factors and the significant factor of pace, but the Inuit themselves articulate the modern hunting-relationships as meaningful to them practically, psychologically, socially and spiritually, and that is what matters. The persistence and support of the traditional life-way mode as a valued activity in modern time, was only enabled because of the practical adaptability of the Inuit in preserving something important to the society by culturally re-interpretive flexibility and reformulation of the traditional mode.

When one realizes that cultural persistences, far from being postures, are rather the means for maintaining identity and social solidarity, one understands the passion with which modern Inuit people express values, needs and aspirations based on tradition. Assertions regarding the vital importance of Inuit contemporary habitat-relatedness are

by no means to be understood in only southern economic and political terms (though Inuit land-agreement negotiators have adapted to these necessarily, so as to provide the substance for survival and growth). Habitat-relatedness and family-relatedness are inextricably linked, and in the past we assumed the facts of time-without-end hunting-life existence, until the modern era of exterior-power interest in and control over the habitat heightened Inuit awareness that their traditional relationships could not be taken for granted. Governments, national and multi-national business interests, even other nations, all assume that the Inuit habitat was there for their taking, and behaved accordingly. Quite suddenly, the habitat they had always assumed to be theirs was something which they found had been mapped, measured, re-named, re-defined, given legalistic terms of exteriorised possession, and must now be pleaded for formalistically (through negotiation) in tracts set forth in numerical terms and formats.

Nuna - the Habitat

It will be noticed that I have persisted in using the term "habitat", rather than (as commonly) "land". This is not only because it is a more realistic term, implying an area in which established in-dwelling occurs, but because it more realistically reflects the way in which Inuit environment-relatedness should be perceived. They have always lived not only on and by the land, but for the vast majority of the Inuit, on and by the sea, and other waterways. From the sea has come most of their sustenance for all but a small inland-dwelling minority. The sea is also their highway, especially the ice which prevails for the larger part of the year. The ice and the snow-cover, usually seen by southerners as a barrier and an overland pall, deadening of life, are in fact the favoured and desired surfaces for transportation and means to survival by hunting and reaching others. The snow is shelter. Anyone who has lived in the Arctic through cold and windy late-autumn, early-winter freezing weather in a tent, until the snow has become sufficiently wind-pressed and hardened to make snow-blocks for snug iglus, will soon enough assert the importance of Arctic snow. Anyone who has trudged over rocky, tussocky tundra, carrying everything by backpacking and dog-packing in the summer, knows how

welcome the sledding surface of snow is. So the white man's maps and their perceptions are naïve and shallow and improperly limited, their perspectives lacking living depth and reality. Their dotted lines, and particularly designations like terra incognita are insulting to the Inuit who know their ancient habitat so well. Assuming such "emptiness" and giving exteriorised names is classical colonialism.

For the hunting-life bred person, the whole habitat is significant, and intimate familiarity with it vital, reassuring and metaphysically validated. There is virtually no place in the group's traditional habitat which is not known or recognizable from hunter's narratives. The Inuk hunter, and indeed his wife and daughters, and especially his old mother, are all repositories of a great deal of oral knowledge (as well as quite often his travelling companions), and all find physical and metaphysical reassurance in moving through the familiar habitat. It is itself the repository of the accumulated history of the group, each geographical feature having known associations with its people, past and present. Events, favoured fish-jigging spots, places of births, deaths and the joys of procreation, times of hunting success and reminders of slow starvation or sudden fatal peril, the geographic features of mythic tradition and cosmology, sheltered camping places - all are evoked by the named features of habitat as they come into sight. Even places never before visited by the younger people, often rise into their places as they are approached with reassuring familiarity, as the tyro traveller unrolls the mental map fixed in his retentive memory by the many periods of family listening to the hunters' narratives, which are part of the vital traditional value for sharing as the basic means of group survival. One old man at Pangnirtung recently summed it up for us. My wife and I asked him what the term nuna meant to him. He replied after a short pause for thought: "Nuna is my life; nuna is my body." And then, taking that succinct sentence as his text, he went on uninterruptedly to embellish and explain that theme for three rich hours.

Namescape, Sila, and Soul Belief

The sense of community and bonding so important to the Arctic indigenous-dwelling people is reinforced by the Inuit's close relationship between the physical environment, the social environment and the metaphysical environment. A vital component in this complex is the use of naming. The process of name-giving is very profoundly serious in Inuit society, and usually done only with metaphysical advice given by spiritually highly-endowed people, including the elderly, whose accumulated wisdom achieved in lengthy survival - is greatly respected and earnestly sought-after.

Every person has, in traditional belief, a soul complex (not just one simple soul), and here let me pause to point back to what I have said about cultural persistence. Because I have used the word "traditional", there is no reason to assume this also means "obsolete" or "passé" in contemporary Inuit society. On the contrary, I shall show later how relatively recent Christian missionizing in fact helped to confirm and perpetuate pre-Christian soul beliefs, and many values. The all-pervading spiritual power or universal soul in which all organic life shares is Sila, a cosmic life-giving force without which there is nothing living. Significantly this term, sila, is the conceptual root for an important range of holophrastic (compound) words dealing with intelligence. The direct meaning inference is then, that intelligence is endowment with the great creative life-force. Associated concepts based on the conceptual roots isu and isuma ("the end, the ultimate", and "thought, judgement") indicate the value entrenched in the structure of the language itself, demonstrating that good intellect and wisdom are paramount human qualities. Isumata is the word in some dialects for person of authority, "one who takes thought, has wisdom". It is not physical strength or practical skills which are so important in Inuit human evaluation, but quality of intelligence.

This insight concerning the value for intelligence becomes important when we turn to the personal soul system of the Inuit. Sharing with all creatures and people the life-animating force of Sila - every person also is possessed of an individuated soul. This is

the soul which is borne by the personal name, soul and name being inextricably linked as a conceptual entity, insofar as the name evokes the image of the bearer of that name, and that image is an abiding mental-spiritual reality carried in all minds in the society. Thus there is cogency in the belief that a beloved and respected soul, once departed from its bearer at death - is by no means lost to its society. The sila leaves the body upon death, and simply becomes part of the pervading ambience of Sila in which all living organisms are part. The personal soul also does not die. It is, after all, an intellect, a personality, a memoried component of the society's timeless totality - identified and imaged by the name. Valued souls in the family kinship complex must not be lost, and so they are retrieved from spirit existence by the process of naming, by the giving of a name to a healthy new-born baby, or occasionally to cure an older person who is gravely ill. For five days, commonly, after death, the personal name-soul remains near the body and the family group of the deceased. During this time, the sensitive spirit must not be provoked by being named in casual conversation. So for a while, the name is tabu. Great respect surrounds the whole complex of usages concerning the naming system - something far beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to say that it should now be evident that naming is not lightly undertaken by young parents - but seriously pondered by elder family, sometimes with the help of some metaphysical intercession. People who have insufficient access to such sources of advice feel bereft and deprived and even fearful. I have said elsewhere⁷ that in the traditional habitat - no Inuk ever feels totally alone, because her or his spiritual environment is peopled by companionate souls, force-entities upon which anyone who shares a name or close-relationship to a name - may call in time of urgent need. The soul system, whereby personal entities are recalled into terrestrial bodies in Inuit society - is a finely-balanced network of physical and metaphysical relationships. And all of this is anchored in the known habitat.

I have said that the feeling which Inuit have for their traditional habitat is as gripping and persistent as the feelings of kinship. It should now be evident that for the reasons I have set forth in brief here - that in fact Inuit habitat-relatedness is indeed a form of kinship.

All of these observations are relevant to the experience of the relocated Inuit, certainly the High Arctic Inukjuarmiut.

This brings us back to the matrix of names in the Inuit habitat. It should now be apparent that the habitat-relationship is evoked and reinforced by that rich repertoire of names with which their land is filled. Every island, every headland, bay and hill, every valley, stream and lake, every feature in the environment - is named and remembered in the mental map-references of the frequently inter-relating, constantly-talking hunting people travelling through their habitat. Some places had several names, depending on the angle of approach, or season, or even stage of tide. Every feature, stood, therefore, as a metaphor for the memoried experiences of individuals or families, shared moreover by all in the dialect group. All this makes clear, I feel, that from the Inuktitut point-of-view, the Arctic should be seen not simply as landscape, or seascape or icescape, but essentially as namespace.

This conceptual framework should by now be providing some feel for the depth and significance of Inuit habitat-relatedness, and come closer to making understandable the passion of present day feelings as they are expressed today by modern Inuit, for whom identity is still important. Life in the hunting-group of the Inuit was only possible through the functionality of a system of inter-related values. These values maximised "Isuma" (intelligence, wisdom), the authority of seniors, respect, tolerance, knowledge, sharing of everything, not only of meat and implements or other means of hunting, but sharing of information and sharing of feelings. Independence of the individual and personal autonomy were valued. So too were control of negative feelings and interactions, harmony being important as a means of survival, such that withdrawal from situations of even potential conflict - was the desired norm of behaviour. All of this should begin to explain the context and the forms of interaction which led to the relocation of the Inukjuarniut from their own habitat to the High Arctic, in 1953.

Exteriorisation

By exteriorisation, I mean the processes of cultural change which occur in a society as a result of developments and influences far away from their area of impact, often unintended or not consciously focused on the people affected, but which irrevocably tie the recipient society to those exterior dynamics. Because these exterior influences derive from often-very-powerful and distant sources, with no intimate appreciation of their impact on the remote society, nor any concern, sometimes, these exteriorised powers are hard to resist or even hold off while adjustments may be contemplated. Often the harbingers of great cultural change first appear only sporadically and seem either inoffensive or intriguingly likely to be useful in indigenous cultural terms. When agents of exterior powers become established on the ground in the remote indigenous region - they may be small in number, but are in control of means of manipulation and local power which go along with growing indigenous dependency on these agents and their services. At the same time, these local agents themselves are in fact at the ultimate and bottom end of a long and distant chain of command, and actually have minuscule power in their own organizational contexts, and relatively little capacity to gainsay or change the decisions or larger dynamics of the exterior powers. Exteriorisation is perhaps one of the most extreme forms of alienation that occurs as between the influenced recipient and the powerful incursor - in the wide range of possibilities subsumed under the term "acculturation".

Through the exteriorisation process, technological and economic change can occur sometimes rapidly and usually irreversibly as a result of sporadic and coincidental contact between outside agents and an indigenous hinterland group, with their dependency growing, and opportunistic attitudes developing as the contact becomes more frequent. Any accretion of interaction which may develop, does not necessarily imply significant adaptability by the incursive forces, who usually operate from a remote power base with needs which may not resonate very much with those of the hinterland people. The exterior forces may in fact have values and objectives inimical to their interests.

Other acculturation models include the possibility of interaction and mutual cultural borrowing between contiguous societies of comparable economic power and population size; or, semi-absorption of a small culture by a larger surrounding society. But it is equally possible for agents of an economically powerful society, though relatively small in number amidst a hinterland group, to be overwhelmingly capable of skewing indigenous traditional life patterns, simply because of that remotely-governed economic power. There is the suggestion that mobility or quasi-nomadic capacities may more readily bring people into touch with forces of change, as in the whaling era in the Arctic - but equally such people, if able to remain self-sufficient - can move away from contact situations and preserve better their traditional life-ways, while sedentarised or urbanised people cannot move out of the ambit of culture-changing influences. This part of the discussion relates also with what I have called "cultural commuting" - a concept which I believe we shall soon find somewhat useful when dealing with the whaling era, and even more so when, right after, we consider the fur-trade which preceded the more contemporary period of urbanisation.

Cultural Commuting

I developed the notion of cultural commuting some years ago⁸, as a descriptive model within the larger dynamics of acculturation, useful in visualising gradual and partly-controllable cultural change, achievable by establishing physical distance between the centre of change influence and the dwelling-base of the client culture.

In the standard perception of urban commuting, we understand commuting to be the normally-daily process whereby wage-earners travel from a convenient dwelling-area somewhat removed from the centre of business upon which they depend economically - to their source of income, for money-making purposes essentially, then to regularly return to the dwelling area for family life, rest, recreation and reinforcement of familiar domestic and local district patterns of living. Despite the buffering of distance, the life-way of the commuter and suburb-dweller is seen to be significantly dependent upon and

value-influenced by the income centre. Dependency and value influence may increase to the extent that the commuter may gradually undertake further adoption of urban patterns, ultimately being motivated to move closer to the centre, the better to benefit from them. On the other hand, individuals or families disturbed by or analytically impelled to resist the lifeway of the urban centre, tend to increase the use of the buffer distance between income centre and dwelling-area, either by increasing the distance by moving further out, or by decreasing the frequency of commuting contact, or both.

This analogy will be employed in following the processes of culture change which conditioned the present Inuit generation's reactions to government initiatives in recent decades.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL RE-STRUCTURING

Earlier it should have been noticed that I have preferred to use my term "dialect-group" rather than the archaic and inappropriate word "tribe"- for the scattered but interacting range of extended families who made up an identifiable regional sub-society, because of their sharing of a common dialect or sub-dialect. The dialect-group is also identifiable by traditional habitat, but not by the more complex and authoritarian macro-social unit characteristic of the term "tribe". Prior to contact from the south, the Inuit saw themselves essentially in this localized context of related hunting-bands, seasonally changeable in make-up and constellation, but affiliated by dialect and widely-spread kinship definitions, and moving semi-nomadically season by season within the known habitat with which they were identified. They were aware of other dialect groups, more vaguely as contiguity diminished, but had no need to conceive of themselves as a macro-social entity or ethnic generalization. Their migrations beyond known habitat were usually impelled by severe need into adjacent territory, and as often as not ended in ultimate withdrawal to more traditional tracts if conditions improved. If they did not, a generation of usage of new but nearby habitat often was necessary before it could be incorporated into the traditions and name-scape of the group.

My use of the term name-scape runs parallel with Mark Nuttall's notion of "memory-scape" in his recent book, Inuit Homeland: Kinship, Community and Development in North-West Greenland (1992)⁹, an excellent contemporary analysis of habitat-relatedness among people of the Inuktitut tradition. The fact that Dr. Nuttall's book is based on anthropological research in as modernized and Europeanized a region as Greenland - strengthens, by its comparability - the statements made here in the Canadian context.¹⁰ As cultural anthropologists we are accustomed to always drawing upon history, cultural linguistics and human geography, and I would add sociology and psychology as useful cognate fields, but as applied anthropologists we are more often now also calling upon the insights of economics, and the methods of political studies. Again, recent data from one of the longest-missionized Inuit groups in Canada (the Cumberland Sound people)

reinforce my previously adumbrated concepts of cultural persistence and cultural reinterpretation, with some significance. These remarks comparing pre-contact perceptions of Inuit society with modern forms of cultural re-interpretation, must serve as some foundation for the historical operationalization of a concept which I have used to refine one major part of the broad notion of acculturation. The term "acculturation" is used often to describe the socio-cultural change processes which occur when two or more cultures are contiguous and interacting for a significant period, though it is also applied more broadly in any culture-borrowing situation. I have long felt that more rigour is needed in the use of this often loosely-conceived term, and one contribution toward that end is the notion of exteriorisation.

The Whaling Era

First let it be recognized that in the early 'fifties in the Eastern Arctic of Canada, there existed in virtually every family some influential elder who either had childhood memories of the latter days of the whaling era, or at least could recollect parental accounts of those times which so crucially affected the social structures and values of the fur trade era in which they were living. It was the whaling era which paved the way for the fur trade, and set up both value and social structure patterns which persisted from about the 1880s until this mid-century.

Prior to the whaling era, Inuit encountered southern travellers very sporadically, and though intrigued by their technology and its inference of clever minds in the culture which created it, they remained largely self-sufficient. The Inuit primary cultural value in favour of the quality of intelligence predisposed them to curiosity about the whites, and strengthened the soul-entity feeling of respect which was accorded all people as part of the traditional values and supporting beliefs. They knew about these unpredictable people who had been encountered occasionally for about two hundred years previously, as they falteringly or sometimes with foolish over-confidence, groped their way North-westerly through hoped-for passages to the trade riches of the Far East. They also left

behind some useful materials. Following the mercantile adventurers came the better-documented but often wooden-headed farings of the post-Napoleonic War British Royal Navy. Their officers needed to stay on the Active List rather than live in relative penury on half-pay on Reserve. So they gradually added to the European-style maps of the Arctic from about 1815 to the 1860s or so, looking for employment, promotion, glory, and frequently - each other. For the Inuit, even those Navy ships forced to winter-over were basically birds of passage. They were unlikely to return, their crews were of uncertain temper and attitude, but at least they usually traded or abandoned a valuably useful detritus of barrel-hoops and staves, nails, other pieces of wood and metal, and sometimes even ships boats, or even the wreckage of their vessels themselves. One other significant leaving was the small but insidious beginning of religious doubt. The Inuit had a highly-developed religious system, believed in and practiced faithfully (and thought to be heavily punished in the breach), as it was thoroughly integrated with the economic activities and social organization, upon which life itself was seen to depend. But now, coming into their midst and often living out their Arctic sojourns without recourse to these beliefs were those technically-clever people, whose own sense of power was considerable.

The whalers came from such ports as Nantucket, Mystic, Martha's Vineyard, New Bedford, Boston and Westport, and from Inverness, Aberdeen, Leith, Peterhead and even Hull, along with sometimes the press-ganged scourings of the dock-side taverns and gutters of every port from Puerto Rico round the Horn to Panama. They made a different and more lasting impression. They ranged the oceans of the globe, taking the great whales in huge, annihilative quantities, to feed a prosperous and voracious industrialised world, and making huge profits in the early and middle years of their era. They were the toughest of seafarers, unafraid and often insensitive, independent and used to years away from home port, and taking for granted the special hazards of their exploitative trade. Many, particularly those that came earlier in the 19th century into the Western Arctic from ports in Hawaii, the American West-coast mainland, and even Fiji and Tahiti, were roisterous, bibulous, licentious and violent men (American frontier

style), and whole area-groups of Inuit were debauched by liquor and reduced or even wiped out by diseases caught from the whalers. As the century proceeded and more whalers, having decimated the populations of other oceans, came in greater numbers into Arctic waters, fewer could fill in one ice-free season, their holds with whale oil and baleen (and significant takes of Narwhal tusks, polar-bear hides and even musk-ox hides). So they took to purposely wintering-over, in the Arctic, close to the whaling grounds, so as to be quick onto the hunt immediately after breakup. This was an advantage easily lost by vessels sailing months from Southern points, with the possibility of en route delay by storm, fog and drifting sea-ice. They knew where to set their ships, in bays sheltered but with favouring currents unlikely to leave them ice-locked too late the following navigation season. They knew because for years before they had already formed the useful habit of consulting and working with the Inuit along the Arctic coasts. They had employed Inuit as pilots, boat-men, flensers and renderers, and had come to esteem their detailed local knowledge of coastline, reefs and currents, and where the whales came; and the whalers found them reliable, lively-minded, curious, gentle and cheerful.

Not all the wintering whalers were brutal debauchers. Some whaler captains from New England and Scotland came of stern Calvinist stock, and allowed no drinking and discouraged sexual adventuring. Their men were mainly personally chosen, sharers in the enterprise and dour in demeanour. They spent some part of the winters "helping" the Inuit in their hunt, or passed endless, patient hours, for days and months, carving and inscribing walrus ivory or narwhal tusks in the traditional whaling art of scrimshaw, or doing other craft-work. Captain George Comer gathered, over the years, a valuable body of ethnographic data, even bringing in wax-cylinder recording equipment to collect Inuit folk songs and dance-singing.¹¹ These kinds of interactional symbiotic situations, repeated year after year, often involving the same people, obviously developed increasingly habituated or structured patterns of behaviour. Inuit were sought out to advise on wintering harbours, which also were chosen because of near access to local Inuit bands. Obviously they would camp where they could be closest to known good hunting grounds (i.e. where seal could be taken through the ice or at savvait, i.e. open-

water polynyas, and too, where wintering caribou could be hunted, and musk-ox too, if possible). Inuit were often employed as families, the men to bring in clothing skins and fresh meat, and then kept on to work with the whalers during their sea-faring, whaling and processing. The women made seal-skin and caribou-hide clothing and did other sewing for the crews. Whalers also established permanent, winter-and-summer processing stations, usually on islands close to the whaling grounds, and Inuit were employed there. They became accustomed to the use of the goods with which they were paid, e.g. fire-arms and ammunition, fabrics, steel goods like knives, needles, and cooking pots, and some were even paid off with a whale-boat. Habituation often developed into dependency.

Inter-cultural Brokerage

Very few of the whalers learned even a little rough, pidgen Inuktitut and, therefore, there emerged in the whaler-Inuit relationship, a key figure who was vital in enabling the workability of this whole system, a figure found commonly in many acculturation situations around the world - the inter-cultural broker. This person usually came from the native society, and was characteristically shrewd and quick-learning, but for various reasons, not infrequently not a natural leader type or not comfortably well-integrated in the local society. Learning a useful amount of the incursor's language - they were called upon as interpreters and go-betweens, and often developed a considerable dependency upon and attachment to the outsider people and their values and life-ways. They involved their families in their relationships with the whites, and their useful reputations spread among the whale captains, and along the coasts. They became the fulcrum of the increasingly-symbiotic relationship which developed between the Inuit and the whalers. This symbiosis was based on mutual need, the whalers needing the fresh meat and clothing skins and local knowledge which the Inuit could provide, and the Inuit needing the material goods which the whalers regularly brought into the Arctic for payment and trade. The intermediaries became particularly dependent upon as well as the enablers of the symbiosis. However, where they had language capacities absent elsewhere in either

interacting group, they had the opportunity to manipulate the situation, favouring kinsfolk and "editing" the communications which they passed between the two cultural groups.

The whalers saw Inuit society in their own cultural terms, which structurally implied hierarchy, class, chain-of-command and unquestioned authority of permanent men-in-charge. This of course contrasted strongly with the unstratified structure¹² of Inuit society, with authority shifting according to situation (though guided by values favouring seniority of years), and women of wisdom and valued knowledge were listened to respectfully. But the whalers invested ideas of superiority of social position in their favoured protégés, and in the spokesmen who represented the hunting bands with which they dealt. They were seen as "camp bosses". Sometimes such people were speakers on behalf of their group, in fact, and not actually authority figures, but they became part of the network and trickle-down effect of the exteriorised power vested in the whalers. Those that came to depend more upon the whalers moved in closer to the wintering whalers. Those that were intermediate in cultural change and dependency commuted in contact forays from convenient distances, and often were sources of trade goods passed on to the most independent families, who literally "kept their distance". But no-one was unaffected by the two-generation-long whaling era. Both in terms of their own technology and material needs, and in values and beliefs, profound changes were developed.

One of the most penetrating and paradoxical developments in Inuit society as a result of these contacts was the acquisition of something which has ever since persisted as a powerfully acculturative factor, illness and the fear of illness. Prior to contact with the whites, Inuit were virtually free from the contagions which raked the rest of the world, so remote was their habitat. Thus, they acquired no resistance to bacterial and viral illnesses, and such was their susceptibility, that infections like influenza and measles, which had a mild effect upon the whites, were often lethal to the Inuit. Thus, each ship arrival, often welcomed for economic reasons, was also the vehicle for illnesses that struck with epidemic reach and great force. The valued elderly and beloved children

were hit the hardest. Traditional forms of treatment of physical or mental distress were often found unworkable, so the Inuit became increasingly dependent on the ship's medicine-chest types of nostrums and medicaments, often provided by the same people who brought the disease. Of course, they brought not only the "milder" illnesses already mentioned, but also cholera, dyptheria, venereal diseases, smallpox, and tuberculosis. It was, tragically for the people and distressingly for Captain Comer, his own crew which in 1902 brought to Southampton Island the as-yet-still-not-firmly-defined disease which wiped out the entire population of Southampton Island, where he had earlier learned so much from the people. The dread which such events created spread like an epidemic itself into the breadth of the whole Inuit population and their entrenched memory. It strengthened their feeling of need to "get along well" with, and deepened their dependency on the whites and their authority. There seemed to be an endless variety of illnesses, terrifying in their physical effects for a people who increasingly felt helpless and profoundly fearful of their impact and pervasive threat. Illness and its social and cultural disruptions have left a discernable psychic scar in the whole society.

The Fur Trade Era

The dependency and social structuring of the relationship with the whites which were salient socio-economic features of the whaling era, carried over into the era which followed, beginning in the first decade of this century, as the whaling presence diminished and disappeared. As the changing of the commercial needs of the industrial world coincided with the serious decline of the whale stocks, fewer whalers came into the country, but those that did tended to stay longer and involve themselves with the Inuit in a greater variety of ways. The desultory trade in pelts and skins was steadily replaced by an active interest, with the whalers often providing traps and better hunting gear to enable the trapping activities of the Inuit. It might be noted that the late 19th century-early 20th century period also coincided with a major change in the fur industry, with fashion changes impelling a decline in demand for beaver and other coarse fur, and a new demand for fox, particularly the white-haired Arctic fox at its prime in mid-winter.

To really succeed financially in trapping, it has often been necessary to travel beyond regular coastal hunting grounds, as the fur trapped does not by any means occur where people normally live and hunt. Therefore it was necessary to build up a greater store of dog-feed than normal for pure hunting life along the coasts, and larger teams were deemed necessary. The capacious, sea-worthy, longer-ranging and sturdy whale-boats which successful whaler-serving families acquired were valuable for walrus hunting, the source of the best dog-feed there is. Those that succeeded in this context were seen as leading people, "camp-bosses", or "progressive natives", and favoured by the whites.

Thus the Inuit were already economically conditioned and socially prepared for the commercial metamorphoses which began occurring as the new century unfolded. For the first time, sedentary fur trade posts were established in the Arctic. Often they were staffed by retired whalers, or at least by Scots and Newfoundlanders sharing their culture and values to some extent, and inevitably they were served by recruited whaler-assistant families who, speaking some English and knowing how to work with the whites, made the transition easily. Thus too, the institutionalisation of inter-cultural brokerage was entrenched in the fur trade, with the local "Post Servant" (in Hudson's Bay Company jargon), an on-going key intermediary and sometimes manipulative figure at the interface between the Inuit and the fur traders.

The earlier symbiosis and mutuality of respect for skills and capacities which existed between the whalers and the Inuit, underwent some change in the transition. In the early years of the fur trade there was much rivalry between private or "independent" traders, often retired whalers, and companies like Baffinland Traders, Revillon Frères, Lampson and Hubbard and others, all pitched competitively against the great Hudson's Bay Company. The Inuit learned to benefit from this rivalry, taking their fur to the trader who for a time was offering the best prices. It should here be noted that among the "old hands" of the fur trade, there tended to be a consensus that no group of Inuit were more shrewd and adept at using this commercial rivalry than the people of the Arctic Quebec coast, notably those of the eastern Hudson's Bay littoral (Povungnituk, Richmond Gulf,

Great Whale River, Ft. George, and most notable of all in this repute, the hunters who lived in the region of Inukjuak). In conversation with me, the people of that coast have often seriously explained that the moral duty of the hunter is to try all resources for the sustenance of the family. There is no shame in providing fish, or Arctic hare or even lemmings as they present themselves, and in the larger environment, in which people are included, the offerings of the white people such as long-term debt or government "welfare relief" outputs, are no less valid as resources which one has a duty to use. Especially as the "welfare rations" were not involved in the traditional taboos against over-exploitation which protected natural game, one could and even should call upon them to the fullest extent possible. This insight should cast a different light upon the "welfare situation" in Arctic Quebec in the 1950s, at least insofar as we may evaluate the normal white man's perspective of welfare usage as expressed in the statements of Hudson's Bay Co. personnel, the missions, the R.C.M.P. and the civil servants in Ottawa - all of whom shared quite negative values on the subject.

There is another important dimension in the understanding of growing dependency and susceptibility to white men's authority as they were conditioned in the Inuit during the fur trade era. Trapping became essential as a means of acquiring the staples of contemporary Arctic existence, or subsistence, by the time the fur trade entered the Arctic substantially. Thus, to be outfitted for a season's trapping and family survival, a trapper had to go into debt to obtain the traps, firearms and ammunition, fabrics, metal goods and flour considered basic needs. This debt was readily forwarded by the trader, in that it bound the trapper to his trading post and ensured his full receipt of fur trapped. This debt system was cyclical and repetitive, year after year, with the prices paid for fur ensuring the perpetuation of the debt indefinitely. This held even for highly successful trappers, especially family teams of trappers, who were induced to go into further debt by investing, usually as a group, in major capital goods such as whale-boats, trap-boats or Peterhead sealer vessels with inboard motors. This cycle of debt gave the trader ultimate power over the population, and in many parts of the North, he was referred to as "Angajukaq" - "the boss". The power of the Hudson's Bay Company was paramount

in the Arctic from the end of the 1920s-early 1930s until the 1950s. Unlike the early smaller rival companies, "The Company" had the capital depth to carry-over whole trapping populations during the low years of the seven-year fox cycle, even to issuing what was known as "Company Relief", without debt, during hard times. (Some Post Managers saw the need to keep their trappers in health; a few were so parsimonious as to leave them close to total starvation, in some areas of the North). What we see is a picture of extensive power held by the fur trader. Unlike the whale captain, he was not, with his sense of great corporate support, imbued with a feeling of symbiotic interdependency with the Inuit, even though it was true that his "outfit" (or trade-stock) was debited to him personally in an account administered for him by the Company, through the banks. It was a strong incentive scheme whereby the Company motivated its traders, who by this were themselves impelled by debt. But while store-keepers might be replaced, the Post (store) - kept on, and its power with it.

"The Troika"

The fur trader in the average settlement as it developed, came to partly divide his power, through "sharing" it with people strongly committed to the trader's objectives, values and cultural perspectives, and thus in fact having their support and systemic reinforcement. Though still feeling free to tell families where they should establish camps (for the benefit of the fur trade), who they should camp with and even, occasionally, give instructions on marriage arrangements, the trader did often allow into such discussions the local missionary or R.C.M.P. officer-in-charge. At least these people involved the others where they could be confident of support. Personal animosities did occasionally develop between agency representatives, and there were a few stories of the small Arctic settlements being riven by bitter mid-winter hatreds, but generally they were in accord on the basic policy of the times - that it was good to "keep the natives out on the land". Obviously that was where the fur was found, from the trader's point of view, and the missionaries feared moral decay would develop among those who "hung around the Post", though in fact there was absolutely nothing in the way of fleshpots for their

indulgence. The Mounted Police also thought that the people would be more wholesome and sturdily self-sufficient "out on the land" and less susceptible to exploitation by either the trader or the missionary. There was a prevailing paternalistic protective ethic among the R.C.M.P., and a widespread suspicion (by no means unfounded in a sufficiency of cases) - that the fur-traders were unfairly if not illegally taking advantage of the Inuit. Under the even more severely paternalistic régime of the Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, the Anglican Bishop of the Arctic since the later 1940s - the Protestant missionaries tended to regurgitate his attitudes. The Roman Catholic missionaries who normally stayed in the Arctic much longer - tended to learn Inuktitut much better than the Anglicans, for the most part, and with thus a better avenue of insight into the culture, were less over-strict, though equally paternalistic. However, the trader and the missionaries (who came into the country about the same time, mainly establishing at the fur trade Post sites in the 1920s, and a little earlier in a few places), made up a power structure which Jameson Bond¹³ with apt metaphor called a "troika". Thus between them they governed the Inuit in three major segments of their lives - the economic, the spiritual, and the realm of law and government "presence".

It will repay us to look a little more closely, if necessarily briefly in this context, at the other components of the Arctic power structure during the fur trade era. It will help explain the attitudinal climate in which the forces and events of the 1950s played themselves out in the Canadian Eastern Arctic.

There is a jocularly which says that "HBC" stands not only for Hudson's Bay Company - but "Here Before Christ", though in Arctic history at least the implied suggestion is as vaguely baseless as the joke. Certainly many fur trade settlements followed a pattern in the 1920s, whereby either an Anglican or Roman Catholic mission came into the country and set up a church and dwelling combination within a year or two after the establishment of the fur trade post. Often, indeed, the missionary, who shared some generalisable ethnicity and broader values with the trader (though rarely a similar degree of faith, piety and morals), began his stay using trader facilities until his own building

was completed. But across the Arctic there are instances of missionary activity preceding fur trade establishment by some significant length of time, as in the Great Whale River-Little Whale River region of the East Hudson's Bay coast, when the Rev. Edward Peck (Anglican) pioneered contact in the 1880s, and, again before the turn of the century, established a mission adjacent to the whaling station on Blacklead Island, in Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island. There, it was over a quarter of a century before the Hudson's Bay Company decided to finally establish its permanent post at Pangnirtung (they, too, had first set up near to a whaling station). In Greenland and Labrador, the missionaries were also the traders for lengthy periods, starting with the Berganese Hans Egede's establishment of the "Godthaab" Lutheran mission in the Nuuk area in 1721. The Moravians later over-centralized local populations around their commercialised missions, and were ultimately turned out of Greenland, but still operate in Labrador. Roman Catholic missionaries also operated some trading activities in places like Wakeham Bay on the Québec coast, Hudson's Strait, at Thom Bay on the Boothia Peninsula, and Pelly Bay 145 km to the South-East. The Garry Lake mission also sold trade goods and bought fur, deep in the Keewatin Northern Barren Lands where the Company never ventured. (The Roman Catholic priests' entrepreneurial interests were rekindled in later decades when co-operative development was encouraged by government initiatives and subsidies).

The word "settlement" is normally used about the fur trade post locations to which other agencies attached themselves, but the term is inappropriate. It implies an aggregation of some social substance, consisting of people with some degree of social homogeneity and length of association, and putting down roots while developing long-established personal relationships in some pattern of formalised self-governance. In fact the indigenous people were strongly discouraged by all the members of the power "troika", from staying around "the Post", and the non-indigenous people came and went, normally, every few years, as their distant employers moved them about. There have been cases of traders and the occasional missionaries staying in one place for most of their careers. They were usually single men (not necessarily celibate, including the

Catholic priests), but even the long-term stayers went back always to their home countries for year-long furloughs, and were expected to return there permanently upon retirement. They owned little personally in their agency-operated dwellings, and were seen locally as connected much more strongly with their exterior authorities than with any associations in the Arctic area over which they saw themselves as presiding in their own local realms of responsibility. So no one was settled in the "settlements" except perhaps the local inter-cultural brokers employed on a quasi-continuous basis, and even they changed, sometimes quite frequently, because the competing claims involved in serving two cultures often created insupportable stresses.

Mainly the descendants of old established whaler-serving families tended to hang on as trader-servants, R.C.M.P. Special Constables and, occasionally, Anglican catechists, passing on the jobs and perquisites along kinship lines, between themselves, and seeing themselves as superior (a Europeanised reflection of their employers' attitudes). None of this can be said to constitute a "settlement" in the proper structural and historical sense of the term. But "the Post" was the regional commercial and power base, and out of it fared the R.C.M.P. members on their game management and Vital Statistics patrols (they very rarely had any Peace Officer or law-keeper calls upon them), the Hudson's Bay Company Post Servant or his son and the recently-arrived (invariably Scottish or Newfoundlander) Clerk - to check and maintain the Company trap-line, and the missionary on his pastoral rounds. All travelled by dog-team (or motorized boat during open water), and all were tended carefully by their Inuit employees who realised painfully how vulnerable and sometimes virtually helpless were some of their white charges once they were away from their little wooden bastions at "the Post".

But most of the power-group members' time was spent in their secure stations, but wherever they were, their power was felt by all. There was a racial double-standard deeply institutionalised, and the distinction-making inter-relational patterns were strongly entrenched, reinforced and habituated. For example, only female servants were normally allowed into the white resident's dwelling area. "Visiting" was conducted in the

vestibule or large porch. Anglican missions had a designated "Native Room", so prescribed in the building blue-prints. No Inuk was expected to have the temerity to knock a white people's door. Inuit were expected to shuffle and cough discreetly until the patron was ready to pay attention. To knock would be "uppity". To simply go in, as with the homes of other Inuit, was unthinkable. Normally, it was felt that even the youngest and least experienced white person had natural authority over any Inuit simply because of race and culture. There was the rare Post Manager who "married into the country" (more had local mistresses who they simply abandoned when they moved on), but there was a pervasive feeling among the "Powers That Be" of the time that to marry a native woman, or even to become "too close" to the people, was tantamount to "going native" and certainly to become declass  . Even speaking the Inuktitut language, though encouraged for work-effectiveness purposes by all three "troika" agencies, and actually tested and bonused by the Company, was subject to some reservations, wherein the really fluent and accurately-articulate speaker was somewhat subject to suspicion.

The Arctic "Settlement" and Canadian Identity

This may be an appropriate place, in giving something of a social relations picture of the fur-trade era "settlement" to comment on the observation of B.G. Sivertz (R.C.A.P. Hearing, June 30, 1993), concerning the character of national identity in the Arctic. The Inuit, I have already pointed out, were quite sure of their identity within their own dialect-group, though it rarely occurred to anyone to conceive of themselves beyond that as a part of some cultural or ethnic generalization, and still less to think of themselves in geo-political terms, as Canadian. Certainly some of the authority held by the local agents seemed to come from somewhere in the South (known as "Outside"), vaguely apprehended as generally Canada, and the Anglican faithful regularly prayed for the Monarch and family, as prescribed in the Common Book of Prayer, but largely as a reflection of the Monarch's titular position at the head of the state parent Church of England, rather than as a Canadian constitutional figure. Canada as a nation to which anyone "belonged" - did not loom very large on the Arctic horizon in most local areas.

The reputedly pompous person who come out of military retirement in Victoria once a year in pre-Alec Stevenson¹⁴ days, to accompany the "Nascopie", the annual Hudson's Bay Company-owned supply ship, to gather statistics, and make a speech admonishing the "Native children of the Great White Father (Mother) Over the Wide Ocean" to obey the law and work hard, followed by his scattering of hard-boiled candies thrown upward in a village-picnic style "scramble" - did not make a profound constitutional impression. But as Sivertz said, quite validly in the case of this generalisation, the majority of the white people in the settlements, the opinion-makers, it was assumed - did not come from Canada, knew very little about the country, and had no great commitment to it. Certainly they evinced no motivation to strengthen Canadian identity. The Hudson's Bay Company traded beneath its own flag, employing almost entirely a cadre of people recruited by Company policy and regular practice as youths in Scotland and occasionally in Newfoundland (still then only marginally affiliated with Canada). They passed briefly through offices in Montreal or Winnipeg on the way into the Arctic, and on their way "home" for leave every five years. They read Scottish home-town newspapers or the Collected Works of Robert Burns, and in conversation with the local missionaries or Mounties - spoke of "sending out to Canada" or "expecting in from Canada" goods or people from a setting discernably alien to the ground they worked on in the Arctic. Even some of the R.C.M.P. members, serving beneath a flag virtually indistinguishable from that of the British merchant marine, tended to evince kinship with antecedents from Britain, Norway or non-central parts of Canada with strong regional and ethnic loyalties.

Contact with Southern Canada was sporadic and brief, by the one annual supply, mail and inspection ship, and possibly in some places by radio (once the Company had established its Morse code communication system). There were some amateur-radio operators in the Arctic, most of whom preferred to "chat around the North" with others, or establish "DX" contacts with exotic places like Mauritius, Argentina, Holland and the U.S.A. Regular a.m. radio reception was rarely good, with conditions usually poor enough to make it "not worth bothering about", except Radio Greenland with its welcome indigenous programming. Short-wave reception brought in strongly the high-

powered gospel station the "Voice of the Andes" in Quito, Ecuador (not approved by either of the established missions), the BBC World Service, Radio France, the Voice of America, and the equally propaganda-loaded Radio Moscow Service on numerous frequencies. But Canada was heard faintly and rarely, even the weekly late-Friday-night "Northern Messenger" program. The radio listeners of the Arctic were more likely to hear the European soccer scores than even know about the existence of the Stanley Cup. (Certainly such Canadian events of iconic national significance meant nothing to most of the Arctic whites).

The Anglican missionaries were purposefully recruited from Great Britain, by both Bishop Fleming and his successor, Donald B. Marsh. The Anglican missionaries spoke both English and Inuktitut with British working-class accents, and adhered to the allegiances and prejudices of their humbly-born but authoritarian, conservative Bishop. They drew their origins from the most fundamental levels of Anglican "Low Church" practice, or even from Methodist beginnings. By-and-large they were suspicious of change, anti-intellectual, and dourly competitive with other influences upon the Inuit, particularly the Roman Catholics, who they strove bitterly against, equated homiletically with the powers of Satan, and openly labelled "The Opposition". They felt that most Canadians were likely to be remote, irresponsible, uncommitted or "slack", and however long they stayed in the country, they tended to retain their British citizenship. They went always to Britain on furlough, passing very briefly through Canadian ports en route there and back. All of these general impressions have some individual exceptions, but they are drawn from notes, letters and contacts of that mid-century era.

Somewhat more flexible in social relations (and willingness at least to take Canadian citizenship for practical purposes), were the Belgian, French and Flemish priests, mainly of peasant or artisan-family origin, who were the Roman Catholic missionaries (all of the Oblate Order). The French they spoke was regional European, countrified or working-class, but discernably not Canadian. Nevertheless, insofar as the very small-minority second language of the region was English (and RC missions only had two people when

a newly-arrived priest was being given training and orientation), usually the Oblate Fathers were even more isolated from the reach of Canadian influences. Even in places like Chesterfield Inlet where a number of priests, lay brothers and nuns worked in a complex including a church, hospital and school hostel institution, the prevailing Francophonie (never taken up by the Inuit who knew and kept some English if they had language beyond their own) - gave a distinctively Europeanised atmosphere to the setting, even though in that phase some of the staff were French-Canadian. The presumed guilt felt by some in that specific place, due to the recently revealed practice of sexual abuse of the Inuit children there (recently admitted publicly by the current Bishop)¹⁵, also was presumably a deeply concealed cause of the feeling of insulation from normal Canada. This is mentioned because the child-abuse of that era, by missionary people, will emerge as a significant factor in the socio-psychological dynamics of the present adult generation, whose members were the victims. For example, many cross-cultural relationships and interactions have been inhibited by a habit of mistrust which may, in part, be traced to that childhood traumatic experience. A sense of separateness was particularly evinced by the long-resident clergy of Chesterfield Inlet. Many of the Oblate Fathers who worked for long in other areas, still spent some time in Chesterfield, as the main Catholic pivot in the Eastern Arctic. Later in the mid-century a mission-operated radio-communication system was centred in that place. Though this was a welcome link between RC missions and their followers, it also was a reinforcement of the inward-looking European habit of thinking of the missionaries of that era. It should be pointed out that in more modern times the Catholic priests deserve to be credited with many useful initiatives in co-operative development, recreation and other community services in the North, though they now are a seriously aging group. These activities have brought them more into mainstream Northern Canadian life than the more detached British Anglicans - most of whom, however, have been replaced by a growing native ministry and a supportive core of home-grown Canadian clergy. Today we can see the TV-ridden, hockey-playing, curling-rock-pushing, CBC-listening, widely jet-travelling, politicized population of the modern Arctic town and feel its vibrant Canadianism, and find it hard to picture the "settlements" of only a short generation ago as quasi-

Europeanised enclaves, but it must be admitted that in that era, B. G. Sivertz was substantially correct about that.

There is a need still to analyze the over-all societal and cultural impact of the missions. Some missionaries did get closer to their native co-religionists than other agency representatives, but formally they were made to feel some restraints. There is not space here to undertake a full analysis of every aspect of the missionary history, but some salient points must be brought forth. They include the missionary impact on the naming and soul network, their impact on knowledge and learning through their influence on schooling, and their power in the politics of the Arctic until at least the seventh decade of the century.

Secularisation

I have earlier mentioned briefly the fact of Inuit existence in the matrix of a socio-physical and metaphysical environment of supporting networks conjoining the complex kinship system with the belief system emphasizing soul recall and persistence through the naming and name-soul concepts. This was all supportive of and supported by a value system which guided and made possible the highly-interdependent social system. The cosmology and mythic tradition, with ritual reaffirming the beliefs, were integrated with these patterns. This goes a long way to explaining the confidence and success with which the Inuit lived in this harshest of habitat-settings. All facets of the system were deemed vital to survival.

Into this finely-tuned cultural system entered initially the intellectual and technological impacts of the first large ships from the South, and then the much more profound effects of the whaling era. These combined over time to have a secularising effect on Inuit life. As in many cultures, religious belief and daily practice traditionally permeated all thinking and behaviour, social and technical, from food usages to hunting practices and language spoken. Tabus protected the life-way and its dependent practitioners who were

all-too-painfully conscious of the swift and sometimes lethal hazards of their habitat. Then they became increasingly intimately aware of the possibility of successful survival in the Arctic without recourse to the beliefs and practices heretofore held essential to life. Ship-loads of often demonstrably-unreligious men survived Arctic winters and sailed away rich in their own terms, and even those Royal Navy and whaler men who evinced some form of faith usually devalued the beliefs of the Inuit.

Then came the fur-trade, which significantly skewed the pre-existing axis between hunting and belief. As in many cultures, the central and most important economic activity upon which life depended was sanctified in its own right and undergirded with many religious beliefs and practices. But the fur-trade changed priorities and subjugated hunting to the level of an ancillary function of the primary task of trapping. The Arctic fox had previously been an animal of no great significance, foul-tasting and clad in a fragile fur on a thin and brittle pelt, worn only by babies or used as wipes (except among the small group of Polar Eskimo in North West Greenland, where they line the thigh-length boots of the women). Now, fox-trapping was the new primary activity, and it was impossible to validly or plausibly associate it suddenly with the old religion by some sleight of philosophical coining. Trapping was essentially, therefore, a secular activity. Hunting, now seen as no more than supportive of and secondary to the trapping life-way, itself became more secular, and in the process, a growing spiritual gap developed in the life of a people for whom religion was basically important. Coming into the country mainly along with the fur-traders were the Christian missionaries, who, while analytically unaware of the gap and how it had developed (they were filled with naïve and heavily-biased notions of demonic native "paganism" and unregenerate, rampant evil), were passionately prepared to urge their saving message of Christianity.

While Inuit found bizarre such notions as original sin (the idea that people are born with a burden of guilt), they found nothing extraordinary in the concept of soul, though by comparison with their traditions the Christian soul concept was remarkably oversimplified. Equally they found unremarkable the idea of one universal spirit, though the

anthropomorphised God-notion, with His human emotions and motives, seemed ethnocentrically limited but comparable in some ways with the all-pervasive Sila life-force which had for so long made cosmic and environmental sense, physically, socially and metaphysically, in their own perceptions. Furthermore, the Inuit found unexceptional and congruent with their own values, the strictures of the Christian preachers concerning the taking of life, theft, honesty, sharing and forgiveness. Thus we see paradoxically that though the missionaries inveighed against all that could be associated with non-Christian belief and practices, their forceful and power-based missionary message functioned to reinforce some vital parts of the traditional Inuktitut belief and value system.

A crucially damaging incursion into those traditional beliefs and their social and psychological functioning was, however, the Christian assault on the Inuit soul-concept and the supportive physical and metaphysical system it enabled. The Inuit had usually cheerfully put up with the half-humorous nicknames used often by the culturally and linguistically unmotivated whalers of days gone by, and they used them in interaction with the white ship's officers and crewmen, simply as practical social devices while dealing with these economically-useful incursors. Their precious olden soul-names remained unimpaired and concurrently used in their own society, as the related values persisted unchanged or reinterpreted. But for the missionaries, the old names represented association with the "pagan" and therefore "evil" past, a threat to the new faith, and therefore something to be expunged and replaced with Christian names. These names were given upon conversion and baptism, and were used sedulously by the missionaries in address to or reference to their followers. Thus began the erosion of the sense of socio-physical and metaphysical bonding with valued souls, who were at the same influential exemplars of the value-system.

The "Christian" names were not chosen by the Inuit, and not endowed with the real significance their own traditional names carried. They were drawn from the missionary's own cultural and biblical background, hence the plethora of names like Matthew, Mark,

● Luke and John, Mary, Hannah and Annie, among the Anglicans, and Donat, Baptiste, René, Marie, Thérèse and Pelagie among the Catholics. To the extent that they were impelled to devalue their traditional names, people were cut off and cast away from the sense of belonging, support and identity that the old family names implied. Here again, however, we find Inuit adaptability in cultural persistence has served some people well, where they have contrived to continue the traditional naming practices while at the same time using white-man-applied labels for functioning in the larger national society. Let it be reinforced here most significantly that the erosion of the traditional naming system also debilitated the vital relationship with the family-known and named habitat, the anchor of the network. The serious missionary-initiated penetration into the naming system thrust at a core factor in the culture, and the effect has been insidiously disintegrative.¹⁶ Thus it was a culturally-impaired generation which then increasingly felt the impact of the white's competitive values which contrasted so strongly with the harmony-seeking values of the traditionalistic Inuit.

It was in this condition that Inuit society was seriously affected, from early in this century in the western North and widely through the 1950s to the 1970s (and still now to a limited extent) in the Eastern Arctic, by the coercive exile institutionalisation of Inuit children for the purposes of schooling. The churches had initiated this practice for native youngsters, building hostel "residences" all over Canada, and strongly impelling the relocation of children, sometimes from a very tender age (5 or 6 years), for at least a year at a time, and in earlier times, for several years of separation. This was actually a process of family fragmentation and cultural dislocation of far-reaching effect. Children were taken unwillingly from their families, often against the wishes of their parents, and usually they were deprived of their family clothing, given severe haircuts, given numbers and dormitory positions, and commonly forbidden to speak Inuktitut. Punishment of any breach was often severe (and terrifying to children whose culture never used shouting or physical beatings for discipline), and hostel workers and teachers often forthrightly condemned all native people as inferior specimens of creation. The school curriculum staunchly excluded any reference to the existence, let alone the value

of their culture, and the Christian belief in their inborn guilt was heavily thrust upon them. This was done sometimes by people who at the same time were abusing them physically, psychologically, and sexually. The confusion, family-yearning loneliness, outright terror, and personal devaluation of the hostel schools, are miseries which many have spoken of in adulthood with great bitterness. Only in very recent time have they been able to bring out also the deep-seated hurt and psychic scarring caused by the widespread sexual abuse in the mission-run hostels.

At the same time, children were finally emerging from these nightmare years partially deprived of the cultural knowledge essential to practical survival in the matter of habitat-based economic skills; and social survival was impaired insofar as personal identity was concerned. In these matters they were diminished in themselves and their personal self-image, as well as in their capacities to function effectively in an increasingly-competitive Northern society. That as many as have subsequently survived and succeeded in the larger society as we now see functioning well in many valued roles across the country, is subject of wonder and admiration. Their courage and tough-minded intellectual and psychic strength are extraordinary.

We are led, finally, in this limited discussion of the missionary impact, to some observation of the structural reason why the churches were able to develop and in fact extend the exile institutionalisation of native children. By mid-century, and for almost two decades after the median year, the government was induced to see the logistic, southern cultural edification and cost-benefit "advantages" of the residential school approach initiated much earlier by the missions, to the extent that Ottawa agreed to build new structures (such as those at "Frobisher Bay", now again Iqaluit, and Inuvik), and pay for their operation, but to allow the churches to staff and run them.

Up to and indeed beyond the median years of this century, Canada has had a long history of close relationship between established religious powers and politicians, particularly in Québec where the Roman Catholic Church was for over two centuries a major institution,

with Québec in turn being the keystone electoral region in any federal election. This gave the church considerable manipulative capacity, within and beyond the province, and that capacity was used with skill, persistence and steady pressure. The Protestants were not so monolithic, but certainly the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic, embracing the whole of the N.W.T. and Arctic Québec, was not slow to take advantage of the established perceived need of the politicians and bureaucratic, "to keep the churches happy". In this post-Duplessis, post-St. Laurent, post-Quiet Revolution, post-Lévesque, post-Liberal-Party hegemony era in Canada, it may be difficult to imagine the extent of the axis between politics and established church, but it is well-remembered by people of some seniority of years, and quite well-documented in the histories of the country. It is not analogous to the strong contemporary fundamentalistic religious influences on U.S.A. politics, because, typically, in Canada the established church influence was exerted usually more quietly and with greater institutionalised intimacy between church and government. It was a long-standing and usually subtle political entente, with power, of course, the factor being brokered.

An incidental beneficiary of this situation was the Anglican Bishop of the Arctic - notably Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh. An outstanding anomaly of this relationship was, however, that a quality with which Bishop Marsh could not often be credited was subtlety. He was by habit both publically and informally, forcefully, forthright and harshly critical in all directions. His quick temper was notorious. (Eye-witness accounts are on record, by way of example, from his early-career incumbency of the mission at Eskimo Point, now properly called Arviat, N.W.T., when, on finding one of his converts wearing a Catholic medallion, he snatched it from the man's neck, cutting his neck painfully with the chain, and carried it to the front of the Roman Catholic Mission, where he threw it to the ground and repeatedly jumped upon it in a paroxysmal tantrum of rage. Later, when he became Bishop, several instances are on record of Marsh punishing his penurious field missionaries, by taking money out of their exiguous stipends when angered over some perceived error. In each case he informed them of their punishment by very strong-worded messages. These examples are included also to give further insight into fur-trade

era settlement life, and into exteriorisation as it could affect people “in the field”, working with the Inuit, controlled by outside authority. Marsh’s most public and bitterly-assailed targets were the federal government departments and their public servants. While the Roman Catholic bishop usually got what his church wanted by bland and gently-expressed use of his political power, Bishop Marsh got such results as he did achieve by a persistently hectoring approach.

The R.C.M.P.

Let it be recollected that the British, French and Belgian people in the Arctic also brought with them educational and historical conditioning which took colonial “responsibility” for granted, and that paternalistic attitudes, usually apparently shared by the recipients of such treatment, prevailed widely. The R.C.M.P. were normally the only heartily-Canadian element in the fur-trade era Arctic society, but they were both a small and not-always-present minority, and themselves conditioned toward a similar paternalism. In their case, however, it usually took the form of a protective attitude toward the Inuit, and an absence of desire to inculcate beliefs or exploit commercially.

The judicial administrators and the constabulary upholders of the law in all societies are normally judgementally conservative in thinking, insofar as it is not their role to move ahead of prevailing mores, but to preserve the law and societal status quo as it has been constituted. This means that the R.C.M.P. of the mid-century era were part of that era, and part of the prevailing sub-culture in its own context. (Indeed, insofar as the R.C.M.P. members tended to susprise the fur-trade practices and wish the native people free of exploitation, they may even be seen as elements of some degree of modern Northern enlightenment!) But the field officers on the ground, many of whom in those days spent their whole careers in “G” Division (covering N.W.T., Yukon and Arctic Québec), tended to be discretely part of the colonial scene though, with some serious exceptions, relatively benevolently so.

The leader of the prevailing Arctic R.C.M.P. attitude in that era was a man who really began his police service career with no ambitions to be a full-fledged policeman. Inspector, later Superintendent Hendrik Larsen was a successful Norwegian sealing captain with an outstanding reputation as an ice-navigator. He was recruited into the force in Special Officer category, to officer and later command the Arctic patrol vessel St. Roch, in which, taking several years during the 1940s, he navigated the North West Passage in both directions, calling it all "routine patrols". Inevitably rising in the ranks following this historic achievement, Larsen came to command a special group of men who had to be entrusted to carry themselves reliably and independently without the close supervision normal to a police force, for many months or more than a year at a time. They were expected to be able to relate satisfactorily with the indigenous people scattered along the coast in camps reached in lengthy dog-team or boat patrols, and to show good judgement while handling local law-giving, welfare and even medical treatment. Larsen had lived closely with the Inuit during his Arctic travelling years, and had developed a widespread respect and affection for the people. His own approach was good-humoured, steady, non-bureaucratic and thoughtful. Hendrik Larsen left the stamp of his personality and principles on the personnel and operation of the "G Division" of his times, something which inevitably changed as the North became urbanised. This sketch of the Force in the Arctic in that earlier era should help understanding of the way R.C.M.P. responsibility was perceived by both the members and the Inuit, and also others in the "settlements". Their authority was normally more inferred than assertive.

Informality was common. Uniforms were worn usually once a year, on ship-time inspection day, redolent with the smell of mothballs. Constant power symbolism was not necessary, given their reputation as a police force. Not all members succeeded all of the time, but overall, the lapses were remarkably few over the many years. There was of course variation of personality, intelligence and judgement. The less mentally agile, observant or confident individual tended to rely less on his own judgement, and go more by the letter of his instructions and the basics of his policing and law-and-order training.

These observations may help to place in context the conduct of the officer who handled the relocation of the Inukjuarmiut group to the High Arctic.

The Eskimo Affairs Committee

One quite unobtrusive but possibly quite significant forum for the bishops and other Arctic policy-makers was the Eskimo Affairs Committee, which met once a year, usually, under the aegis of the Department of Northern Affairs ultimately, once it was formed in 1953. Chaired by the Deputy Minister, it was at its core peopled by the departmental presence, the Commissioner of the R.C.M.P. (later the position delegated to the Superintendent of "G Division"), the two established-church bishops, and the Director of the Northern Stores Division of the Hudson's Bay Company. Other political science-informed researchers may possibly unearth corroborative evidence and generally deal with this item more extensively, but at this moment it remains an older northern belief that the Eskimo Affairs Committee was an influential factor in early departmental policy-making, particularly insofar as the views of the churches were concerned.

This changed after a quiet, low-level suggestion was later implemented, and Inuit spokespeople were actually invited to participate in the deliberations of the Committee. The rhetorical powers of people like John Ajaruak from Rankin Inlet, and Abraham Okpik, then still a MacKenzie Delta dweller, virtually eclipsed the loaded assertions of the leading clergymen and the modestly-phrased suggestions of police and fur-trade representatives, and the Chairman was impelled by Inuit persistence to try giving straight answers to very straight questions, such that in this latter form the forum lasted only a few years into the late 1950s or early '60s. By this time, the churches were still making policy gains by various means. But as the exile schooling system continued, and then as population-concentration and urbanisation developed, the hold of the establishment churches over the significantly large young element began to decrease, and evangelistic fundamentalist sects began to more effectively tackle some of the social problems of the urbanisation era.

THE IMPINGING MODERNITY

The Era as a Sub-Culture

Not only were the values and practices of the government as it affected the North, broadly acceptable in those times in Canadian society as a whole, but the Administration indirectly found support from the comparisons possible with other jurisdictions of the time, such as Greenland and Alaska. More minimally discernable was vague news of USSR native policies affecting the Yupik and Chukchi in Chukotka.

There was a long-standing and cordial relationship between senior public servants in Canada and Greenland - although contact after World War II was sporadic and not northern policy-guided, other than for defence interests. However, Greenland was seen in Canada as "ahead" of our Arctic in many ways, and the beneficiary of advanced and forward-looking policies. There had been several Danish government enquiries and reports and a Royal Commission, since the end of World War II, whereby the Danish public had been shocked by press revelations of the hardships of the long-encapsulated Greenlanders, and had pressed for reforms and Danification of Greenland with Scandinavian idealistic fervour. As a result, Greenland was brought fully into the ambit of the Danish Parliamentary constitution, Danish was made the official language of Greenland and taught as the mainstream medium of education in the schools. Housing, medical services, schooling, modern economic development and administration were all seen as more effectively implementable if the population no longer continued to live mainly in small, often remote and sometimes poorly-living villages, and the cost of it all reduced, if the population were impelled to move mainly into a selection of larger towns. The long-established regional councils of Greenland, elected and appointed-membership representative bodies of a kind which simply did not exist in Canada, the Landsråd (or National Council), and the two Greenland members of the Folketing (Danish Parliament), were all involved somewhat in the consideration of these major social changes. However, the initiative rested largely in the Greenland Office bureaucracy in

Copenhagen, and the chambers of the rather junior cabinet minister responsible in the Danish Government.

All of this resulted in an overall policy with the rather forbidding name of Koncentrationspolitiken. The upheaval it created was ultimately found, in the ensuing two decades, roughly until the middle of the 1970s, to be psychologically profound, culturally damaging and socially problematical. But in the process the Greenlanders also acquired increasing political self-sufficiency, and managed to preserve the language and many of the traditional values intact (even among the children), despite the pervasive ambience of Danishness. Occasional self-congratulatory publications from the Greenland Office, and even more occasional formal visits by Canadian representatives, generally left in the Canadian government mind an impression of substantial success which Canada would do well to emulate in her Arctic. Even with the checks and balances of its representational structure, Greenland suffered socially, and fought hard for its identity. Following a similar population concentration policy path more rapidly and mechanistically, lacking language sensitivity overall and lacking at that time, similarly fully democratic and effective deliberative forums, the North of Canada was hastened like Greenland into more extensive socio-cultural disintegration.

Even less hard fact-finding was done in this period concerning Alaska, where, however, in a less programmed way, the aftermath of World War II had left the larger proportion of the Inuit living in the Topsy-like quasi-urbanised growths which had begun when defence installation and maintenance work had drawn many into the periphery of the military bases, which had generally been built near existing population centres. Like the Greenlanders in degree of self-governmental capacities, but in different ways and from different causes, the Alaskan natives were much more worldly-aware and politically sophisticated than the Eastern Arctic Inuit of that era. War had come, in 1941, with very large military and southern civilian numbers, to the midst of the forgotten and neglected Alaskans. Moreover, a significant number of native men had travelled the world while serving with the US military, and they returned, while fiercely loyal to the American

flag, politically better able to articulate their perceptions of their situation of need by comparison with the "Lower 48". Though conditions remained poor in realms like housing, medical services and schooling, the Alaskans became very highly politicised in their formation of varieties and successions of representative and self-help organisations which became very vocal in their calls for improvements. The Alaskan territorial and later state governments and the federal government had already long ago institutionalised exile hostel schooling and hospitalisation, though, as in Greenland, there were more advanced medical treatment centres in their North than in the Canadian Eastern Arctic - where in fact there were none in this era. (The small mission-run hospitals at Pangnirtung and Chesterfield Inlet bore no comparison with the much larger, better-staffed and better-equipped medical centres in Alaska and Greenland).¹⁷

So, Canada had only to look to its experienced Northern neighbours to see generally attitudes and approaches to Arctic human relations which were typical of the times, and conclude that they could do no better than doing something similar, only with made-in-Canada improvements on the prevailing theme. Other writers with better expertise are delving into the issues of Canadian and Arctic sovereignty, and so here I will only comment on the matter as a reflection of the sub-culture of the times. Until 1953, Canada as a whole, and certainly the North, was hardly aware of the Arctic as a strategically significant area, much less so than were the Greenlanders, now accustomed to substantial American military presence in several well-segregated but well-known and used locations. Even more aware of their strategic position were the people of Alaska where the main economic component for the State was the large and growing number of Cold War-minded military people all over the State. It is logical to assume that the Pentagon looked at the huge "empty" region between Alaska and Greenland, and expressed concern that they should go ahead and fill that enormous buffer-zone with men and materials militarily prepared to help in the defence of the U.S.A. It is equally possible to believe R.A.J. Phillips¹⁸ when he said that this warning came to the Canadian diplomatic mission in Washington as early as 1950, and that it was not until 1953 that the Canadian Government created the Department of Northern Affairs. This was the

major sovereignty assertion of Canada, along with changes in our Northern airborne and sea-faring logistics, weather-reporting and appropriate growth of the Department of Transport. The Canadian Rangers (a Fred Karno's Army kind of archaic "Home Guard" with Hudson's Bay managers commanding tiny platoons of arm-banded Inuit men using World War II Lee Enfield .303 rifles; parades, twice a year, if possible) was our most visible "military presence" in the Arctic, other than some RCAF Ice Patrols.

Of course, since their first settled establishment in the Arctic in the first decade of the century, the R.C.M.P. have always been stocked with at least a year's supply of Canadian flags, which they flew assiduously, and every Detachment office, however small, has always had visibly hung framed colour pictures of the existing monarch and consort, and a plaque on the outside wall with the Canadian coat-of-arms, declaring the Detachment to be the office of the Customs and Excise Service of Canada. It would be naïve to assert that the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs had nothing to do with sovereignty, but it would be also rather naïve to suggest that the movement of a very small number of quiet native families from one part of the North to other locations - constituted a significant, internationally notable gesture, with sovereignty assertion as the major motive. In those times, as an inquisitive questioner, I compared the answers of Alex Stevensen, Officer-in-Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, a knowing but open and candid man, with those of Superintendent Larsen, interpreter Leo Manning, and even Bishop Marsh. All spoke of "improving the lot" of some impoverished people, of relocation on a trial basis with the promise of early return home if wished for. Bishop Marsh, who wanted the Natives as far away from temptation as possible, was perhaps the most enthusiastic about High Arctic relocation. None spoke about "sovereignty". The closest to it were the public pronouncements of Minister Jean Lesage, Deputy Minister Gordon Robertson, Northern Administration Branch Director Bent G. Sivertz, and the clarion and brilliant voice of Arctic Division Chief R.A.J. Phillips, all of whom spoke, rather unspecifically (and vaguely, though not purposefully so, to all appearances) of the "Canadianisation" of Canada's Northland.

These names were unknown in the Eastern Arctic when I was living the geographically-encapsulated life of the fur-trade era northerner, for whom Ottawa was at best the home of the kindly-polite but indecipherable civil servants who visited for a few hours once a year on the annual supply ship, and at worst an epithet of frustration concerning those remote bureaucrats, who, part-time, handled the Family Allowance and welfare accounts and tried to keep the Vital Statistics records right. (If the settlement had an R.C.M.P. Detachment, these tasks usually fell to the local Member, but as often as not in settlements without a Detachment, the Post Manager of the Company handled them). Such northern policy as was developed, in the Eskimo Affairs Committee, or in the more professional Advisory Committee on Northern Development (A.C.N.D.), co-ordinated by G. W. Rowley, was generated without consultation with the Eastern Arctic's people. Rowley, as the Scientific Advisor to the Minister, was the most valuable and genuine Arctic expert in Ottawa - and he was long known particularly on Northern Baffin Island and in Foxe Basin, after his pre-war years of sledding extensively in the region as a cultural history researcher. His remarkable memory and encyclopedic knowledge of the northern scientific literature are legendary to this day. Rowley and his wife Diana, staunch in all their loyalties, contrived to keep in touch with Inuit friends throughout his years based in Ottawa, but for the most part the people "Outside" were not in contact very closely; (note the geo-centric habit of northern thought, seeing the south as peripheral). P.A.C. Nichols, the Hudson's Bay Company head of Northern Stores - kept abreast of local conditions by travelling very extensively usually in the Company's small Beaver Aircraft, all over his fur-trade domain, usually at least twice a year. He was probably, in his old-world gentlemanly, quietly-spoken way, possibly the best-briefed of the regular attenders of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, though Bishop Marsh's quick-stop mainly-annual progression through his huge diocese, brought back fresh flash impressions which he used with forceful authority. Moreover, he required substantial written quarterly reporting from his missionaries, even those who normally had one mail a year when the supply ship came. Once the telegraph service, provided by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Department of Transport, became established toward the end of

the fur-trade era, information flow south increased, as did concomitantly the extent of southern headquarters control.

Gordon Robertson, as Deputy Minister of D.N.A, also became the Commissioner of the N.W.T. and the Chairman of the Legislative Council of the N.W.T. This was made up of four elected seats from the MacKenzie basin region only, and four appointed "wise men of affairs" from the south, plus the Commissioner. Though it legislated for the whole of the Northwest Territories (meeting for a week or so, twice a year, once always in Ottawa), the Eastern Arctic rarely entered its deliberations in any great detail. Such information as Robertson's office had of the Eastern Arctic region came mainly through the member organizations of the A.C.N.D., and the membership of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, but the total result was that, though better and more broadly and unselectively informed than most, he could scarcely claim intimate "hands-on" knowledge passed on (as in the case of the older agencies) - by his own well-deployed field officers. (There were very few.) Gordon Robertson did, in fact, make quite extensive charter-flight journeys through the north from year to year, but he would not claim the detailed on-the-ground northern insights of the long-resident Arctic dweller.

Bent Gestur Sivertz: The Man and His Times

One Ottawa-based public servant who did set out to become well-informed on the ground, and to build up a network of northern acquaintances who would help him keep in touch, was B. G. Sivertz. He has been a principle focus among the government administrators connected with the High Arctic relocation. Of course, as the organisation grew and he moved upward in the hierarchy, he, like all such senior exterior authorities, had to depend more on "the channels", with all the normal factors of field-worker evasive non-reporting or defensive documentation. When he first transferred from the Canadian Consular Service to D.N.A. - (Robertson, and later R.A.J. Phillips, also came from External Affairs) - Sivertz spent three months in the MacKenzie district slowly moving from settlement to settlement, meeting as many people as possible, and listening.

His notes were copious and his reporting observant, extensive, independent-minded and thoughtful. He followed this general procedure during ensuing years, usually for rather shorter periods, and through wide-ranging person-by-person interest, hoped to keep in touch. Even as a staff built up under him, he was often found to be almost disconcertingly up-to-date in some detail on specific northern items and individuals. He was as well-informed on general developments and events as "field" reporting styles allowed.

Sivertz is a complex man. His ex-naval officer, ex-diplomat, senior-executive aura caused some to discern him in no more than an establishment manderin type, until it was found that, though well-aware of and able to use conscientiously the "channels" and proper "form" of the public service, he was distinctively independent of mind and expression; very much his own man. Some would say he was staunchly so; others might say that he was occasionally truculently so. Certainly either word would serve for some of his dealings with one of the most insensitive of the succession of Ministers of Northern Affairs, the Hon. Arthur Laing, then (rather marginally) the Member for Vancouver South, through the powerful and effective political organizational help of Stuart Milton Hodgson, who later became the Commissioner of the N.W.T. (appointed by Laing). Mr. Laing had been for long a provincial party loyalist in the back-rooms and on the front bench of the Legislature in Victoria. His methods had not won the admiration of Sivertz, also a politically-aware British Columbian, but with more elevated and distinctively different party principles. In fact, all his life Sivertz has been a social democrat and supporter of the CCF/NDP. His published biography of his father Kristjen Sigurgeirsson (changed by Immigration officers to Christian Sivertz) helps to explain this. The senior Sivertz, to the time of his death at a great age, a fluent and elegant speaker of his native Icelandic, was a highly literate, very well-read man in Icelandic, Danish and English. He acquired an unusually lucid command of English, both as a speaker and a writer. These talents served him well as one of the leading organizing founders of the labour movement in British Columbia, where the opposition to union development was brutally tough, and only the strongest and most able organizers survived and succeeded.

But this soft-spoken elder Sivertz did both survive and succeed, while also bringing up a family of six sons, three of whom served in the trenches in World War I. One of the Sivertz brothers was killed at Cambrai, very near the end of the war. Bent Sivertz wrote bluntly (in his published family history)¹⁹ about the war being caused by “international diplomatic cupidity and blundering”, and its life-wasting conduct by the British and French high command he said angrily, was characterised by “arrogance, incompetence and stupidity”. The tragedy of his brother’s heroic but useless death fuelled an indignation against the social and political wrongs of the world throughout his life. About the great depression of the 1930s Bent Sivertz wrote “It curtailed everybody’s income, employment, ambitions, plans and hopes. It caused fear and small-mindedness in human relations. It caused impaired health.”

Sivertz was brought up to respect family traditions and the significance of kinship. His book has pages of typically-Icelandic detail about the family genealogy - going back many generations through several centuries in Iceland, and providing detailed sketch-maps of the fjord-side farmstead area where part of the early history of the family lay. Typically, Sivertz’ parents made their first trip back to Iceland in 1930 on the occasion of national celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the Althing - the Icelandic Parliament. They went to the ceremony at the “Lögberg” - the Law Rock, where, since A.D. 930 the Icelanders had met annually to deliberate their governance and celebrate their development of locally strong democracy. All this left a profound influence on the feelings and principles by which Bent G. Sivertz guided his life and career.

After beginnings in forest work and as a hinterland schoolteacher, Sivertz spent some time as a sea-farer, sufficiently successfully that when he joined the Royal Canadian Navy for service in World War II, he rose steadily in rank and responsibility until he became responsible for the Officer-Training programme on the East Coast, with specific concern also for instruction in navigation. It was from this position that Sivertz went into the Department of External Affairs. His cross-cultural experience therein was

possibly one of the reasons why he was the person selected to pioneer new policy-making in the federal department then responsible for northern matters, before the creation of the D.N.A.

People like Sivertz and Robertson (and also R.A.J. Phillips, who, like Robertson, had served in our Embassy in Moscow) became aware as early as 1950 that the U.S.A. was girding itself to fight the Cold War with Canada as a buffer zone between their borders and the apprehended flights of Soviet bombers lying ready, closer than most people realised, just across the Polar Sea. Thus Canada was moved not only to defend itself from possible incursions from the U.S.S.R., but at the same time from the hasty and heavy concentrations of American personnel which the U.S.A. seemed to be planning to move into Northern Canada. Clearly, faced with double threat, Canada had to be seen to be doing something more internationally visible and impressive than shuffling a dozen indigenous families around the north. The R.C.M.P. were already flying the Canadian flag and displaying the other national symbols mentioned earlier at two locations on Ellesmere Island - Craig Harbour and Alexandria Fjord (not far from the original detachment at Bache Peninsula). Retired career-military figures like General A. MacNaughton and General Hugh Young spoke out as nationalists, but when the main Canadian initiative in the north came early in the 'fifties, it was essentially a civilian one.

The creation of the Department of Northern Affairs under Jean Lesage, was under the Prime Ministership of the very domestically-minded Louis St. Laurent. The Canadian public was, during the same period, beginning to become aroused to the situation of the Inuit following the publication of Farley Mowat's People of the Deer, and a powerful book of Arctic photographs by Richard Harrington. Bishop Marsh was publicly upbraiding the Canadian Government for its neglect of the north, though when they set out to repair the omissions of centuries by creating D.N.A., Marsh bitterly resented their intrusion, and as the inevitable changes in the north began to flow from the government's often-awkward initiatives, his criticisms became increasingly strident. But throughout he had nothing but praise for the execution and outcome of the Inukjarmiut relocation to

the High Arctic. This, then, was the political climate of the times in which Sivertz began working as the main implementer and creator of Canadian northern policy.

All the senior figures (and a growing number of the middle-level and junior public servants) began their northern-oriented government work devoid of any previous Arctic experience. So they brought in "old Arctic hands" to give them the needed insights. Some of these people, like the widely beloved interpreter Leo Manning, remained essentially in service roles, but some rose or were appointed immediately to positions of executive responsibility - like James Cantley and Alex Stevenson. Cantley, like most of the "old hands" - had had a long career in and was attitudinally conditioned by the Hudson's Bay Company. All had ingested the protective, paternalistic notions about the Inuit normal to the times. (The missions routinely depicted the Inuit as ignorant "children"). A largely unconscious double standard prevailed among most of these colonialistically-conditioned men, and this was often passed on to their amateur D.N.A. colleagues.

This was the climate in which it was deemed acceptable to herd Inuit during the annual ship-borne x-ray survey, found to have TB - down into the ship's hold common quarters, and to sail away with them to southern sanatoria - without allowing farewells and setting up family care and contact arrangements. This was the climate that permitted the coercive exile of native children for years of white man's "education" in alienating hostel schools. This was the climate in which the Hudson's Bay Company had accomplished a significant number of relocation projects (shipping families in some cases to far distant Arctic areas), to open up new trapping grounds. The most notorious of these is the odyssey of the Cape Dorset people of Baffinland who were taken by the Company to Devon Island and then Fort Ross and then abandoned altogether (closing that post and leaving them to trade into Arctic Bay), until they moved down to the new Post at Spence Bay.²⁰ They were promised repatriation by the Company, but a whole generation has grown to middle age, never knowing the ancestral home-area, with which they are still identified locally. They are now increasingly integrated with the Natsilimmiut of the

Talujuak (Spence Bay) area. The promise is virtually buried. But before they came to this settled situation, the generation originally relocated suffered serious privations and personal agonies. Always, these various dislocations, for fur-trade purposes, or for health or schooling - were justified as being "for the good of the natives", and the widespread tendency was for most people to believe this. In such a climate as this, B. G. Sivertz, with his demands for humanity, responsible communication, probity in promising, humanely-handled medical services, provision of proper housing, serious schooling and a modern social welfare system, was seen by some old "troika" hands especially - as a disturbing radical.

Sivertz is, for all his Icelandic dourness of demeanour, a man of strong temper, and able to express himself saltily and with some extremity of response when roused. But he was never a hot-eyed type easily excited and easily burnt out. He was an administrative chess-player and a stayer. In some parts of his complex of opinions, he was definitely conservative - concerning schooling in English, for example, and the administration of the law. He had relatively little patience with those of us who wanted to preserve the Inuktitut language at all costs, and in a few extreme instances he could in his own conscience justify today the use of permanent incarceration or even the death penalty for pathologically and irrevocably dangerous criminals. Always he was able to expound, sometimes at length, the principles upon which his conclusions were founded. Prominent was his deeply-entrenched loyalty to Canada, and his desire for the "Canadianisation" of the Arctic region of Canada.

As a man of principle with growing propinquity with politicians as he rose as a senior civil servant, B. G. Sivertz eventually encountered a Minister with whose approaches he could not always comfortably compromise, and it was the Hon. Arthur Laing who sought to detach him from his very high-level senior position of over-all responsibility - by appointing him Commissioner of the N.W.T. This was still an Ottawa-based titular position heretofore occupied by the Deputy Minister, but activated relatively infrequently, and the move was clearly intended as at best a lateral arabesque for Sivertz. He quietly

but firmly and competently embraced the move as an ultimate opportunity. Far from rustivating in a bureaucratic backwater, Sivertz used all his accumulated administrative skills and networks to design and begin building the basic structure of the real Government of the Northwest Territories. Stuart Hodgson was later well-used, with his enormous battering-ram ambition and energy, to actually deliver the basic edifice of territorial governance onto the ground actually in the Territories, as Sivertz gracefully moved into retirement, but it was Sivertz who was the real architect of the higher principles and working essentials of the overall Territorial organizations. In the process, over the years, he made some effective enemies, political and administratively quasi-political. (It seems, however, that for the most part, his strong loyalty to his staff and colleagues was reciprocated.) Even at some cost to himself, he fought his Minister for an agreement which would not benefit him personally, but ensure that in relative power terms the Commissioner of the N.W.T. in the future would look eye-to-eye, on a level, at the Deputy Minister. He gave this practical meaning as well as symbolic force by negotiating, among other things, that the next Commissioner of the Northwest Territories after him and successive ones, would receive the same salary and Public Service ranking as the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs. B. G. Sivertz has shown, throughout his long retirement, loyalty and discretion certainly, but also shown that his northern work, however occasionally mistaken, was more than a mere job to him. Rather it was and is the main vocation of his life.

This disquisition on the pivotal northern federal public servant of the era of concern here was seen as necessary to achieve everyone's objective balance and provide some insight into the man and his times. He was not an international politicizer, preoccupied with sovereignty. His was an in-nation urge. He was convinced by his family and his own life experience that to become and be Canadian was something very precious, and his mission in part was to genuinely Canadianise the north, in all that it meant, including national identity and national main-stream opportunity.

Economic Growth Climate

Obviously, economic factors are a major force affecting any era. Analysis of the economic climate of Canada in the mid-century must be thoroughly done by appropriate experts. Certainly this concern was becoming a significant factor in the political atmosphere of the country as it affected the north increasingly from the 1950s onward. Later, economic growth became important in the north in a genuine and materially meaningful way, but in the 1950s it was more a part of the dream phase of the nation's burgeoning expansionist mood. Actually real preparatory plans and structures were under development, including in the Ottawa government, quite specifically involving the Department of Northern and Indian Affairs, which set up a strong branch with direct responsibility for northern economic development in the broad realm of the extractive industries. Canada still was carrying on its traditional role as basic raw material producer, and in that era was still enjoying the momentum of the post-war boom. The Geological Survey of Canada and the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys were providing new information and stimuli, taxation policy and other subsidies favoured investment in mineral exploration, and public rhetoric increasingly was heard using phrases like "the vast, untapped riches of the north" and "our great Arctic treasure house". On the tundra coast of northwest Hudson's Bay, North Rankin Nickel Mine, for example, was from 1953 onward sinking a shaft and building a mill for the first producing mine in the Territories north of the tree-line. Like much other mineral development in Canada, certainly in the N.W.T., American money and decision power lay behind the Toronto headquarters offices, and the government was of course aware of that. This mine received support from D.N.A., which saw potential benefit to a severely impoverished region. The Government heavily subsidized Inuit on-the-job training schemes, and bought medical, electric power and other services from the mine.

All across the Arctic exploration activity was increasing, carried out by Canadian companies, but often with American backing, at least partially. There was interest in iron, lead-zinc, asbestos, nickel and copper in Arctic Québec; copper, silver, gold, lead-

zinc, molybdenum, as well as nickel in Keewatin; copper, silver and gold further west in the N.W.T. where, within the Pre-Cambrian Shield, gold and uranium were also long in production. North Baffin was to be found rich in hematite, magnetite, and later the locus of a producing lead-zinc mine. And across the sedimentary reaches of the northwestern part of the Territories, suspected resources of hydro-carbons were firing the imagination of the world's producers. This large panorama of possibilities obviously moved the Canadian Government to show stronger interest in the N.W.T. The seemingly-enormous developmental potentials were a stimulus to both the promotional inducements and nationalistic responsibility-assertions of the Canadian Government. Canada later became a major partner in an oil and gas consortium structured to enable exploration and to encourage Canadian economic growth and Canadian control. The Inuit were brought into the play by agreements between the government and the exploration companies to employ men who either already had technical skills (through DEW-Line experience, usually), or men who were the products of government training programmes carried out mainly in Alberta. All of this incipient interest in these various resource potentials later became of vital significance in land-claims negotiations. Though these developments were all at the most inchoate stages in the 1950s, awareness of their future importance was already considerable, and they were at least as influential in the Arctic policy-developments of the Canadian Government as the defense posture of the U.S.A. and continental involvement in the Cold War. Indeed, as the Dew-Line's aborning obsolescence became increasingly evident, and the extractive-industry riches of the north grew in long-term planning significance, it was the national economic interest more than anything else which motivated Government "Canadianisation" nationalism policy in the Arctic.

In fact, such was the climate of the time, that the Conservative Party leader John Diefenbaker later in the decade (1957) sufficiently-well sensed the existing mood of the country as to win a General Election with an unprecedented majority by making northern development the exciting main policy promise. The "Northern Vision" was imaginatively presented as a way in which even the most sedentarised urban southerner

could participate, however vicariously, in "opening up the northern frontier", always an image precious to the Canadian sense of national identity.

The extent of reality of that dream is now perceptible as the century draws to a close. A few (less than half-a-dozen) new and short-term extraction programme gold mines have come and gone. North Rankin Nickel Mine lasted in production for six years. Adjacent copper prospects were never developed. Thirty years after the middle decade there have been two lead-zinc properties developed in the Eastern Arctic, both modest in size and term, and encouraged significantly by government aid. World market conditions, with large mineral deposits nearer to consumer regions and with none of the climatic transportation problems and costs of Arctic production - have made unviable the development of the huge iron resources of Arctic Québec. Indeed the (1963-1964) Bechtel Company scheme of a regional mining network based on a central town to be called Asbestos Hill - came to nothing as long-term market projections demonstrated financial infeasibility. It was claimed that rocks in the area of the Mary River North Baffin iron prospect were so rich in mineral that they could be welded together, but the rocks remain today as shelters for the Arctic hares and perches for the ptarmigan. In the sedimentary west, particularly in the Beaufort Sea, oil and gas prospects are substantial, and in the High Arctic natural gas reserves stimulated the Arctic Pilot Project designed to test hypothetically the feasibility of tankerage to Eastern continental markets. None of these hydro-carbons are in production off the Canadian Arctic mainland, and transportation costs remain forbidding, whether by pipeline or other means. But all of these limiting realities were yet to become established in the 1950s. The extractive riches of the Arctic were then still prospects of intoxicating power in the minds of the politicians and the public, and the administrative policy-makers of the governments were no less impelled by developmental hopes. Altogether, the mineral wealth of the Arctic was then and remains a powerful motivating force in the Canadianising of the north.

The White Horse Brigade

Though not himself a habitual rhetorician, nor by any means a self-dramatiser, B. G. Sivertz, did find himself occasionally seen by some as the leader of Canada's idealistic charge into the neglected north to right the wrongs of the colonialistic days. In the early 'fifties Canada appeared to have rather suddenly "discovered" the real North, whipped itself into a state of concern, and, like Stephen Leacock's hero - mounted its white horse and rode off in all directions. And if Sivertz was a main tactician and front-rider in the charge, then his brilliant junior colleague R.A.J. Phillips was both the bugler and standard-bearer. He crossed the country on speaking engagements, inspiring Canadian Clubs and service groups with fluent eloquence and unscripted but lucidly-delivered speeches - with the image of our government bringing the Inuit in "an overnight leap from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age". (This phrase was used often in internal meetings and in talks to service clubs, universities and public affairs groups.) In the culturally simple-minded public thinking of the times, this high-speed, infinitely multi-faceted and therefore functionally-naïve notion had quite widespread romantic appeal. The undertaking attracted into that young and wide-open department a stream of recruits who never saw themselves as civil servants, but rather as idealistic adventurers seeking the emancipation of the Northern people. There was a prevailing amateurism (except among the "old Arctic hands" and pure accountancy-handling Ottawa-based bureaucrats), among many of the new employees. This amateurism also characterised, significantly, people who had professional roles, such as those responsible for schooling and "engineering" (construction). The amateurism notably involved over-confidence about the rightness of their approach with the Inuit, assuming the superiority of the white peoples' culture. This was particularly notable, indeed, among the "educators" and the "engineering" employees. "Canadianisation" meant also devaluation of Inuit culture by some of these earnest amateurs, many of whom thought that cultural sensitivity was a form of pallid intellectualism and an impediment to "progress".

The problems they undertook to improve upon were multifarious, numerous and profound, and the whole undertaking imbued with a sense of urgency. It might well be suspected that this haste was impelled by government awareness that soon to break upon the Arctic scene was the enormous impact of the Pentagon-funded Distant Early Warning Line, a series of radar installations and airstrips, some no more than 15 miles apart, which stretched along the Arctic mainland coast from the Bering Strait to the Greenland ice-cap. (They were made partly obsolete by new war technology, such as inter-continental ballistic missiles, almost before the construction phase was fully finished). The juggernaut of the DEW-Line nevertheless went massively on. The impact on the previously-remote Canadian Arctic, where there were some young Inuit who had not seen an aircraft - was beyond any imagination. The whole of the Canadian Arctic region was touched by the DEW-Line developments, not only the settlements contiguous with the sites along the northern coast. The government hastened to send its first cadre of generalist administrators to enable the employment of Inuit on the DEW-Line painfully aware of the need for such economic inflow to a relatively poor population near the end of the decline in the fur-trade. (Even the iglu and tent-dwelling subsistence trapper-hunter life-way of the Inuit was more difficult to sustain healthily without financial returns roughly congruent with input and consumer costs, while still reckoning with the institutionalised debt system). The Department of Northern Affairs appeared to recognize that the Arctic would "never be the same again" or, more accurately, would be extensively and irrevocably changed by the DEW-Line, but with the social analysis naïveté of the Government at that time, it is unlikely that anyone had any accurate and comprehensive grasp on the extent of its ramifications. Not only were the settlements and areas contiguous with the DEW-Line profoundly affected, as the large numbers of men and materials rushed, first by air cargo craft into the region, but the whole of the North was galvanised by this gigantic project. The standard American military-budget approach involving huge expenditures and enormous waste was apparent everywhere. Inuit were hired at hourly rates higher than the Hudson's Bay Company had paid for whole twelve-hour-day stints of ship-unloading labour. When Inuit men, many prepared by quickly-set-up government funded training projects in the South - began to receive

higher-still pay, the wages they accumulated vastly exceeded anything dreamt of heretofore.

D.N.A. Northern Service Officers based in settlements distant from the DEW-Line action were encouraged to recruit men for training and DEW-Line work directly, and the urbanisation rush was on. The DEW-Line galvanised transportation and communications in the Arctic, and within half a decade, settlements previously reached once a year by ship and sporadically by radio, were visited by aircraft with growing frequency, particularly as airstrips were built and even scheduled flying began to be instituted. Indeed, everything was happening at once. Government administrative offices, schools, nursing stations, economic development projects, staff housing, warehouses, technical staff, workshops and garages, power plants and bunkhouses and stop-over facilities all started coming into the country pell-mell. By the mid-'fifties these hastily-designed facilities were sprouting up, mainly in the established fur-trade settlements, all across the Arctic. Such "local" planning as was done was in fact carried out in the "engineering" offices in Ottawa, though the frequent discongruency of the new lay-outs with the local realities was too often the subject of Arctic-peoples' comment, with the local civil servants frustrated at the absence of any effective local consulting and timely two-way communication with headquarters.

Eskimo Advisory Committees were gradually set up in the settlements as they "just grew", Topsy-like, with steady in-migration from the hunting camps gaining momentum. The Committees were mainly used as sounding boards for initiatives originating further up the government chain-of-command, but Inuit became disillusioned as they found their points of view being unresponded-to, too often. Earlier the elders normally put on the Committee, found the pace and the extent of change sometimes too much to digest, and they called upon intelligent younger people to take their places. Even the middle-years members, with no previous urbanisation experience to go on, found new macro-organizational problems and their complex economics something needing time to adjust to. More and more women were involved in public discussions. Meanwhile the

government employees came and went with dizzying frequency, and new approaches had to be adjusted to with virtually every new personality, some heavily paternalistic, some wild-eyed with well-meaning ideas but little patience with local consultation and measured deliberation. The traditional micro-social organisational patterns of the ever-discursive concensus-seeking Inuit hunting band were not congruent with the rush of events and its new organisational needs.

Meanwhile local problems proliferated as the shanty-houses on the beaches and the settlement periphery increased. They were built in single-unit tent style and made from scrap materials from the supply-pallets and packaging materials of the new arrivals. They were cold (and insufficiently insulated with paper or card-board, usually), seriously over-crowded and lacking in any organised water supply or waste disposal. But the government encouraged the movement to the settlements, and Inuit deeply damaged and traumatised by ill-health and family fragmentation, particularly the women - were motivated to make the move to these places of (usually part-time) employment and purchase of their art and craft-work. These were places where there was hope of medical help and local schooling which would reduce the amount of child-loss by exile institutionalisation, even though even the local schools were found to be centres of cultural alienation. These were places where government officers were taking over social assistance work from the old guard "troika" people, and where new economic development ideas were being mooted to restore self-sufficiency. White people in those "boom-style" days were a mixed lot, but too many, for some reason feeling free of the normal restraints normal to Southern Canadian life - partied excessively, and exposed to unaccustomed Inuit eyes a set of drinking patterns which were vividly impressive but not edifying.

The earlier health problems, mainly virtually endemic TB, and other respiratory illnesses like bronchiectasis and emphysema, plus frequently epidemic influenza and sometimes measles and the pneumonia cases they caused, were by no means under control, when the housing conditions brought new waves of gastro-intestinal diseases, skin infections

and other indices of avitaminosis, and gradually a growth of incidence of venereal diseases brought in by the construction crews. The Federal Department of National Health and Welfare urged upon Northern Affairs the development of an extensive Inuit housing programme. As the various prototypes (devised in Ottawa) were shipped, usually pre-fabricated, and commonly handled chaotically by careless crews, into the Arctic, new waves of enabling people, workers, administrators and Inuit from the hunting camps, moved into the settlements, often more numerous and quickly than any local planning could hope to handle.

All this was happening, all at once, all across the Arctic, and as the pace, from 1953 onwards increased rapidly in intensity, the Ottawa civil servants sometimes seemed harried to distraction, as it was seen by Northern eyes. They were receiving pressures from the North, bringing many unfamiliar problems to them, and equally the D.N.A. stance as "the senior responsible department in the Arctic" brought to them new demands and awkwardness from other departments with their own Northern concerns. They included, among others - Health and Welfare, Transport, Citizenship and Immigration, the Canadian Wildlife Service, the Geological Survey of Canada, and other agencies relating with the burgeoning extractive industries beginning development in the North. Moreover, the earlier relative intimacy of the civil servants with the R.C.M.P. and the fur-trade and the churches was increasingly replaced by relationships varying from arms-length formality in the first instance to complex mixes of quiet collaboration and open criticism in others. The intensity and urgency mentioned earlier characterised the Department of Northern Affairs throughout the 1950s, and infected the working habits of its civil servants, a significant number of whom worked very long hours, and six or seven-day weeks, even in Ottawa. Cases of "burn-out" or exhaustion were known at various levels, both in the North and Ottawa. Basically, without the essential cultural awareness, or even the realisation of their serious need for such awareness, the civil servants tended in too many cases to compound their problems, and much of the time were tackling more than they could properly handle.

Anyone wishing to read social science research about the Arctic in that era should certainly seek out the series of publications of a unit actually set up by the Department of Northern Affairs at the initiative of Graham Rowley, and headed for a number of years by Victor Valentine, later a sociology Professor and Dean at Carleton University. The Northern Research Co-ordination Centre contracted mainly social anthropologists to do short-term studies intended to be brought into print with minimal delay, so as to be of current use to policy-makers and implementers, and a substantial body of generally useful material was produced over the years of the unit's existence. Unfortunately there is little real evidence that those who needed those insights most, ever availed themselves of those studies. Certainly no study was ever mooted on relocation until many years later, when my suggestion came from outside, and with an ex-student assistant I collaborated in a preliminary study done in our Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Saskatchewan.²¹ The work was partly funded by the reduced successor to NCRC, and was only a modest beginning, given the financial resources available, in an area of study of very substantial extent over the history and geographical sweep of Northern Canada. It remained until very recently a subject of considerable surprise to me that so little has been published scientifically so far about the many relocation undertakings of the Hudson's Bay Company.²² Certainly some of them have histories of similar or cruder methods and more callous abandonment of promises and responsibilities than the Inukjuak High Arctic project of early-days D.N.A. The Cape Dorset group's involuntary wanderings ending in Talujjuak (Spence Bay) are a notable example. In none of these instances is failure to keep commitments excusable, even considering the difference in approach acceptable by all in that different era, because, though the methods of the present should be vastly different, the general Canadian societal values concerning the honouring of promises were no less rigorous then than they are today.

The era was one which released many different personality types into the unprepared midst of the fur-trade era, Arctic-encapsulated Inuit. The flood of whites which came into the North was a confusing mixture of idealists of various degrees of sensitivity, and opportunists of no great wrongness nor virtue, and exploiters of the most morally

reprehensible kind. The largest part of the Inuit population was projected from remote-hinterland hunting-camp living to quasi-urbanised confusion and changed living circumstances in little more than a decade. Diet was vastly altered from a range of healthful "country food" usages (sealmeat, muktuk, caribou meat, fish and occasional birds and hares, eked out by bannock), to substantial dependency on cheap, carbohydrate-heavy unhealthy products from the Company store. Birthrates increased rapidly, and many women, now bearing a child almost every year, were often overloaded and debilitated. People became less able to hunt as they were drawn into the casual labour cycle in the settlements and dogs died or were shot by local control officers. This was before the advent of the one-person snow machine, and people who lost their dogs also lost access to the enviroing habitat for most of the Arctic year. It was a demoralising and unhealthy period for the new settlement dwellers, and the Federal Government found the problems of change overtaking its capacity to anticipate them, find solutions, fund them and implement them. It was an era of "Crash Programmes", "Task Forces", and of "playing it by ear", a phrase used by hard-pressed administrators with insufficient guidelines and no representational sources among the Northern people that they could or would draw upon. Some field people very sensibly consulted with local Inuit, but too many either uncommittedly went through the motions or depended on their own southern-bred judgement. It was for the Inuit an era of fear and frustration.

The Era of Separations and Social Stratagems

I have made reference several times to the agonies of the pulmonary illness epidemic period which so tragically decimated the Inuit population. It is a time remembered with horror by most of the present adult population, many of whom themselves spent lonely years in Southern sanatoria, or remember Arctic hunting-life family circumstances bereft of one parent or another, or valued elders, and often, precious children went away too. Until the D.N.A. Welfare Division set up a communication system, there were years of lone anxiety when families in the Arctic knew nothing of the fate of those who were taken South for treatment. Sometimes years went by without news. Some people never

knew where or when their kinsperson had died. Sometimes, people presumed dead returned home to find their spouses remarried. Children taken outside in infancy came back North totally unable to relate with their stranger families and their alien culture. All Inuit returned changed in health and life-style expectations, some now able to articulate those expectations in effective English. The detached case-approach objectification of the medical authorities was a hurtful contrast with the Inuktitut pattern of personalisation of all relationships. This objectification was more common too in the bureaucracies of the South, reinforced by stereotypes, though similar attitudes and double standards could also be found in the school staff-rooms, nursing stations and administrative offices of the newly-growing settlements in the Arctic.

For those that had avoided the agonies of the medical system which prevailed until the late 'sixties, there are still the memories of the exile schooling system, wherein a curriculum which inferentially devalued their own reality as culture-bearing human beings, was reinforced by school and hostel rules which often forbade speaking of Inuktitut, and by some staff who overtly treated them as of less human worth, on the basis of race and culture.

Presumably this pattern of objectification and devaluation also made acceptable to hostel staff the severe discipline and regimentation of children brought up by notably gentle forms of socialisation, total absence of corporal punishment for religious reasons, and highly personalised forms of interaction. This attitudinal climate also contributed to the sense of freedom to abuse the children, which obviously was felt by some of the people charged with their welfare. The full explanation of the now-emerging history of sexual abuse of the children is yet to be thoroughly researched and analysed. It is horrific behaviour which remains beyond my understanding and beyond the scope of this essay. It simply has to stand with the other bitter memories of cultural and psychic dislocation and fear, which all combined to give enormous cumulative impetus to the ultimate outpourings of indigenous feeling which our society has been witnessing across the country in recent years. Certain events, like the attempt to support the take-over of the

sacred Mohawk grave-site for use as a golf-course extension at Oka, like clear-cutting of forests in traditional native habitats, and like the Inukjuak High Arctic relocation history, have come to symbolise and release the pent-up feelings of indigenous people about a combination of sad life-experiences.

Social Strategies in Eastern Arctic Cultural Change

Some of the adaptive strategies with which cultural change was responded to in the Arctic were extensions and elaborations of earlier social techniques, unplanned but patterned; some were government policy-planned; and some were Inuit-developed reactions to and usages of externally-originated innovations. All of these can be seen as participant in the forces shaping the character of the times, and help to explain some of the events which occurred, in context. This includes the High Arctic relocation event which has become a cynosure of public attention, and symbolic of the totality of sadnesses which still well up in Inuit memory. Let it be remembered again that the nature of any social stratagem, whether it be informal or formalised, individuated, micro-social or macro-social, is informed and conditioned by the culture wherein it originated, and also by any other impinging culture of influence. So, in this review I have chosen one stratagem which was essentially characteristic of the Inuit, one discernably Euro-Canadian, and one which developed as a fortuitous mixing of the two.

The Social Protection Response

I have written at greater length concerning this concept elsewhere²³, but I will adumbrate the concept briefly here, because it helps understanding of the way in which Inuit have been drawn into developments not necessarily of their choosing. It is a social stratagem whereby individuals or groups feeling pressure to accept some proposal or course of action, appear to agree in order to reduce the stress of immediate pressure and in order to give themselves time to consider the initiative of the other party, and work out some response. Subsequently they may appear to go along with the initiative for a period,

until the source of pressure recedes, after which they may slack off or cease the suggested activity or behaviour altogether. Or they may simply appear to agree during the contact dialogue, but simply do nothing, or even withdraw physically from the contact situation, placing both space and time between themselves and the initiator. In Inuit society, any one of these reactions was understood as a tactful signal of at best the unlikelihood of immediate compliance, and at least the need of time to consider, if not gently indicative of quiet but firm resolve not to comply. But the apparent agreement may very likely be taken in Euro-Canadian society on its face value, and the initiator may then proceed to take further actions pursuant of the apparent agreement, not having "got the message" in the cultural context assumed and intended by the Inuit. This may be particularly the train of events if the initiator in contact is fairly straight-forwardly literally-minded and prompt-action oriented, as was probably the case with the Port Harrison policeman mooted the move to the High Arctic. One must remember the assumption of power which all Inuit had concerning the R.C.M.P., so that even an enquiry, let alone a mild suggestion, had the force of implied authority which it would be wise not to resist.

Communication and Interpretation Problems

Furthermore, the concept of inter-cultural intermediation enters here, embodied by the interpreter used by the initiator, and by the spokesperson speaking for the Inuit. It was common for the Arctic-society interpreters to be ill-at-ease about their being personally resented for the statements they were conveying on behalf of the active interlocutor, and very often they discretely took it upon themselves to soften or sweeten the language (sometimes to the point of obscurity), of the involved speakers. Another problem, particularly with interpreters with limited language vocabulary and sensitivity, was when (as quite often) they greatly abbreviated and over-simplified what had been said by the two parties. This kind of thing often exacerbated misunderstanding, particularly when neither side had any idea of the interpreter's level of skill and comprehension, and had to go on trust. This trust was too often misplaced. I remember listening to interpretation

of a widely-used, idiomatic English-speaking person of mixed Labrador descent, a nervously-amiable but very limited person, during an election campaign. The candidate rambled egregiously and used clusters of obfuscatory double-negatives in attempting to promise housing and clean-up facilities in a very deprived settlement. The double-negatives totally confounded the interpreter - who told the audience that the candidate had said that their settlement was so dirty it did not deserve any housing. The electoral result in that location was a predictable disaster for that candidate. Equally obfuscatory or confusing for the type of interpreter usually available in the Arctic settlement of the 1950s, was the use of jargon-loaded formalistic language by the initiator. This habit was a form of recourse more commonly adopted by the less-experienced and less self-confident southern speaker, and more often so by Mounted Policemen performing a task "on duty". If the spokespeople for the client group are equally untrenchant in the interests of tact and socio-cultural defense, there is a further diminution of mutual understanding - though this may not be realized by the initiator. If this person is by training a straight-forward, immediate action-follow-up, promptly-reporting individual who sets matters in train without much delay, then people may well be drawn into some increasingly-committal sequence without full intention, without knowledge as to how to withdraw or confidence to do so, and without ability to fully predict consequences. These observations are part of a more general application of the social protection response structure and dynamics, but are probably quite germane to the initial interactions which led to the Port Harrison group relocation to the High Arctic, and to the reactions of some of them in later and recent time.

The "Education" Policy

Another example of a major strategical force at play in the Arctic in the years following the head-office policy planning phase in the 1950s, was the development of the schooling programme. The reader should combine what follows with earlier observations on schooling, under the heading of Seculisation (pp. 37-43). Let me insist here on a distinction here between two frequently-confused terms. Education is the sum-total of

knowledge acquired by an individual in understanding, in culturally-relevant philosophical and factual terms, the social, physical and metaphysical environment upon which full living depends. Thus an experienced, profoundly and widely knowledgeable Inuk who may not necessarily read and write English and perform mathematical manipulations - is nevertheless an educated person, from whom all of us may learn much. I have over the years been learning, humbly, from many such people. Schooling is part of education in more contemporary Europeanised society, and consists of a syllabus of formalised sources of skill-training and information, conveyed by mainly-professional pedagogues in the context of a time-tabled institution.

When the Federal government set about the "Canadianisation" of the Arctic, the emphasis from the outset was on bringing the Inuit into the mainstream of national life. The curriculum was a simple transplantation of southern provincial curricula to the North, the Ontario one for the Eastern Arctic, the Manitoba one for Keewatin and the Alberta curriculum for the MacKenzie District. Teachers were instructed not to allow the use of Inuktitut in the classroom, and some even forbade it in the play-yard. Elementary counting was taught using apples and oranges (then unknown in the Arctic), rather than ptarmigan and seals. There was the odd itinerant "Welfare Teacher", such as Margery Hinds at Port Harrison, taking schooling by sled out to the hunting camps, and sending materials out with hunters passing through the settlement to trade, but that was very rare.

Most settlements in the 'fifties had no school, and the transportation of children from the hunting camps to exile institutions was gaining momentum. The Ottawa-dwelling head of Arctic schooling conversationally indicated his favour for hostel schooling because it "would get the kids away from the Eskimo influence of their parents". This ethno-centric and deeply damaging approach centered in Ottawa was in a few instances modified by some local teachers, as schools began to be opened in some settlements, but it was not until the later 'sixties that any formal recognition of the reality and validity of the Inuktitut culture emerged in schooling policy. It was only after 1966 that a persistent

voice²⁴ was heard in the N.W.T. Legislative Council urging major policy reform whereby all educators would receive thorough Inuit cultural orientation, and all aspects of the teaching programme would be revised to maximize recognition of the culture and eliminate devaluation of the culture and its bearers, overt and covert. Local build-up of schooling at all levels and the ending of exile institutionalisation was also urged very earnestly by this same Member (myself). There was a serious need indicated for indigenous teachers, and programmes to develop their advanced training were called for, but this public pleading was not for a decade after the 'fifties. The educators' strategy using the southern conditioning and schooling approaches remained pervasive through the developing median decade, and the profound socio-cultural affects of this have been noted in several contexts in this essay.

Stratagems for Macro-Social Organisation

The Inuit facing the exteriorisation pressures of all the organisations mentioned historically and contemporarily, were not only at an economic and power disadvantage, but they had little in their previous experience to help them develop from within their own society, the organisational capacities to deal effectively with the new incursive forces. Hunting and gathering bands have exceptional skills and flexibilities to deal with family and primary-group relations, and the Inuit were micro-organisationally adept. But the whalers, the fur-traders, the R.C.M.P., the missions and the government all came into the country backed by distant macro-organisational entities and capacities. The move into the settlements by the Inuit left the initiative strongly in the hands of the whites with their long-developed macro-organisational skills.

This situation began to change, however, when D.N.A. instituted Co-operative development in the Arctic. This was essentially seen by the economic development planners as a means of maximising existing Arctic producer resources like fish, arts and crafts work, sealskins and sometimes fine fur, putting to use the people's traditional habitat-based skills on a larger social scale than the family or hunting camp band. Thus

people in settlements could produce surpluses which could be marketed to the general profit and benefit of the Co-op membership, with the potential for further investment and diversification. Ultimately this would make possible the opening of consumer Co-operative stores, and thus break the monopolistic price and heavy-profit control power of the Hudson's Bay Company. In some places, particularly in newly-set-up settlements, Co-operative stores were begun right at the outset, getting ahead where the Company was not already established. Examples are Whale Cove, Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay. The government sent in Co-operative development workers, trained local people, and subsidised the Co-operatives, sometimes quite substantially and for some length of years, all against the growing protests of the Company. However, the R.C.M.P. actively encouraged the Co-ops and, as in Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay, actually helped to run them. The Catholic missions did the same (but the very conservative Bishop of the Anglicans held back). Still, the Co-operatives had wide support, and they had a developmental effect not initially anticipated by the planners.

The local-citizen-run Co-operative, though in early days dependent still to some extent on Ottawa-based advisors and subsidy, were the first faint beginnings of self-determining decision-making in a history of generations of exteriorisation. The elected boards of directors learned, often very quickly, the principles and techniques of macro-social organisation. Co-op membership meetings were lengthy, with full, many-speaker participation, structured and conducted with scrupulous adherence to newly-learned procedural rules, though always ending with the traditional Inuktitut consensus, indicated by the invariable unanimous vote. Traditionally-influenced chairpersons, knowing their neighbours intimately, never called for a vote until the talk finally achieved a clear consensus, so both the new rules and the old organisational certainties were satisfied.

In the process, the fragmentarily-aggregated settlements slowly worked toward the condition of community, but rather more rapidly learned macro-organisational techniques, and were quite ready to use them for community and larger purposes when the political opportunities finally came to them, a decade after the Co-operative development work

began to take root. The growth of Arctic Local Government, beginning in the latter half of the 'sixties, and the effective development of other forms of representation among the Inuit, owes something to the experience gained through Co-operative organisation in the Arctic. This was an unusually valuable example of a cultural blending of organisational strategies (the Inuit consensual, primary-group approach combined with the southern macro-social structuring), which paved the way for the remarkable political effectiveness of the present generation of Inuit.

The Territorial Legislature is now fully elective, more densely represented, and largely made up of indigenous members, a significant number of whom are cabinet ministers. The Government Leader is an Inuk woman. The N.W.T. Government still does not enjoy full provincial status, but local government is effective, and progress toward provincial status is expected to be steady, when the Legislative Assembly becomes itself more stable, though in fact before the end of the decade, an entirely new constitutional structure will have freed the two culturally and historically variant halves of the N.W.T. from their incompatible relationship, and the eastern and central Arctic Territory of Nunavut will emerge as a new geo-political entity in the Confederation, framing much of its structures and procedures reflecting the Inuktitut culture.

All this has been made possible because of the effectiveness of the Inuit para-political representational organisations, specifically the policy-generating and declarative Inuit Taparitat of Canada and the land claims-negotiating Tungavik Federation of Nunavut. They have worked with and around the existing constitutional structures, made their positions and negotiated their political development with brilliance and perseverance. As a set of stratagems developed only since the late 'fifties, informal and formal macro-social organisation in the Canadian Arctic has proceeded in a remarkable way. Over the time of one generation's coming to maturity, the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic have achieved national and international political stature, and nearness to complex, large-scale, modern and innovative self-determination.

As an organisationally steadily-strengthening element in the larger Canadian society, the Inuit are a group of people to be reckoned with, as may be seen by their impact on this present Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. Moreover, using the Commission's stage, they have powerfully presented to national and international eyes their feelings about their trials and sadnesses, and also they have shown their powers of intellect, cultural persistence and endurance. The factor of cultural persistence should be noted in contemporary contexts. Their ancient value system shows through in the present-era respect accorded people of exceptional intelligence of either sex, reflecting too the belief in the genderless soul and thus the rise of women to prominence and leadership. This notable development has occurred essentially on the basis of respect for power of intellect. The old positive value for sharing permeated many inter-cultural exchanges, not only concerning material things, but also the value for openness in the sharing of feelings. Closed behavior caused suspicion, as people cannot deal confidently in interactions clouded by suspicion. So Inuit have readily shared their information, their jokes and their emotions in a traditionalistic way. Profoundly important in the modern context has been the persistence of the strong positive value for and deep attachment to the known habitat, analogous to the feeling for kinship which is also still strong in Inuit society.

The close and intimate Inuit relationship between family feelings and habitat-based commonality, explains the firmness of land-agreement negotiations, and the agony of separation from those vital networks and indices of reality. Children become more clearly seen, as they always were, not only as present joy but security for the future. Thus the distress of alienation between the generations can be understood as their children were returned to them partially schooled but culturally impoverished and bereft of means for comfortable and intimately-understood parent-child relationships. The limitations of the schooling achieved can be explained in terms of the loss of self-confidence incurred in the deculturation process of southern style schooling. No one lacking self-confidence and self-respect can learn anything well and press eagerly ahead to further learning.

The traditional value for respect and the traditional mode of group decision-making by consensus explains the lengthy time and infinite patience which the Inuit have invested in negotiations. They have always favoured reasoning together and temporary withdrawal for further consideration and then return to discussion - over confrontation and flights of combative rhetoric. The traditional survival-motivated patterns of maximizing harmony and avoiding conflict which would affect future security in a highly-interdependent culture, re-emerge frequently. Reinterpretation of values and expressive modes because of the perceived need to be adaptable to modern circumstances has enabled Inuit to engage successfully in debate in modern style, while articulating aspirations and needs congruent with older and persisting cultural patterns.

One example in contemporary times has been the Inuit struggle against the oversimplifications, casuistry and media manipulations of the more opportunistic "environmentalist" organizations who profited enormously while openly callous about the Inuit lifeway survival, in their campaign against the Newfoundland-Belle Isle Strait-Labrador Sea-St. Lawrence Gulf Harp Seal hunt. Greenpeace and other similar or more radical groups made no differentiation between the young southern Harp Seals and the quite distinctively different seals upon which the Inuit depended in the Arctic, using different and more humane harvesting methods. In killing the market for both, they robbed many Inuit of the means to fund their habitat-relating hunting activities, and having been warned, did their harm to the Inuit knowingly. The animals and the campaign organisation were deemed more important than human rights. The Inuit paid for their small-take hunts out of the very limited sales of the few surplus seal skins they retained for trade rather than clothing. Most skins were used for clothing and the meat was an important and healthful part of the family diet. Moreover the habitat-relating aspect of the hunting activity was vital psychological and cultural sustenance, which has now been taken from the beleaguered Inuit society. The crucial relationship between the used habitat and basic vital identity, and psychological health, must be stressed. The adaptability of the modern Inuit leadership in adopting contemporary communication techniques to combat these "environmentalist" threats was impressive. They used the

media with skill, established political networks in Britain and on the continent, and though too late to save the seal-skin market as it was strong-armed out of existence by huge economic and public emotion pressures, the Inuit won wide attention and sympathy. Again we see adapted strategies of modern macro-social organization being used by Inuit to preserve life-ways upon which their real survival depends.²⁵

It is also through the use of modern macro-social organisational techniques that the Inuit para-political representational groups have become international figures pleading their causes in London, Paris, Geneva, Copenhagen, Strasbourg and at the United Nations in New York. At least as significantly, they have formed the Inuit Circumpolar Conference organization, which has brought internationally-derived perspectives, solutions and pressures to bear on many Inuit needs and potentials. Moreover, ICC has done probably more than any other organisation, to broaden Canada's awareness of itself as a major circumpolar nation. Stimulating, epitomising, inspiring, reinforcing and socio-psychologically acting as life-foundation and essential resource, and running as a basic theme in all of these dynamics, is the essential Inuit feel for Inuktitut identity. This is something which urban-dwelling Inuit as well as hinterland hunters have powerfully evinced in modern-living ways, expressed not only in the form of very evocative and widely-admired contemporary arts, but in the world of politics and corporate business. Mary Simons, Rosemary Kuptana, Mary Sillett, Nellie Courneyea, John Amagoalik, Zebeedee Nungak, Charlie Watt, Paul Quassa, Jack Anuwak (M.P.), James Eetoolook, Tagak Curley, Peter Ernirq, Leena Eric-Twerdin, and Meeka Wilson are only a few Inuit leaders' names which are familiar across the country to habitual Canadian news observers. Confidence in their own identity has given them capacity to participate in national affairs effectively. A whole new generation of younger Inuit are now passing through various forms of education, many searching for their identity, and growing in general learning confidence to the extent that their search succeeds.

At the same time, local people in the Arctic settlements are expressing in various forums and media the profound seriousness of on-going social needs in the Arctic, especially

among the younger people, most of whom, however talented, face a future of little hope of wage income in settlements with normally 95% unemployment. The suicide rate in the Arctic is epidemic in its proportions, involving mainly the young, from mid-teens to late twenties. Talented youngsters with promise (not just drug-damaged drop-outs), are not infrequently found among the dead by their own hand. Housing problems are acute and extensive. Child welfare problems are found in every settlement, particularly where parents have drinking problems and inter-spouse violence occurs. And, largely due to the effect of the campaigns of Greenpeace and its associates, there is little chance for many to improve life by hunting and fishing, because the cash to buy fuel and ammunition cannot be had from the sale of spare seal skins. The help of the habitat is now more difficult to reach. Identity-strong self-determination is seen as a major means toward a more hopeful life in Nunavut. At least today, especially at the local level, the Inuit have more say in their fate than a generation ago when the Port Harrison people disembarked with their very few possessions on the High Arctic beaches of Craig Harbour and Resolute Bay, from the grey-hulled government ship of the Eastern Arctic Patrol.

As we approach the conclusion of this discussion, we should remind ourselves of the remarks about identity, made at the beginning (pp. 7 to 9), noting again the importance of Inuit habitat-relatedness as a component of identity, and the relationship of this to kinship and family historical associations. We now see how basic to people's socio-psychological sense of their own reality is the confidence in identity, in all its components, such that people feel threatened and lost when their identity is undermined. We have now noted how, in so many ways, the relocated Inukjuarmiut were also dislocated socially, culturally and functionally in terms of their identity, and their strong reaction to this persists to this day. It must be recognized that though the High Arctic Inukjuarmiut are depicted as meek and complaisant, they also showed extraordinary courage, endurance and intelligence in making the adaptations that were necessary. They found themselves far from the vital social and metaphysical links with kinsfolk in an alien setting which was nameless, and too soon obscured by a longer period of short winter

days than they had previously known, dark or midday dusky for almost three months. Their known namescape was far away, their bonds and networks no longer stood ready about them in their physical and metaphysical environment, and thus too their psychological security was threatened through diminution of identity in a setting they had no traditional means of identifying with. To adapt and succeed in this new setting took remarkable morale courage, curiosity, creativity and flexibility of mind, and too the stamina, patience, individual confidence and group co-operativeness which are all characteristics called forth by the value system of the Inuit. In a habitat which was not only alien geographically, but also alien socially and spiritually, it was not possible early on to travel and hunt with secure mind. It would have been understandable if the total effect of all of this had been numbing to morale and will to act. But the countervailing concerns for family, sharing, respect and desire for knowledge worked in their favour.

The women's point of view has been stressed as important in this essay, and certainly has been seen as important in the particular history of the Inukjuarmiut of the High Arctic. This was obvious during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' hearings in April, 1993. The women have always been very important repositories of family and group knowledge. Maintaining the home base, and constantly sharing their work, their goods and implements, their opinions, their feelings and their information with the other women of the camp - they learned and remembered much. They never knew for sure that their men would return safely from the hunt, and frequently the women outlived more than one husband. One can imagine the added anxiety of the waiting women of the High Arctic Inukjuarmiut during that first winter. Equally, we can now conceive of the desolation felt when for purposes of naming or other culturally significant purposes, they found themselves remote from and unable to easily reach other valued souls and minds in their normal network. The men were challenged physically and in their skills and curiosity, adventuring as they hunted through the strange fjords and high-hunched coastlines of Ellesmere Island. The women, caring always too for the children, needed a different kind of courage, and the strains, distresses and fears of those times have remained vivid in their retentive memories.

It would be useful to review more thoroughly, in the context of the High Arctic relocation experience of the Inukjuarmiut and their reactions, the observations made herein on the concepts of nuna and the dialectal group namescape. One hopes that these insights will broaden and deepen understanding of the relocated Inukjuarmiut - and of the Inuit everywhere in their circumpolar world, and in the tense places in the south where some of them live now and many of them work indefatigably for their people. Anywhere, their culture must be understood and respected.

* * * * *

Many years later, long after my first extensive voyage on the grey government ship in 1953, I travelled by Danish ship up the coast of Greenland, and finally by small Greenlandic boat into the fjords and villages of the Ummannak District in the northwest. It was 1974, and a different era. We went up a long fjord, commanded at its far end by a high grey cliff. In a darker rock still, there was on that cliff-face the huge shape of a black angel. Across the fjord from there huddled the construction site of a Cominco-owned lead-zinc mine, near a quarry called Marmorilik. The Greenlanders in our small vessel told me that the company had a floating bunk-house in the form of a semi-derelict old ship. As we rounded the headland into the final bay I saw the ship, and my heart fell suddenly. It was the "C.D. Howe", still with its familiar D.O.T. colours and funnel symbol bearing a maple leaf. The distinctive hunch-and-droop crane still crouched hugely on the foredeck. I felt no pang of nostalgia. In fact I felt my scalp crawl. I did not want to go aboard "for old times' sake". Too many tears. Too many ghosts. I heard it was to be soon towed away and broken up for scrap in Spain. Good riddance. I wanted no souvenirs.

I went back with the Greenlanders, men who divided their time between working at the mine-site and hunting and fishing. They talked about how the municipality was going to extract substantial amounts of money from the mining company in locally-devised and administrated taxes and compensation payments for pollution, over which they were also

taking control. Environmental control policy is a strong Greenlandic concern, nationally and locally. The political and economic complexities were all discussed in Greenlandic, as was administration and technology. The children of the boat-owner's family played in Greenlandic or sat in the deck-house reading store-bought books, in Greenlandic. Later we headed back westerly away from Black Angel, and, happy to see the last of the "C.D. Howe", I turned my back on that fearful old ship, and looked across Greenlandic habitat in the direction of my own country. Looking toward Canada, and, with Greenlandic cultural strengths in mind, I felt it good to go back to the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

I have listed a number of questions and recommendations still to be dealt with by the Royal Commission. Some may be taken from my statement in the Hearing of June 30, 1993, others from the body of this essay. They may be summarised as follows:

1. This essay has raised a fairly large number of questions which should be answered, such as those concerning the correspondence between the Inuit and the government, and those concerning the nature of on-the-ground communication at Port Harrison in the preparation stages of the High Arctic relocation. We still are not sure who was interviewed and who was chosen and who was rejected or who declined to go, and all the reasons why. We need to know who did the interpreting and under what circumstances, how well prepared was the interpreter, and if there were repeat interviews and personal follow-up, or was it done family-by-family or by whole camp group? How were the people who went reputed locally? Who recommended them, and why?

What factual data was recorded about these people, and did it accompany them? I mean lists of possessions, weapons, dogs, sleds, tenting, clothing and bedding skins. I mean lists of relationships and ages and identifications dealing with kinsfolk. I mean data concerning economic circumstances. Questions arise about how the Hudson's Bay Company debt was handled, or if indeed there were people with credit accounts and if and how they were transferred, and where to.

Considering the medical problems of the Arctic, especially in those times, what individual medical records were consulted, and what medical records were transferred with the responsible people to the new location? Was everybody examined and x-rayed in Port Harrison? Or Churchill? Or on the "C.D. Howe"? It was of course the official Eastern Arctic Patrol Medical Mission carrier.

Have the extensive records of the Hudson's Bay Company archives been researched about all aspects of this relocation? Has P.A.C. Nichols been contacted? What are the documented facts as known to the fur-trade - about the economic situation on the Eastern Hudson's Bay littoral in the early 1950s? What were the population dynamics of the region at that time, as discernable by analysis of the vital statistics and medical records of births, morbidity and mortality? I raised these and other population questions in my statement before the Commission hearing on June 30th. Age pyramids might be insightful; game reports assembled by the R.C.M.P. and the Company might help clarify questions as to the relative paucity or otherwise of resources. How were the camps distributed and in what densities? What were the criteria of "poverty" or "doing well" in that region in that era, and who was consulted in establishing those criteria?

What were the criteria as to leadership? What other personality criteria for appropriateness for relocation were set up, and by whom? How involved in the discussions were the other local authorities, beyond the R.C.M.P., specifically the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican mission?

2. I recommend that the Royal Commission comment frankly while its hearings and enquiries are in progress, concerning any obviously-biased historical revisionism, and at the same time take an active role in seeking the resolution of conflict.
3. I suggest that the Royal Commission recommend not only in a general way, but in specific detail, on the terms of Canadian Government demonstration of feeling about pivotal past events, and if compensation is called for, to not leave it vaguely to the Government, but make it part of the Royal Commission's detailed recommendations.

4. I suggest that the Royal Commission stand ready and make preparation to provide, if called upon, its resources of expertise and experience to the planners of Nunavut.
5. I recommend that, concerning Inukjuaq, Aujuiituq and Qausuituq ("Pt. Harrison and the High Arctic relocation settlement), the Royal Commission round out its enquiry into this highly-charged symbol issue, by sending at least some part of the Commission to these places to meet with and question, not just a selection of people, but every single one who has been directly concerned - separately, and as a group.
6. Concerning the 1953 and 1955 relocation of the Inukjuarmiut, I further suggest full enquiry into all the incentives offered and the follow-up research to see if, how and to what extent these inducements were acted upon. For example, what is known about the debt inevitably on the Hudson's Bay Company books against the names of the relocated families? It is very unlikely that they would be allowed to leave without some formal arrangement concerning that debt. Under the circumstances, with this clientèle lost possibly forever, it is implausible that the Company would be willing to "carry" them. Was the Company in some way reassured that the people would return better able to pay down their debt, or that payment would be sent from the High Arctic? It sounds too uncertain from the known Hudson's Bay Company point of view. Did, then, D.N.A. pay off the debts for the Inukjuak people going North? It would have been an attractive incentive for the people to be freed of the debt-burden cycle and the control it implied, for the first time in their lives.
7. Significant relocation documentation should be the letters the Inuit wrote to me in the Eskimology section of D.N.A. and others in Ottawa. There should be copious files of this correspondence kept in Government archives. I do remember a few letters from the Resolute Bay and Grise Fjord, asking that further

arrangements be made to bring more relatives from Inukjuaq to their High Arctic settlements. This does not necessarily mean there were no letters asking for repatriation. Forty years later, I do not remember receiving such letters, simply. But other people may have received letters asking to be repatriated and citing the original promises. They need to be traced if any were written. Not only the letters should be found, if written, but the plethora of government memoranda, reply letters and other file material arising from the original letters should be plentifully available if there were any such letters in the first place. There is clearly some serious archival work, as well as actual northern contact work - yet to be done.

ENDNOTES

1. I was, as a very young man, aboard the all-purpose Eastern Arctic Patrol ship during the summer of 1953, a passenger en route to Pangnirtung, joining the vessel at Churchill, Manitoba. The "Port Harrison people" were already aboard, and remained so, for several weeks, as we stopped at Southampton Island and all of the Baffin Island settlements except Pangnirtung, on the way to Craig Harbour and Resolute Bay. It was possible, as one sharing a cabin with a fluent Inuktitut speaker also from Port Harrison, the Reverend Donald Whitbread, an Anglican missionary, to receive some immediate impressions of their situation and state of mind.
2. Habitat-relatedness: the patterns of functional interaction of people with their habitat, economically, socially, cognitively and spiritually.
3. See also, Williamson, R.G., 1974, Eskimo Underground, Institutionen for allmän och jämförande etnografi, Uppsala, and Williamson, Karla J., 1992, The Cultural Ecological Perspectives of Canadian Inuit: Implications for Childrearing and Education, Graduate thesis, Indian and Northern Education Program, Dept. of Educational Foundations, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada.
4. Reality field: the range of culturally-conditioned impressions which constitute the totality of perceived reality, physically and metaphysically, in the person's world view, reflecting group cosmology and value system.
5. Identity complex: the inter-related set of social and belief factors which are the components of personal and group identity, including e.g., gender, kinship and social structures, the name-forms here mentioned, language and dialect, habitat and cultural ecological knowledge and practices, values, forms of cultural expressiveness, kinship roles and other forms of affiliation and alliance, occupation, formalities of appearance, and so on.
6. Frangible: breakable, easily disintegrated.
7. Williamson, R.G., 1974, Eskimo Underground.
8. Williamson, R.G., 1979, "The Notion of Cultural Commuting: Evaluation of Short-term Feasibility" in Proceedings: Conference on Commuting and Northern Development, Institute on Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
9. Nuttall, Mark, 1992, Inuit Homeland: Kinship, Community and Development in Northwest Greenland, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

10. I discussed these ideas with Dr. Nuttall during his doctoral research-writing days at Scott Polar Research Institute, in Cambridge University, and I believe his book to be one of the best contributions to the literature in many decades.

11. Comer, George, 1906, Whaling in Hudson Bay, with Notes on Southampton Island. Boas Anniversary Volume. New York: Stechert.

Comer, George, 1910, "A Geographical Description of Southampton Island and Notes Upon the Eskimo". Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 45: 516-18.

See also, Ross, W. Gillies, 1975, Whaling and Eskimos, Hudson Bay 1860-1915, National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology, No. 10, Ottawa.

12. Unstratified: absence of class-type social levels; unhierarchical social structure except in terms of age authority.

13. Jameson Bond: an anthropology-trained public servant; ^{later he became the director of the Boreal Institute at the University of Alberta.} His phrase was originally coined conversationally in 1954 during the Eastern Arctic Patrol (C.G.S. "C.D. Howe") visitation to the weather station he was then employed at, in the north Baffin "settlement" of Arctic Bay.

14. Stevenson, an ex-Hudson's Bay Company trader and long-term P.O.W. RCAF war veteran, became a full-time civil servant and Officer-in-Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in the late 1940s, about the time the Patrol began to use the C.G.S. "CD Howe", replacing the old "Nascopie", operated by the Hudson's Bay Company Transportation Division. The latter sank off Cape Dorset, July 21st, 1947.

15. Nunatsiaq News, Iqaluit, N.W.T., June 4, 1993; page 3.
Nunatsiaq News, July 30, 1993; page 1.
Nunatsiaq News, August 6, 1993; page 7, page 12.
News/North, Yellowknife, N.W.T., July 26, 1993; page 1, page A3, page A32.
Ottawa Citizen, July 26, 1993.
News/North, August 2; page A3, page A7, page A28.
News/North, September 27, 1993; page 11.

16. Williamson, R.G., 1988, "The History of the Eskimo Naming System in Social Structure", in Folk, vol. 30, Copenhagen.

17. For a rather old-fashioned, scholarly, formal earlier history of Greenland, see Gad, Finn, 1971-82, The History of Greenland, 3 Vols. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University.

Also, for more recent in no-way-formal and journalistic accounts of Greenlandic, Alaskan and Arctic Canadian socio-economic and political developments from

1974 to 1989, see Lauritzen, Philip, 1983, Oil and Amulets, Breakwater Books (no location for publisher given), co-published by Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Ottawa, Ontario; and

Lauritzen, Philip, 1989, Highlights of an Arctic Revolution, the First 120 Months of Greenlandic Home Rule, Namminersomerullutitk Oqartussat, Atuakkiorfik, Nuuk, Greenland.

See citations of Ervin, Alexander M. in Reference Material, a significant Ph.D. thesis and three analytically incisive articles; and

Gallagher, James, 1974, Etok, A Story of Eskimo Powers, New York: Putnam's; and

Berry, Mary Clay, n.d., The Alaska Pipeline: The Politics of Oil and Native Land Claims, Indiana University Press, Bloomington; and

Arnold, Robert D., 1976, 1978, Alaska Native Land Claims, Alaska Native Foundation, Anchorage; and

very insightful, the book by the distinguished Canadian Justice and northern enquiry commissioners, Berger, Thomas R., 1985, Village Journey, The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission, Toronto: Collins Publishers.

18. Phillips, R.A.J., Director of the Northern Administration Branch, D.I.A.N.D., in the 1960s. Informal seminar at Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Spring 1980.
19. Sivertz, Bent G., 1982, The Sivertz Family, Book 2, Elinborg, copyright, Candby, Oregon. (See also The Sivertz Family, Book 1, Kristian, copyright, Candby, Oregon, 1981).
20. Now appropriately formally using its Inuktitut name, Taloyouk.
21. Williamson, R.G. & Foster, T.W., 1977, Eskimo Relocation in Canada, Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
22. See now a major book by Tester, F. J. & Kulchyski, P., 1994, Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63. This is a significant contribution.

Quite extensive work worthy of attention is that of Alan Marcus, who recently published some of his Cambridge research material. See Marcus, A.R., 1992, Out in the Cold: The Legacy of Canada's Inuit Relocation Experiment in the High Arctic, Copenhagen, IWGIA document no. 71, call number E99: E7M-357.

23. Williamson, R.G., Eskimo Underground, *ibid.*
24. Williamson, R.G., elected first member of the Legislative Council of the Northwest Territories for the Central Arctic, 1966-1972.
25. See also Williamson, R.G., 1991, "Cultural Persistence and Cultural Casualties in the Sealskin Wars", in Proactive, vol. 10, no. 1, Society of Applied Anthropology in Canada.

REFERENCE MATERIAL

- Adams, W. Peter (ed.)
1987 Education, Research, Information Systems and the North. Ottawa:
 Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies.
- Albert, Rosie, Ronald Lowe and Pierre Renaud
1987 Aakigiik Niqaigutiruak. Québec: Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. and
 Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement.
- Arima, Eugene Y.
1984 Caribou Eskimo. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5:
 Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 447-462. Washington, DC: Smithsonian
 Institute.
- Arnold, Robert D.
1976,1978 Alaska Native Land Claims. Anchorage: Alaska Native Foundation.
- Ashlee, Jette E.
1985 Inuit Integration with Denmark and Canada: A Comparative Study of
 Colonialism in Greenland and the Northwest Territories. M.Litt.,
 University of Cambridge.
- Balicki, Asen
1960 Suicidal Behaviour Among the Netsilik Eskimos. (NCRC 60-2) Ottawa:
 Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern
 Coordination and Research Centre.
- 1963 Shamanistic Behaviour Among the Netsilik Eskimos. Southwestern
 Journal of Anthropology 19 (4): 380-396.
- 1964 The Eskimos of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula: Ethnographic
 Contributions. In Le Nouveau-Québec: Contribution à l'Étude de
 l'Occupation Humaine. J. Malaurie and J. Rousseau (eds.), pp. 375-394.
 Paris: Mouton.
- 1970 The Netsilik Eskimo. New York: The Natural History Press.
- 1984 Netsilik. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David
 Damas (ed.), pp. 415-430. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

- Bandi, Hans-Georg
1969 Eskimo Prehistory. Ann E. Keep (trans.) (Studies of Northern Peoples 2). Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press. (Original: Urgeschichte des Eskimo, Gustav Fischer, Stuttgart, 1965).
- Bennett, John R.
1986 Whalers, Missionaries, and Inuit in Cumberland Sound. M.A., Carleton University.
- Berger, Thomas R.
1985 Village Journey. The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission. Toronto: Collins Publishers.
- Bergsland, Knut
1955 A Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo Language of West Greenland. Oslo: University of Oslo. Mimeo. (Microfiche from Inter Dokumentation). Zug, Switzerland.
- Berry, Mary Clay
n.d. The Alaska Pipeline: The Politics of Oil and Native Land Claims. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Berthelsen, Christian, Birgitte Jacobsen, Inge Kleivan, Frederik Nielsen, Robert Petersen and Jorgen Rischel
1990 OQAATSIT Kalaallisuumiit Qallunaatumut, Gronlandsk Dansk ORDBOG. Atuakkiorfik/Uddannelsesforlaget, Namminer-sornerullutik Qartussat/Gronlands Hjemmestyre (Nuuk).
- Bird, Junius
1972 The Physical Characteristics in Northern Canada. In The North. W.C. Wonders (ed.), pp. 1-24. (Studies in Canadian Geography). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj
1929 The Caribou Eskimos: Material and Social Life and Their Cultural Position. Report on the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-1924, 5 (1-2). Copenhagen.
- 1959 The Eskimos. W.E. Calvert (trans.). Revised Edition. London: Methuen.
- Blodgett, Jean
1979 The Coming and Going of the Shaman, Eskimo Shamanism and Art. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery.

- 1985 Kenojuak. Toronto: Firefly Books.
- Boas, Franz
1884-85 The Central Eskimo. Sixth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1901-07 The Eskimo of Baffinland and Hudson Bay. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 15: 1-570. New York.
- 1964 The Central Eskimo. [1888]. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bockstoe, John R.
1977a Eskimo Whaling in Alaska. Alaska Magazine, 43 (9): 4-6.
- 1977b Steam Whaling in the Western Arctic. New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Whaling Society.
- Bodfish, Waldo, Sr.
1991 Kusiq, An Eskimo Life History from the Arctic Coast of Alaska. Recorded, compiled and edited by William Schneider, Leona Kisautaq Okakok and James Mumilana Nageak, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Bond, J.J.
1972 Canadian Arctic Communities: A Case Study of Power Relationships. World.
- Borre, Kristen Sue
1990 A Biocultural Mode of Dietary Decision-making Among North Baffin Island Inuit: Explaining the Ecology of Food Consumption by Native Canadians. Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Briggs, Jean L.
1970 Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1978 The Origins of Non-Violence: Inuit Management of Aggression. In Learning Non-Aggression. Ashley Montague (ed.), pp. 54-93. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1982 Living Dangerously: The Contradictory Foundations of Value in Canadian Inuit Society. In Politics and History in Band Societies. E. Leacock and R.B. Lee (eds.), pp. 109-132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brody, Hugh

- 1975 The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, Ltd.
- 1977a ILIRA: Meeting with the White Man. Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples Bulletin, 18 (1): 10-13.
- 1977b Industrial Impact in the Canadian North. Polar Record, 18: 333-339.
- 1977c Permanence and Change Among the Inuit and Settlers of Labrador. In Our Footprints are Everywhere. Carol Price-Bennett, Dir. and Gen. Ed., pp. 311-347. Nain, Labrador: Labrador Inuit Association.
- 1977d The Settlement Manager: Ambivalence in Patronage. In The White Arctic. R. Paine (ed.), pp. 189-211. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 7, Institute of Social and Economic Research. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1978 Ecology, Politics and Change: The Case of the Eskimo. Development and Change, 9: 21-41.
- 1987 Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North. Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre. Reprint 1990.
- 1991 The People's Land: Inuit, Whites and the Eastern Arctic. Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre.

Brøsted, Jens et al.

- 1985 Native Power, The Quest for Autonomy and Nationhood of Indigenous Peoples. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget A.S.

Burch, Ernest S., Jr.

- 1970 The Eskimo Trading Partnership in North Alaska: A Study in "Balanced Reciprocity". Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 15 (1): 49-80.
- 1972 The Caribou/Wild Reindeer as a Human Resource. American Antiquity, 37: 339-368.
- 1975 Eskimo Kinsmen: Changing Family Relations in Northwest Alaska. (Monograph of the American Ethnology Society 59). St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company.

- 1976 The "Nunamiut" Concept and the Standardization of Error. In Contributions to Anthropology: The Interior Peoples of Northern Alaska. Edwin S. Hall (ed.), pp. 52-97. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Archaeological Survey Paper 49. Ottawa.
- 1978 Caribou Eskimo Origins: An Old Problem Reconsidered. Arctic Anthropology, 15 (1): 1-35.
- 1979 The Ethnography of Northern North America: A Guide to Recent Research. Arctic Anthropology, 16 (1): 62-146.
- 1981 The Traditional Eskimo Hunters of Point Hope, Alaska 1800-1875. [Barrow]. North Slope Borough.
- 1988 The Eskimos. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Canada, Government of
1981 In All Fairness: A Native Claims Policy. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Canitz, B.
1988 A Study of Turnover in Remote Post Nurses: Power, Stress and Isolation. Paper, Department of Behavioral Science, University of Toronto.
- Carpenter, Edmund
1973 Eskimo Realities. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Chance, Norman
1966 The Eskimos of North Alaska. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Clark, Brenda
1977 The Development of Caribou Eskimo Culture. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Archaeology Survey Paper 59. Ottawa.
- Collis, Dirmid R.F.
1990 Arctic Languages: An Awakening. Paris: UNESCO.
- Comer, George
1906 Whaling in Hudson Bay, with Notes on Southampton Island. Boas Anniversary Volume. New York: Stechert.
- 1910 A Geographical Description of Southampton Island and Notes Upon the Eskimo. Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 45: 516-518.

- 1921 Notes on the Natives of the Northwestern Shores of Hudson Bay. American Anthropologist, 23 (2): 243-244.
- Condon, Richard G.
1983 Inuit Behaviour and Seasonal Change in the Canadian Arctic. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
- Cooper, Willie
1988 Souvenirs d'un Kuujjuamiut. Memories of a Kuujjuamiut. Kuutjuamiut aulajijangit. Publication du Centre de documentation sur l'histoire inuit No. 1, Institut Culturel Avataq Inc., Inukjuak.
- Cote Chew, Sylvie (ed.)
1988 Killiniq. Glimpse of a Fading Past. Publication du Centre de documentation sur l'histoire inuit No. 2, Institut Culturel Avataq Inc., Inukjuak.
- Cox, Bruce (ed.)
1973 Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- 1988 Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis. Carleton Library Series No. 142. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Crago, Martha Borgmann
1990 Cultural Context in Communicative Interaction of Inuit Children. Ph.D., School of Human Communication Disorders, McGill University.
- Crnkovicich, Mary (ed.)
1990 Gossip. A Spoken History of Women in the North. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee.
- Crowe, Keith
1970 A Cultural Geography of Northern Foxe Basin, N.W.T. (NSRG 69-2). Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Northern Science Research Group.
- 1974 A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. Arctic Institute of North America. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- 1991 A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. Revised Edition. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Csonka, Yvon
1988 Collections artiques. Neuchatel, Switzerland: Musee d'Ethnographie.

- Currie, Noel Elisabeth
1988 Canadian Native Women's Writing: Theory in the Flesh. M.A., Carleton University.
- Dahl, Jens
1989 The Integrative and Cultural Role of the Hunting and Subsistence in Greenland. Études/Inuit/Studies, 13 (1): 23-42.
- Damas, David
1963 Igluligmiut Kinship and Local Groupings: A Structural Approach. Anthropological Series 64, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 196. Ottawa.
- 1968 The Eskimo. In Science, History and Hudson Bay, Vol. 1. C.S. Beals (ed.), pp. 141-172. Ottawa: Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.
- 1969a Characteristics of Central Eskimo Band Structure. In Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies. D. Damas (ed.), pp. 116-134. Anthropological Series 84, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 228. Ottawa.
- 1969b Environment, History and Central Eskimo Society. In Contributions to Anthropology: Ecological Essays. D. Damas (ed.), pp. 40-64. National Museum of Canada Bulletin 230. Ottawa.
- 1969c Survey of Eskimo Groupings. Appendix to Characteristics of Central Eskimo Band Structure. In Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies. D. Damas (ed.), pp. 135-138. Anthropological Series 84, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 228. Ottawa.
- 1969d Contributions to Anthropology: Ecological Essays. Anthropological Series 86, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 230. Ottawa.
- 1971 The Problem of the Eskimo Family. In The Canadian Family: A Book of Readings. K. Ishwaren (ed.), pp. 54-78. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1972a The Copper Eskimo. In Hunters and Gatherers Today. M.G. Bicchierri (ed.), pp. 3-50. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1972b The Structure of Central Eskimo Associations. In Proceedings of the 1971 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society. L. Guemple (ed.), pp. 40-55. Suppl. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- 1972c Central Eskimo Systems of Food Sharing. Ethnology, 11 (3): 220-240.
- 1975a Three Kinship Systems from the Central Arctic. Arctic Anthropology, 12 (1): 10-30.
- 1975b Demographic Aspects of Central Eskimo Marriage Practices. American Ethnologist, 2 (3): 409-418.
- 1984a Central Eskimo: Introduction. In Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 391-396. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- 1984b Copper Eskimo. In Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 397-414. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

Damas, David (ed.)

- 1969 Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies. Proceedings of the Conference on Band Organization, Ottawa, Aug. 30 to Sept. 2, 1965. Anthropological Series 84, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 228. Ottawa.
- 1984 Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5: Arctic. William C. Sturtevant, Gen. Ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

Donaldson, Judith Lee

- 1988 The Economic Ecology of Hunting, a Case Study of the Canadian Inuit. Ph.D., Harvard University.

Dorais, Louis-Jacques

- 1975a Iqalungmiut uqausingit: Southeast Baffin Inuit Language. Québec: Université Laval. Association Inuksiutiit Katimaajit.
- 1975b Kinngagmiut uqausingit: The Inuit Language in Cape Dorset, N.W.T. Québec: Université Laval. Association Inuksiutiit Katimaajit.
- 1976 Aivilingmiut uqausingit: The Aivilik Inuit Language. Québec: Université Laval. Association Inuksiutiit Katimaajit.
- 1978 Iglulingmiut uqausingit: The Inuit Language of Igloolik, N.W.T. Québec: Université Laval. Association Inuksiutiit Katimaajit.
- 1980 The Inuit Language in Southern Labrador from 1694-1785. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnology Service Paper 66. Ottawa.

- 1981 Some Notes on the Language of East Greenland. In The Language of the Inuit: Historical, Phonological and Grammatical Issues. L. Dorais (ed.), pp. 43-70. Études/Inuit/Studies 5, Suppl.
- 1988a Qumag Allatangit, Taamusi Sivulitta Piusituqangit: An Encyclopedia of Inuit Traditional Life. Bernard ~~Saladiri D'Anghire~~ (ed.), with L-J Dorais, Johanne Levesque, Georges Filokes. Association Inuksiutut Katimajut. Department d'anthropologie. Québec: Université Laval.
- 1988b Uqausigusiqtati, an analytical lexicon of modern Inuktitut in Québec/Labrador. Québec: Université Laval.
- 1990 Inuit Uqausiqatigiit: Inuit Languages and Dialects. Arctic College, Nunatta Campus. Iqaluit, N.W.T.
- Dorais, Louis-Jacques (ed.)
1981 The Language of the Inuit: Historical, Phonological and Grammatical Issues. Études/Inuit/Studies 5, Suppl.
- Driscoll, Bernadette (ed.)
1985 Uumajut: Animal Imagery in Inuit Art. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery.
- Duhaime, Gerard
1987a Le Pays des Inuit. La situation économique 1983. Laboratoire de recherches sociologiques, Department de sociologie. Québec: Université Laval.
- 1987b Ni chien, ni loup. L'économie, l'État et les Inuit du Québec arctique. Ph.D., Université Laval.
- 1990 The Subversion of Inuit Hunting Practice: Tradition and Modernity. Recherches Sociographiques, 31 (1): 45-62.
- Dumond, Don
1965 On Eskaleutian Linguistics, Archaeology, and Prehistory. American Anthropologist, 67 (5): 1231-1257.
- 1977 The Eskimos and Aleuts. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Dunbar, Maxwell J.
1968 Ecological Development in Polar Regions: A Study in Evolution. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

- Dyck, Noel and James B. Waldram (eds.)
1993 Anthropology: Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Ervin, Alexander M.
1974 Civic Capacity and Transculturation: The Rise and Role of the Alaska Federation of Nations, Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, Urban, Illinois.
1976 The Emergence of Native Alaskan Political Capacity, 1959-71. The Musk-Ox, 19: 3-14.
1980 A Review of the Acculturation Approach in Anthropology with Special Reference to Recent Change in Alaska. Journal of Anthropological Research, 36: 44-70.
1987 Styles and Strategies of Leadership During the Alaskan Native Land Claims, 1959-71. Anthropological, 29: 21-38.
- Field, Edward
1968 Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos. Cambridge: Education Development Centre.
- Fischer-Møller, Knud
1942 The Mediaeval Norse Settlements in Greenland: Anthropological Investigations. Meddelelser om Grønland, 89 (2). Copenhagen.
- Fitzhugh, William W.
1977 Indian and Eskimo-Inuit Settlement History in Labrador: An Archaeological View. In Our Footprints are Everywhere. C. Brice-Bennett (ed.), pp. 1-42. Nain: Labrador Inuit Association.
- Fitzhugh, W.W. and Susan A. Kaplan
1982 Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Fortescue, Michael
1983a A Comparative Manual of Affixes for the Inuit Dialects of Greenland, Canada and Alaska. Meddelelser om Grønland (Man and Society), 4. Copenhagen.
1990 From the Writing of the Greenlanders: Kalaallit Atuakkiannit. Hardbound. (Michael Fortescue, Institut for Eskimologi, Københavns Universitet, Fiolstraede 10, Kobenhaven K Denmark).

Fortuine, Robert (ed.)

- 1986 Circumpolar Health 84. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on Circumpolar Health. Washington, DC: University of Washington Press.

Freeman, Milton M.R.

- 1967 An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns Among Belcher Island Eskimo. Arctic, 20 (3): 154-175.
- 1968 Eskimo Thanking Acts in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Folk, 10: 25-28.
- 1969-70 Studies in Maritime Hunting, I: Ecologic and Technologic Restraints on Walrus Hunting, Southampton Island, N.W.T. Folk, 11-12: 155-171. Copenhagen.
- 1971a A Social and Ecological Analysis of Systematic Female Infanticide Among the Netsilik Eskimo. American Anthropologist, 73 (5), 1011-1018.
- 1971b Patrons, Leaders and Values in an Eskimo Settlement. Internationale Amerikan' isten kongress, 38th, 1968, pp. 113-124. Stuttgart-München Verhandlungen, Band 3.
- 1971c The Significance of Demographic Changes Occurring in the Canadian East Arctic. Anthropologica, 13: 215-236.
- 1971d Tolerance and Rejection of Roles in an Eskimo Settlement. In Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. R. Paine (ed.), pp. 34-54. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, 2. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1973 Demographic Research in the Canadian North: Some Preliminary Observations. In Science and the North. K.R. Greenaway (ed.). Ottawa: Information Canada.
- 1974 People Pollution: Sociologic and Ecological Viewpoints on the Prevalence of People. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- 1974-75 Studies in Maritime Hunting, 2. An Analysis of Walrus Hunting and Utilisation: Southampton Island, NWT. Folk, 16-17: 147-158.
- 1981 Persistence and Change: The Cultural Dimension. In A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands. M. Zaslow (ed.), pp. 257-266. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada.

- 1984a Arctic Ecosystems. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 36-48. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- 1984b Franz Boas on Baffin Island: A Centennial Observed. Études/Inuit/Studies, 8 (1): 11-12.
- 1984c The Grise Fiord Project. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 676-682. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

Freeman, Milton M.R. (ed.)

- 1969 Intermediate Adaptation in Newfoundland and the Arctic: A Strategy of Social and Economic Development. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers No. 4, Institute of Social and Economic Research. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1975 Bathurst Island, NWT: A Test Case of Canada's Northern Policy. In Canadian Public Policy, 1. M. Freeman and L. Hackman (eds.), pp. 402-414.
- 1976 Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project Report. 3 vols. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.
- 1981 Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium on Renewable Resources and the Economy of the North. Ottawa: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies.
- 1988 Traditional Knowledge and Renewable Resource Management in Northern Regions. M. Freeman and L. Carbyn (eds.). Boreal Institute for Northern Studies Occasional Publication No. 23. Edmonton: University of Alberta.

Frideres, James S.

- 1983 Native People of Canada. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.

Fried, Jacob (ed.)

- 1955 A Survey of the Aboriginal Populations of Québec and Labrador. (Eastern Canadian Anthropological Series 1). Montreal: McGill University.

Gad, Finn

- 1971-82 The History of Greenland. 3 Vols. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University.

- Gallagher, James
1974 Etok, A Story of Eskimo Powers. New York: Putnam's.
- Giddings, James L., Jr.
1952 Observations on the "Eskimo Type" of Kinship and Social Structure. Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 1 (1): 5-10. College.
- Gilberg, Rolf
1974-75 Changes in the Life of the Polar Eskimos Resulting from a Canadian Immigration into the Thule District, North Greenland in the 1960's. Folk, 16-17: 159-170. Copenhagen.
- 1976 The Polar Eskimo Population Thule District, North Greenland. Meddelelser om Grønland, 203 (3). Copenhagen.
- Gilles, Ross W.
1975 Whaling and Eskimos, Hudson Bay 1860-1915. National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology, No. 10. Ottawa.
- Glarborg, Kirsten
1962 Child Rearing in West Greenland. In Child and Education: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Applied Psychology, pp. 106-120. Copenhagen.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H.
1964 Taqagamiut Eskimo Kinship Terminology. (NCRC 64-1). Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre.
- 1969 Eskimos without Igloos: Social and Economic Development in Sugluk. Boston: Little, Brown.
- 1971 Traditional Economic Institutions and the Acculturation of the Canadian Eskimos. In Studies in Economic Anthropology, pp. 107-121. American Anthropological Association Studies 7. Washington.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H. and B. Stephen Strong
1973 Circumpolar Peoples: An Anthropological Perspective. Pacific Palisades: CA: Goodyear Publishing Company.
- Grant, Shelagh D.
1988 Sovereignty of security? Government policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

- Griffiths, Franklyn (ed.)
1987 Politics of the Northwest Passage. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Grondin, Jacques
1988 Evacuations medicales et hospitalisations meridionales des Inuit du Nouveau-Quebec: Creation et resolution des problems. M.A., Universite Laval. *
- Guay, Helene
1988 Les femmes inuit: emplois salaries et frontiere des sexes. M.A., Universite Laval. *
- Gubser, Nicholas J.
1965 The Nunamiut Eskimo: Hunters of Caribou. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Guemple, D. Lee
1965 Saunik: Name Sharing as a Factor Governing Eskimo Kinship Terms. Ethnology, 4 (3): 323-335.
1966 Kinship Reckoning Among the Belcher Island Eskimos. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
1969 The Eskimo Ritual Sponsor: A Problem in the Fusion of Semantic Domains. Ethnology, 8 (4): 468-483.
1972a Alliance in Eskimo Society. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society for 1971. Suppl. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
1972b Eskimo Band Organization and the "DP Camp" Hypothesis. Arctic Anthropology, 9 (2): 80-112.
- Guemple D. Lee (ed.)
1979 Inuit Adoption. Canada. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Ethnology Service Paper 47. Ottawa.
- Gullov, Hans C. and Hans Kapel
1979-80 Legend, History and Archaeology: A Study of the Art of Eskimo Narratives. Folk, 21-22: 347-380. Copenhagen.
- Halifax, Joan
1979 Shamanic Voices. New York: Dalton.

Hamelin, Louis-Edmond

1975 Nordicité Canadienne. Montreal: McGill University Press.

1988 Realitiés canadiennes. Le Nord canadien et ses referents conceptuels. Ottawa: Secretariat d'État du Canada.

Harhoff, Frederik

1984 The Constitutional Development in Arctic Canada. University of Copenhagen, Institute of Law. Publication pending.

Hawkes, Ernest W.

1916 The Labrador Eskimo. Geological Surveys Memoir 91. Ottawa: Department of Mines.

Helm, June (ed.)

1981 Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5: Subarctic. William C. Sturtevant Gen. Ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

Hennigh, Lawrence

1971 You Have to be a Good Lawyer to be an Eskimo. In Alliance in Eskimo Society. Lee Guemple (ed.). Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society.

Honigmann, John J.

1951 An Episode in the Administration of the Great Whale River Eskimo. Human Organization, 10 (2): 5-14.

1952 Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River. American Anthropologist, 54: 510-522.

1960-61 The Great Whale River Eskimo: A Focussed Social System. Anthropological Papers, 9: 11-16. Fairbanks: University of Alaska.

1962 Social Networks in Great Whale River; Notes on an Eskimo, Montagnais-Naskapi, and Euro-Canadian Community. NMC Bulletin, No. 178, Anthropological Series Bulletin No. 54. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

1973 Integration of Canadian Eskimos, Indians and Other Persons of Native Ancestry in Modern Economic and Public Life: Evidence from Inuvik. In Circumpolar Problems: Habitat, Economy and Social Relations in the Arctic. G. Berg (ed.), pp. 61-72. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

1975 Five Northern Towns. Anthropological Papers 17 (1). Fairbanks: University of Alaska.

Honigmann, John J. and Irma Honigmann

- 1953 Child-rearing Patterns Among the Great Whale River Eskimo. Anthropological Papers, 2: 31-50. Fairbanks: University of Alaska.
- 1959 Notes on Great Whale River Ethos. Anthropologica, n.s., 1: 106-21.
- 1965 Eskimo Townsmen. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology.
- 1970 Arctic Townsmen; Ethnic Backgrounds and Modernization. Ottawa: St. Paul University.

Instutut Culturel Avataq

- 1989 8ième Conference des Aines Inuit. Quaqtq, Nunavik, Québec. 29 aout au 2 septembre 1988. Institut culturel Avataq, Inukjuak.

Jenness, Diamond

- 1922 The Life of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918, Vol. 12(A). Ottawa.
- 1959 The People of the Twilight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (First Published 1928, New York: Macmillan).
- 1962 Eskimo Administration I, Alaska. Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper No. 10. Montreal.
- 1964 Eskimo Administration II, Canada. Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper No. 14. Montreal.
- 1965 Eskimo Administration III, Labrador. Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper No. 16. Montreal
- 1967 Eskimo Administration IV, Greenland. Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper No. 19. Montreal.

Jensen, Bent

- 1970 Development Policy and Greenland Now. Folk, 11-12. Copenhagen.
- 1971 En Livsform Ved Korsvejen. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.

Jull, Peter

- 1983 Inuit and the Canadian Constitution. Inuit Arctic Policy Review, 1, Nuuk, Greenland.
- 1985 Dividing the North. Policy Options Politiques. Toronto.

- Kaplan, Lawrence D.; et al. (eds.)
1988 Ugiuvangmiut Quliapyuit, King Island Tales. Alaskan Native Language Center and University of Alaska Press.
- Kemp, William B.
1984 Baffinland Eskimo. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 463-475. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- Krech, Shepard III
1984 Ethnohistory and Ethnography in the Subarctic. American Anthropologist, 86: 80-86.
- Krech, Shepard III (ed.)
1980 Reconsiderations of Aboriginal Social Organization in the North American Subarctic. Arctic Anthropology, 17 (2): 1-67.
- Larsen, Helge
1981 Adaptation to Frigid Zones by Arctic Peoples. Folk, 23: 113-138.
- Lauritzen, Philip
1983 Oil and Amulets. Breakwater Books (no location for publisher given). Co-published by Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Ottawa.
- 1989 Highlights of an Arctic Revisitation. The First 120 Months of Greenlandic Home Rule. Mamminersomerullutik Oqartussat, Atuakkiorfik. Nuuk, Greenland.
- Lewis, Richard (ed.)
1971 I Breathe a New Song: Poems of the Eskimo. New York: Simon Schuster.
- Lotz, Jim
1982 The Moral and Ethical Basis of Community Development: Reflections on the Canadian Experience. Community Development Journal, 17 (1): 27-31.
- Lowenstein, Tom
1973 Eskimo Poems from Canada and Greenland. From material originally collected by Knud Rasmussen. Pittsburgh.
- Lutz, M.M.
1982 Musical Traditions of the Labrador Coast Inuit. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Ethnology Service Paper No. 79. Ottawa.

Lynge, Finn

- 1976 The Relevance of Native Culture to Northern Development: The Greenland Case. Northern Studies Series, No. 4. Centre for International Relations. Kingston: Queen's University.
- 1985 Cultural Genocide of Tomorrow, or a Future For Us All? Études/Inuit/Studies, 9 (2).
- 1990 Kampen om de vilde dyr - en arktisk vinkel. Denmark: Akademisk Forlag.
- 1992 Arctic Wars: Animal Rights, Endangered Peoples. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Mailhot, Claire

- 1988 La situation de l'emploi chez les jeunes Inuit de la région de Baffin. M.A., Carleton University.

Marcus, Alan Rudolph

- 1992 Out in the Cold: The Legacy of Canada's Inuit Relocation Experiment in the High Arctic. Copenhagen. IWGIA, Document No. 71. Call number E99, E7M 357.

Marsh, Donald B.

- 1987 Echoes from a Frozen Land. Winifred Marsh (ed.). Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers.

Mary-Rousselière, Guy

- 1984 Iglulik. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 431-446. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

McCartney, Allen B. (ed.)

- 1979 Thule Eskimo Culture: An Anthropological Retrospective. National Museum of Man. Archaeological Survey Paper 88. Ottawa.

McGhee, Robert

- 1984a Contact Between the Native North Americans and the Medieval Norse. American Antiquity, 49: 4-26.
- 1984b Thule Prehistory of Canada. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 369-376. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

- McGrath, Robin
1984 Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition. National Museum of Canada. Ethnology Service Paper 94. Ottawa.
- Millar, J.F.V., and A.M. Ervin
1981 A Status Report and Bibliography of Cultural Studies in the Canadian Arctic to 1976. The Musk-Ox: Special Publication.
- Morehouse, Thomas A.
1987 The Meaning of Political Development in the North. Polar Record, 23 (145): 405-410.
- Morrison, William R.
1986 Canadian Sovereignty and the Inuit of the Central and Eastern Arctic. Études/Inuit/Studies, 10 (1-2): 245-259.
- Müller-Wille, Ludger
1987 Inuttitut Nunait Atingitta Katirsutauningit Nunavimi (Kupaimmi, Kanatami). Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik (Québec, Canada). Répertoire toponymique inuit du Nunavik (Québec, Canada). En collaboration avec les Anciens Inuit (sic) du Nunavik et l'Institut culturel Avataq, Institut culturel Avataq., Inukjuaq.
- Neatby, L.H.
1984 Exploration and History of the Canadian Arctic. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 377-390. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- Nelson, Richard
1969 Hunters of the Northern Ice. Chicago.
- Newberry, Nick
1986 The Rationale for Implementation of a Life Skills Program in Schools in the Baffin Region. M.A., Carleton University.
- Nowak, Michael
1987 Mobility and Subsistence Access. Études/Inuit/Studies, 11 (1): 33-46.
- Nuttall, Mark
1990 Names, Kin and Community in Northwest Greenland. ^{Ph.D. Thesis.} University of Cambridge.
- 1992 Inuit Homeland: Kinship, Community and Development in Northwest Greenland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Oosten, G.J.
1981 The Structure of the Shamanistic Complex Among the Netsilik and Iglulik. Études/Inuit/Studies, 5 (1): 83-98.
- Osborn, Kevin
1990 The Peoples of the Arctic. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers.
- Osherenko, Gail and Oran R. Young
1989 The Age of the Arctic: Hot Conflicts and Cold Realities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostermann, H. (ed.)
1942 The Mackenzie Eskimos, after K. Rasmussen's Posthumous Notes. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 10 (2): 1-166.
- Page, Robert
1986 Northern Development. The Canadian Dilemma. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.
- Paine, Robert (ed.)
1971 Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 2. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1977 The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 7. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1985 Advocacy and Anthropology: First Encounters. Institute of Social and Economic Research. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Petersen, Robert
1989 Traditional and contemporary distribution channels in subsistence hunting in Greenland. Keynotes speeches from the Sixth Inuit Studies Conference, Copenhagen, October 1988. Institut for Eskimologi 14, Copenhagen University: 81-89.
- Piddocke, Stuart Michael
1985 Land, Community, Corporation: Intercultural Correlation between Ideas of Land in Dene and Inuit Tradition and in Canadian Law. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia.

- Pitseolak, Peter, and D. Eber
1975 People from Our Side: A Life Story With Photographs by Peter Pitseolak and Oral Biography by Dorothy Eber. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Plaice, Evelyn
1990 The Native Game: Settler Perceptions of Indian/Settler Relations in Central Labrador. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Social and Economic Studies No. 40.
- Quigley, N.C. and N.J. McBride
1987 The Structure of an Arctic Microeconomy: The Traditional Sector in Community Economic Development. Arctic, 40 (3): 204-210.
- Quinn Duffy, Richard
1988 The Road to Nunavut, The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War. Kingston, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Qumaq, Taamusi
1991 Inuit uqausillaringit. Quebec, Montreal: Inuksiutiit Katimajit & Avataq Cultural Institute. *
- Rasmussen, Knud
1929 The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimo. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Vol. VII. Copenhagen: Gyldsalske Boghandel.
- 1930 Intellectual Culture of the Hudson Bay Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Vol. 7 (1-3). Copenhagen: Gyldsalske Boghandel.
- 1931 The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Vol. 8 (1-2). Copenhagen: Gyldsalske Boghandel.
- 1932 Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Vol. 9. Copenhagen: Gyldsalske Boghandel.
- Rink, H.J., and Franz Boas
1889 Eskimo Tales and Songs. Journal of American Folklore, 1894 (No. 7), 1897 (10).

Robbe, Pierre

1989 Chasseurs arctiques et facteurs environnementaux: strategies inuit de survie individuelle et collective a Ammassalik. Laboratoire d'Ethnologie du Musee National d'Histoire Naturelle, Musee de l'Homme, Paris.

1990 Une recherche ethnoecologique dans une communauté de chasseurs de la côté du Groenland. Grønland, no. spécial "La recherche française au Groenland": 31-37.

Robitaille, Eric

1987 Militaires et Inuit dans l'Est de l'Arctique canadien, 1942-1965. M.A., Université Laval.

Rundstrom, Robert A.

1987 Maps, Man and Land in the Cultural Cartography of the Eskimo (Inuit). Ph.D., University of Kansas.

Sanders, Douglas

1983 Beyond the White and the Evil: Identity Relationships and Colonialism in the Land of the Inuit. Sociologie et Societes, 15 (2): 55-71.

Savelle, James M.

1981 The Nature of Nineteenth Century Inuit Occupations of the High Arctic Islands of Canada. Études/Inuit/Studies, 5 (2): 1099-1124.

Schledermann, Peter

1981 Inuit Prehistory and Archaeology. In A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands. M. Zaslow (ed.), pp. 245-265. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada.

Service, Elman

1963 The Copper Eskimo. In Profiles in Ethnology, pp. 63-87. New York: Harper and Row.

Sillitoe, Paul

1981 The Flexible Social Organization of the Labrador Eskimos: The Response to a Harsh Environment. Arctic Anthropology, 18 (1): 78-86.

Sivertz, Bent G.

1981 The Sivertz Family, Book 1, Kristian. Canby, Oregon.

1982 The Sivertz Family, Book 2, Elinborg. Canby, Oregon.

- Simard, Jean-Jacques
1988 Une perspective québécoise du développement nordique. Northern Perspectives, 16 (2): 29-32.
- Smith, Derek G.
1984 Mackenzie Delta Eskimo. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 347-358. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- Smith, Eric Alden
1981 The Application of Optimal Foraging Theory to the Analysis of Hunter-Gatherer Group Size. In Hunter-Gatherer Foraging Strategies. B. Winterhalder and Eric Alden Smith (eds.), pp. 36-65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1984 Approaches to Inuit Socioecology. Études/Inuit/Studies, 8 (1): 65-88.
- Sokolova, Z.P.
1988 The Contemporary Economy of the Northern People. Inuktitut, 68: 105-119.
- Steenhoven, Geert van den
1959 Legal Concepts Among the Netsilik of Pelly Bay. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. National Coordination and Research Centre Report 3. Ottawa.
1962 Leadership and Law Among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District, Northwest Territories. The Hague: Uitgeverij Excelsior.
- Steltzer, Ulli
1985 Inuit. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.
- Stenbaek, Marianne
1987 Forty Years of Cultural Change Among the Inuit in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Arctic, 40 (4): 300-309.
- Stenton, Douglas Richard
1989 Terrestrial Adaptations of Neo-Eskimo Coastal-marine Hunters on Southern Baffin Island, N.W.T. Ph.D., University of Alberta.
- Tanner, A.
1990 Northern Indigenous Cultures in the Face of Development. In The Legal Challenge of Sustainable Development, J.O. Saunders (ed.). Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law.

- Taylor, J. Garth
1984 Historical Ethnography of the Labrador Coast. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5: Arctic. David Damas (ed.), pp. 508-521. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.
- Tester, Frank J. and Peter Kulchyski
1994 Tammarnitt, (mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63. Vancouver, B.C. University of British Columbia Press.
- Thalbitzer, W.
1923 Poetic Language and Folklore. In The Ammassalik Eskimo, Part II, pp. 160-180.
- Thalbitzer, William
1974 Eskimo Poetry. In Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. A. Preminger et al. (eds.), pp. 253-255.
- Therrien, Michele
1987 Le corps inuit (Québec artique). Societe d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, Paris.
- Theutenberg, Bo Johnson
1984 The Evolution of the Law of the Sea. Dublin: Tycooly International Publishing.
- Tookak, Charles
1984 Inuit Spiritual Rights. Inuit Arctic Policy Review, 3.
- Tremblay, Christine
1986 L'évolution politique du Groenland sur la scène internationale: conséquences sur la politique étrangère canadienne. M.A., Université Laval.
- Trudel, Francois
1990 Adventurer: un intermédiaire inuit de l'est de la Baie d'Hudson au XIX siècle. Études/Inuit/Studies, 14 (1-2): 241-250.
- Turpel, M.E.
1989-90 Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian Charter: interpretation monopolies, cultural differences. Canadian Human Rights Yearbook, 6: 3-45.
- Usher, Peter J.
1987 Indigenous Management Systems and the Conservation of Wildlife in the Canadian North. Alternatives, 14 (1): 3-9.

- Valaskakis, Gail (comp.)
1983 Communication and the Canadian North. Department of Communication Studies, Concordia University, Montreal.
- Valentine, Victor F., and Frank G. Vallee (eds.)
1965 Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- VanStone, James W., and Wendall H. Oswalt
1959 The Caribou Eskimos of Eskimo Point. (NCRC 59-2) Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre.
- Vestergaard, Elisabeth (ed.)
1990 Whaling Communities, North Atlantic Studies 2(1-2). Aarhus, Denmark: SNAI-North Atlantic Publications and Aarhus University Press.
- Wadhams, Peter
1989 Gorbachev's Murmansk Speech: The Soviet Initiative and Western Response. Oslo: Norwegian Atlantic Committee.
- Wenzel, George W.
1981 Clyde Inuit Adaptation and Ecology: The Organization of Subsistence. Canada. National Museum of Man, Ethnology Service Paper 77. Ottawa.
1989 Sealing at Clyde River, N.W.T.: A Discussion of Inuit Economy. Études/Inuit/Studies, 13 (1): 3-22.
- Williamson, Karla J.
1992 The Cultural Ecological Perspectives of Canadian Inuit: Implications for Childrearing and Education. ^{MA} Graduate thesis, Indian and Northern Education Program, Department of Educational Foundations, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- Williamson, Robert G.
1968 The Canadian Arctic: Socio-Cultural Change. Archives of Environmental Health, 17: 484-491.
1971 Regions and Identity in the North. In Canada's Changing North. W. C. Wonders (ed.). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
1972 Macro-Social Structures and Processes in Northern Cultural Change. Inter-Nord, No. 12. Paris: Sorbonne.
1973a Social Change and Settlement Development. In Developing Sub-Arctic. J. Rogge (ed.). University of Manitoba.

- 1973b Eskimo Value Persistence in Contemporary Acculturation. In Le Peuple Esquimaud: Aujord'hui et Demain. J.N. Malaurie (ed.). Paris: Mouton.
- 1974 Eskimo Underground: Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic. Royal University of Uppsala, Uppsala, Sweden.
- 1976 The Boothia People. Monograph. Toronto: P.G.C. Inc.
- 1978a The Social Consequences of Modernisation Among Canadian Eskimo Hunters. Proceedings of the Scandinavian Council for Anthropological Research: Theme, Hunting and Society. University of Tromsø, Norway.
- 1978b International Economic Influences in Eskimo Acculturation. Proceedings of International Studies Association. February. Washington, DC.
- 1978c Economic Factors in Eskimo Cultural History. Proceedings of International Sociological Congress. August. Uppsala, Sweden.
- 1979 The Notion of Cultural Commuting. Proceedings: Conference on Commuting and Northern Development. I.N.S., University of Saskatchewan.
- 1985 The Eskimo Naming System: Social and Metaphysical Factors, and the Forces of Change. Festschrift for Professor Evert Bandon. University of Umeå, Sweden.
- 1986 International Combinations, Present and Possible, Between Circumpolar National Groups. Politics, Problems and Potentials. Nordic Journal of International Law: Acta Scandinavica juris gentium, 55: 68-85.
- 1988 The History of the Eskimo Naming System in Social Structure, Belief and Change Dynamics. Folk, Vol. 30. Copenhagen.
- 1990 The Development of Applied Anthropology in the Arctic: A Personal Review. Invited Plenary paper in Canadian Ethnological Society Conference, 1989, published in The Western Canadian Anthropologist, Vol. 6, June 1989.
- 1991 Cultural Persistence and Cultural Casualties in the Sealskin Wars. Proactive, 10 (1), Society of Applied Anthropology in Canada.
- Williamson, R.G., and T.W. Foster
1975 Eskimo Relocation in Canada. Social Research Division. Ottawa: D.I.A.N.D.

Wonders, William C.

1971 Canada's Changing North. Carleton Library, No. 55. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

1987 The Changing Role and Significance of Native Peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories. Polar Record, 23 (147): 661-671.