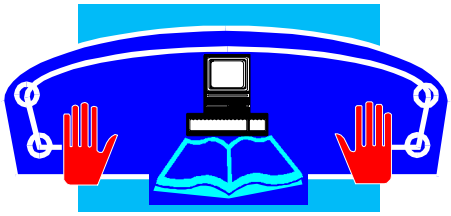

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Prince of Wales

NORTHERN HERITAGE CENTRE

OCCASIONAL PAPER NO. I

COLLECTED PAPERS ON THE HUMAN HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Edited by

Margaret Jean Patterson
Charles D. Arnold
Robert R. Janes

Occasional Papers of the
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

No. 1
1985

Honorable Richard Nerysoo
Minister
Justice and Public Services

Mr. Stien Lal
Deputy Minister
Justice and Public Services

FOREWARD

Knowledge itself is power.

- Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre celebrates its sixth anniversary this year with the publication of the first volume in its new Occasional Papers Series. Although much has happened in the cultural sphere since the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly embarked upon a museum program in 1972, many northern residents and people from the South who have lived and worked here feel the need as individuals to tell the story of this land. We hope that this Occasional Papers Series will provide these people with an opportunity to share their knowledge and insight.

Never has the need been greater to produce and disseminate knowledge about the Northwest Territories. One need only look at a few of the recent political and cultural initiatives to realize how important an awareness and understanding of the variety of northern cultures will be to the success of any outcome. The Government of the Northwest Territories is now led by a Dene and the majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories are held by members of northern indigenous cultures. Together, these individuals must grapple with the proposed division of the Northwest Territories. Community-based research is gaining momentum as more and more people attempt to make the educational system more responsive to unique cultural aspirations. There is now a science institute for the Northwest Territories which will coordinate scientific research within the context of a dynamic northern perspective. At the same time, the new Ministry of Culture is developing a policy intended to preserve and develop cultures unique to the North. The Northwest Territories now has a public archives, a program of rescue archaeology and modest resources with which to nurture community museum development. Whether political or cultural, all these initiatives have

one fundamental requirement in common - the need to gather, share and retrieve information within a complex, multi-cultural setting much more attuned to an oral tradition than a written one. More opportunities for such communication, readily accessible to northern residents, are needed to ensure the vitality of this important process.

It is in this spirit that we offer the following collection of papers. In collecting, selecting and editing these papers, the Editorial Committee has made an honest effort to strike a balance between sound research and broad appeal to a non-specialist readership. The reader will be the judge. It is significant that nearly half of the authors are northern residents writing on northern topics and we hope to see an increase in this percentage in the future.

Victoria Paraschak, in her article on G.N.W.T. recreational policy, offers a much needed critique of public policy from an insider's perspective. Any healthy public service must have the capacity for critical self-reflection. Winter's study of Dene decorative belts in the collections of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre continues a long tradition of material culture studies. Unfortunately, such studies are becoming increasingly rare and we hope to encourage similar work on other northern collections through this series. The paper on Kellett's storehouse by Janes and Stewart describes the cooperative efforts of archaeologists and conservators to preserve and protect a unique archaeological site in the High Arctic. The reader should note their decision to leave much of the site untouched for future archaeologists. M. Helene Laraque's life history of a northern resident is a portrayal of a way of life that is undergoing profound change. It clearly demonstrates the importance of oral tradition as a source of northern history.

The papers contributed by the authors from southern Canada are equally as varied. Morrison recounts and interprets activities of the Mounted Police in the Western Arctic in the early twentieth century. In an article devoted to the ancient history of the Great Bear Lake region, Clark goes beyond the usual archaeological report by discussing how archaeologists analyse their information. Cole examines the role of

secondary education in the lives of contemporary Inuit youth. Her conclusions are noteworthy and again underscore the need to continually question and assess government policy. Lastly, in a collection of stories gathered among the Inuit of Cape Dorset, Hallendy dramatically conveys the richness of their memory culture with a flair that shows his deep respect for the people who shared their stories with him.

Laraque's history of the life of Eleonor McNeill and Hallendy's stories from the Arctic are reminders of the absence of Inuit, Dene and Metis perspectives in so much of the northern literature. The observations of the scholar or observer dominate our knowledge of the Northwest Territories, a perfectly understandable state of affairs when one considers the late arrival of the written word in the northern latitudes. Times are changing and we hope that the Occasional Papers Series will serve as a forum for the expression and discussion of indigenous knowledge by those whose legacy it is.

We also hope that in the process we may transcend the custodial approach to northern cultures by encouraging active participation by all those interested in preserving and interpreting the richness of the past and present. It is no longer adequate to entrust the preservation of timeless traditions to academics, selected Elders or a handful of public institutions. Cultures unique to the Canadian North will flourish to the extent that Northerners are willing and able to assume this responsibility. If this publication series assists with that enterprise, then so much the better.

I am grateful to the Editorial Committee of Margaret Jean Patterson (Chair) and Charles Arnold for their clear thinking and diligence in seeing this project through from the beginning. The Editorial Advisory Committee has provided us with judicious guidance and we thank George Hobson, Claudette Reed Upton and Fibbie Tatti for their willingness to serve. Donna Leedham, Barbara Dillon and Judy Edgar of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre provided secretarial and administrative services, for which we are grateful. We thank Mary Hunter and Alma Cargill for their editorial assistance. The Department of Information and the Print Shop, Government of the Northwest Territories,

assisted with the layout and undertook the printing, respectively. We thank Ross Harvey, Yvonne Lynn and John Moss for providing these services. We also acknowledge Wally Wolfe, Curator of Exhibits at the Northern Heritage Centre, for designing the cover. We wish to register a special note of thanks to the Department of Justice and Public Services for continual support and to the Assistant Deputy Minister of that department, Michael J. Hewitt, for all his efforts on our behalf. Lastly, our gratitude goes to the authors of this volume for making this first effort a reality.

Robert R. Janes,
Director,
Prince of Wales
Northern Heritage Centre.

January, 1985.

DEDICATION

This volume is dedicated to the late Daniel Weetaluktuk, a pioneer in northern archaeology.

CONTENTS

A LOOK AT GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN RECREATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Victoria Paraschak

INTRODUCTION

In 1962, the territorial government, then based in Ottawa, signed a federal-provincial agreement allowing for the introduction of public recreation to the Northwest Territories. Although similar agreements were being signed in provinces across Canada, an important difference was present in the northern situation because the majority of people in the N.W.T. were native -- Inuit, Dene and Metis. Their way of life and view of life were very different from other people in Canada. Yet the type of recreation which was brought to the North was not developed around the northern way of life, but was instead taken from examples in southern Canada. This is a problem which has been present throughout the history of government involvement in N.W.T. recreation.

Differences between government services and community needs might be expected when people come from different backgrounds. The Government of the N.W.T. is made up mainly of people originally from southern Canada, who have a different approach toward life than native northerners located in the small communities. Since it is government workers who establish the programs and services for recreation, very often those programs end up being based on southern Canadian rather than native standards, even though they are created to meet native needs.

To examine this problem more closely, three aspects of the foundation underlying government programs for N.W.T. recreation have been studied: 1)the types of activities supported by government, 2)the reasons given for government support and 3)the way those services are delivered. This information was then compared to the recreation activities of three communities in the western N.W.T. -- Fort Franklin, Tuktoyaktuk, and Inuvik. These communities have had differing amounts of contact with southern Canadians, with Fort Franklin being the least

exposed to southerners and Inuvik being the most similar to the South. The findings which follow are based on field research during 1979 and 1980, as well as experience as the policy officer for the Government of the N.W.T. (GNWT) Recreation Division from 1980 to 1984. A more detailed description can be found in the thesis upon which this paper is based (Paraschak 1983).

GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED N.W.T. RECREATION PROGRAMS

History

In the mid-1960's, GNWT recreation programs provided for community recreation through per capita and facility construction grants. These areas of funding were both expanded in the late 1970's to include the recreation administration grant (1978) and a utilities assistance grant (1977-1983), designed to help with the operating costs of recreation facilities. A facilities policy was begun in 1983 which greatly increased the amount of construction and operating money available to communities.

Grants were also provided to sport associations in the 1960's. A program beginning in 1972 encouraged the formation of territorial sport associations. These associations played an important role in the selection, and sometimes the training of N.W.T. teams which had been chosen to represent the Northwest Territories at the Canada Games (begun in 1967) and the Arctic Winter Games (started in 1970). The Sport North Federation was created in 1976 as an umbrella organization which would administer government programs to sport associations and which would also serve as a lobby voice for sport needs. Funding was supplied to sport associations for annual general meetings and sport clinics, primarily the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP). Funding for competition travel was available from Sport North beginning in 1980, and in 1981 sport "bulk" fares, which provide a discount for athletes' flight costs, became available. A sport administration program was begun in 1982.

Two other sport programs were begun in the 1960's. The

Territorial Experimental Ski Training (TEST) program began in 1967, operating out of Inuvik using a National Fitness Council grant. Several elite native skiers emerged from the TEST program to represent Canada at international competitions. The program focus was changed from a purely elite one to encourage more widespread skiing development in 1973. Federal funding ceased soon after, and the GNWT Recreation Division continued to fund the program on a year-by-year basis until it was finally guaranteed annual funding in 1982.

The aquatics program began at the same time as the skiing program. Federal funds were also available initially for this program, which was created to teach survival water skills to northerners. "Corky", a barge with an above-deck pool, was floated down the Mackenzie River and stopped at several communities. Eventually, an above-ground pool program was established which has been run primarily in western Arctic communities, although some communities in the eastern Arctic have also operated programs.

The Northern Games were created in 1970 in reaction to the Arctic Winter Games (AWG) format, which mirrored the Canada Games, a southern Canada sports competition. This native festival has encouraged Inuit and Dene people to celebrate traditional activities at an annual gathering. Communities from the northwestern and the eastern N.W.T., as well as participants from the Yukon and Alaska, have attended the Northern Games. The Dene Games were first held in Fort Rae in 1975, as a comparable gathering for native communities in the southwestern N.W.T. Both of these festivals continue to be organized and attended almost exclusively by native people.

The federally funded Native Sport and Recreation Program (NSRP) had a short lifespan (1972-1981), but within that time it was used by two native political associations for the creation of leadership programs, as well as by the GNWT for their territorial-wide leadership efforts. Poor communication between governments, along with minimal native input into the program, led to dissatisfaction with the format of the NSRP. To date, there is no plan by the federal government to replace this program.

Types of Activities Supported by Government

Funding given directly to the community for recreation was aimed at creating an organized recreation base, by providing things such as facilities and money to operate those facilities and some programs. Aid for activities beyond the community level was supposed to be obtained primarily through territorial associations. Both sports and traditional games associations were supported by government funds in the NWT.

Sports programs tended to be "developmental" in nature, consciously developing skills and/or training participants for some future benefit. Sports programs included the AWG, the TEST program, the federal program for native people and funding to sport associations.

The Dene Games and the Northern Games were both funded as traditional, "cultural" activities, although the Dene Games included a softball tournament in its program. These events, which were run by native people, tended to be "organized" rather than "developmental" in nature, because the objective of the activity did not extend beyond the time period of the event. The only ongoing recreation programs in the NWT which maintained a majority of native participants were those organized by native people.

The Reasons Given for Government Support

Federal funding for N.W.T. recreation programs was justified either as support to a disadvantaged group of Canadians, or as aid toward the cultural retention of native activities. Sport programs were supported to help northerners eventually qualify for southern Canadian sports competitions. Thus an emphasis was placed on the creation of northern organizations which linked with their national counterparts, and northern competitive experiences tended to mirror southern Canadian events. Meanwhile, native groups were funded in their attempts to document and preserve traditional activities. However, the provision of ongoingfinancial support, vital if these activities were to be celebrated on a regular basis, was eventually rejected as a federal responsibility.

The GNWT had a similar approach to recreation activities. Native recreation associations were supported in their efforts to provide "multicultural events", while a separate delivery system for sport was developed which provided acceptable southern Canadian recreation opportunities. Sport associations were encouraged, where possible, to link with the national sport governing bodies, thus developing a national relationship similar to associations in all other parts of Canada. The GNWT also recognized that recreation, especially developmental recreation, was a right of all northerners.

The Way that Recreation Services are Delivered

The delivery of sport programs is based on the approach found in southern Canada, where local sports clubs get assistance from N.W.T. sport associations, which then join together to form a sport federation. Sport projects were usually administered by southern Canadians already familiar with the expected "southern" approach to sport administration and programming. Annual reports, audited statements and "professional" evaluations all helped contribute toward government acceptance of these programs. This led to a fairly consistent pattern of funding for such activities.

Northern Games aptly show the problems governments have with "cultural" events. Much of the Northern Games Association's efforts each year were directed toward applying for funding from numerous government agencies. Funding support fluctuated, based on the financial condition of the government departments. Tightening budgets in the late 1970's led to a drastic reduction in federal funds to the Northern Games. Fortunately, GNWT contributions have increased to compensate in part for the federal withdrawal. The Northern Games groups have been instructed, however, to become more administratively sound if they wish to receive territorial funding. This direction includes the incorporation of the groups and ongoing financial accountability. No programming expectations have been identified for such cultural endeavors to date.

The government's way of delivering N.W.T. recreation services has not been consistent. The GNWT requires that the programs they deliver to

the community level be directed through the community council. Meanwhile, sport programs funded by the GNWT and delivered by Sport North operate through sport associations which have no linkage, necessarily, with the councils.

At the federal level, the delivery of recreation services has been much less stringent. Native associations, band councils and various community groups have all been legitimate recipients of federal grants, as well as community councils and sport associations.

ORGANIZED RECREATION IN NWT COMMUNITIES: THREE CASE STUDIES

Types of Recreation Activities

Differences in recreation patterns can be seen between the communities. Fort Franklin was the only community with signs of spontaneous, traditional recreation activities. These were evident throughout the year, but were often tied to special events with other native people, such as a 1973 visit by families from Fort Rae or religious holidays such as Christmas and Easter. Old-time dances still occurred infrequently in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik, but the majority of traditional activities, when they occurred, were government-funded projects established to preserve native culture by teaching traditional activities.

Inuvik had a large number of sport associations. These associations offered a variety of opportunities for recreation, but were often restricted solely to members. Along with the sport associations, there were other groups in town, such as the Canadian Forces Station, the Roman Catholic Hostel, Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre and the town office which provided recreation opportunities. This stands in marked contrast with Fort Franklin, where there were no ongoing sport associations and no other groups in town which offered recreation opportunities. As would be expected, most of their recreation was unorganized in nature. Tuktoyaktuk fell in between these two extremes, with a few sport associations linked to the school in the community, and occasional

opportunities for recreation provided by Dome/ Canmar, an oil exploration company active in the area. In Tuktoyaktuk, as in the other two communities, the evening school gym program provided the main opportunities for recreation during the winter months. The difference was that in the two smaller communities it was the major, if not the sole, opportunity available. Inuvik residents had access to a greater range of options.

Involvement in activities outside the community varied drastically. Inuvik athletes have been comparatively well-represented at most sport championships in the N.W.T., including AWG, N.W.T. sport championships, the Top of the World ski meet in Inuvik and the Canada Games. They have hosted regional and territorial trials for the AWG and have held N.W.T. championships. Northern Games, which originated in Inuvik, have been held there several times, with an administrative base in the town.

Tuktoyaktuk has fewer recreation opportunities than Inuvik. Although no major championships have been held in the community, they have sponsored regional tournaments. AWG athletes, especially in Arctic sports and indoor soccer, have come from Tuktoyaktuk. Skiers have attended the Top of the World meet. Northern Games have been held in Tuktoyaktuk, and several of the best participating athletes continue to come from the community.

Fort Franklin has the fewest recreation opportunities of the three communities. Skiing has accounted for most of the inter-community sport travel, through participation in TEST and the Top of the World meet. Travel for regional sports competitions, although infrequent, has also occurred. The few athletes from Fort Franklin who were chosen for AWG were attending school outside the community at the time. Occasional participation has occurred at the Northern Games. To date, community members have not attended Dene Games. The unstructured nature of most community recreation likely contributes to the low involvement in inter-community exchanges.

Reasons for Involvement in Organized Recreation

It was evident in each community that recreation was perceived in part as a diversionary activity necessary to "keep the kids busy". Differences arose over the additional things expected from recreation. In Fort Franklin the community council warned a Young Adult Club to offer opportunities "out in the bush", since games tended to lure children away from bush life. The social worker in Tuktoyaktuk made a similar plea for more "organized recreation" out on the land. In Inuvik, programs were kept within town limits, although Ingamo Hall and the town co-sponsored weekly trips which sometimes included picnics out of town. There was a decline in concern over recreation being tied "to the bush" as the community recreation became more highly structured. Only in the smaller communities was concern expressed that activities complement rather than compete with traditional practices.

In Tuktoyaktuk, recreation was also seen as a way to keep the community together, since social problems have been caused by rapid resource development. In contrast, Fort Franklin has not been forced to deal with large numbers of transients; while Inuvik, with its large government population, has maintained a fairly clear distinction between white and native social circles. Recreation in Tuktoyaktuk was held out as one possible vehicle which could balance off the negative activity patterns which occur when rapid development takes place and the presence of southerners cannot be ignored.

The community council in Inuvik perceived recreation as a municipal service which should be made available by the town. They, of the three communities, had the most highly developed system for recreation. Their involvement was one of practical necessity. With the large number of sport associations and the comparatively high population, they were forced to provide a coordinating role in the use of receation facilities. Thus, each community had its own reasons for requiring organized recreation which stemmed from the particular situation and associated problems of their community.

Equipment owned by the school was available to some degree in each community. Skiing was the best example of this, with skis being used by the school during the day and available to community members after school. There was, however, a much greater dependence on school-owned equipment in the smaller communities. The hamlet office in Fort Franklin not only provided funding for equipment, but also owned balls, bats and volleyballs which were used by the community. Tuktoyaktuk council did not provide sports equipment, although it did own bingo cards and a movie projector. Inuvik sat at the other end of the spectrum. The recreation board did not deal with equipment issues, as equipment was provided by the sport associations, by the hostel or owned privately.

Councils provided funding for inter-community travel to competitions in the two smaller communities. Inuvik's recreation board, on the other hand, did not deal with this issue. Inter-community travel costs were the responsibility of the organization. Fund raising, by necessity, became a key role of active sport associations.

Facilities remained a major issue for discussion in all communities. Each community had, or had discussed construction of, facilities for skating, curling, softball and swimming, along with a basic gymnasium and community hall. Facilities which did exist were often inadequate in size or condition. All communities had used government grants for construction and operation of facilities, and continued to dedicate the largest portion of the recreation budget to the operation of their facilities. Inuvik was able to meet such costs with municipal tax dollars; however, the other two communities, of necessity, turned to fund raising in order to keep their facilities operating.

There was a class of recreation activities whose role was fund raising as well as entertainment. These activities included “special” sports days, bingos, dances and movies, and were evident in all communities. Some fell under the responsibility of the recreation committee, but the majority were sponsored by separate organizations attempting to raise money for their own needs. Grants from private companies operating nearby, such as Dome/Canmar and Esso, were donated to

the municipalities on occasion or to specific sport associations. Finally, lotteries, Nevada tickets and raffles were used to varying extents to raise funds for recreation.

The Way that Organized Recreation is Delivered

Although each community council has accepted responsibility for recreation, their means for accomplishing that end have greatly varied. Fort Franklin has never taken a consistent approach. The Tuktoyaktuk council has given responsibility to a committee of council, while Inuvik has maintained a recreation committee apart from, but answerable to, council. This difference in structure has not necessarily been reflected in the services offered. In each case, the communities have had times of greater and lesser effectiveness, due not to the structure in place, but rather to the people who were involved at the time and their commitment to recreation.

All communities recognized the need for recreation leaders. They attended GNWT regional recreation workshops which were held to help develop administrative leadership. Very few training opportunities, however, were provided for programming leadership. Despite this, all communities used federal, and at times GNWT, grants to fund primarily summer recreation leaders. As well, Tuktoyaktuk had a series of recreation directors, and Inuvik had recreation directors from 1371 to 1976. The council decided at that point against further full-time recreation directors, although they continued to employ an arena manager, a part-time recreation coordinator, a summer coordinator and summer playground leaders and lifeguards. Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik have also had leaders available to teach traditional games, provided through Northern Games Association projects funded by the federal and territorial governments. Inuvik was the only community which had opportunities for skill-specific leadership development through NCCP clinics and some sport skills and officiating clinics. Problems with financial accountability were uncovered in Fort Franklin and Tuktoyaktuk.

PROBLEMS WITH GNWT RECREATION

A look at the government approach to N.W.T. recreation services in light of the three community case studies highlights differences which are evident between the foundations underlying government programs and the nature of community recreation, as outlined below:

Category	Problem
1. Types of activities.	1. Government support to sport development versus traditional activity development.
2. Reasons for organized recreation.	2. Recreation as a right versus recreation as a need.
3. The way that organized recreation is delivered.	3. The delivery of recreation services in a way which promotes dependent versus independent development.

Each difference ranges in size, with the most traditional communities having the greatest problem. This situation occurs because the provision of recreation services in the North has been modelled on similar programs across southern Canada. Communities which have an understanding of the southern system are thus best able to use the northern system to their advantage.

Problem: Government Support to Sport Development versus Traditional Activity Development

All governments delivering programs placed an emphasis on "developmental" recreation, where the emphasis was on developing skills for some future benefit. Community case studies show a range, however, in the degree to which they participated in developmental opportunities, with the more traditional communities least able to use government services.

Communities are primarily active in sports, although traditional activities also occur on occasion. Traditional activities seem tied to a

cultural role, rather than an ongoing recreational role in community life. "Developmental" opportunities for traditional activities seem to occur only when native people come together to celebrate.

Sport development usually begins at school in physical education classes. Opportunities for inter-community travel become available to the athletes. When individuals return home after finishing school, however, they are often faced with a poorly developed recreation system. The larger communities have members already familiar with the sport system in the N.W.T., who are thus able to access sport services and continue providing opportunities for competitive sport. The smaller communities, which are unfamiliar with the sport system, are often not aware of available sport services and thus do not benefit from government programs.

A leadership program for coaching sports is established in the North because of the national NCCP program. This program has been used primarily by southern Canadians currently residing in the N.W.T. Meanwhile, no comparable leadership program has been developed for native activities, even though it is evident that the programming approach for traditional activities is different than for sports activities.

Problem: Recreation as a Right versus Recreation as a Need

All levels of government have recognized sport and recreation as basic rights of Canadians which should be supported with government funding. The government approach to such support, however, has been to treat recreation as a specific aspect of community life which must be supported for its own sake. Other services which affect the social well-being of people, such as economic development, social services, health and education are treated in the same manner by government. Each service area is handled by a separate government department, which results in the duplication of services due to a lack of coordination in overlapping areas.

At the community level, the various social concerns of the community are integrated rather than separate issues. Recreation

concerns are tied to other aspects of community life, especially with the current problems of vandalism, boredom and alcoholism. It becomes very difficult for communities to deal with their problems in a holistic manner, however, because the government system is not structured that way. It was evident from the community case studies that the smaller two communities saw organized recreation primarily as a diversionary program for other negative social patterns in the community. Recreation for them was a "need" in order to balance the current problems in their community, rather than a "right" to which they were entitled. It was only in Inuvik, the least traditional community, that recreation was viewed as a municipal responsibility on its own. This finding supports the claim that Inuvik is best able to function according to the "southern" form of municipal recreation -- the form currently promoted by governments for the NWT.

Problem: The Delivery of Recreation Services in a Way Which Promotes Dependent versus Independent Development

A variety of community channels have been used by different government departments for the delivery of recreation services. This has led to confusion on the part of community members with respect to which grants each community group is eligible to receive. Duplication of services sometimes happens as a result, even in small communities.

The "guided" approach to recreation services taken by the GNWT reflects the colonial nature of the government system. Recreation is too often developed by non-native professionals and "taught" to community members, rather than developed along with native people. As expected, the method which is successful in the South is often adopted as suitable for the North. This approach to recreation services, combined with the southern-oriented procedures and forms for getting government grants, demands that government "brokers" be available to help communities obtain grants. This process leads to a continued community dependence on government services, rather than promoting the development of independent, community-specific recreation systems and programs.

The need to train community members in administrative skills to ensure accountability for government funds is obvious. As yet, however, very little training has been available. Programming leadership, on the other hand, has proven best left to native people for the provision of traditional activities. Meanwhile, sport programming leadership has entailed a more directive approach by government, since sport programs often link up with their national counterparts and thus must meet an already established set of guidelines.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The phrase "northern frontier, northern homeland", first used by Thomas Berger (1977) in his report on the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, speaks to a problem inherent in considering recommended solutions to the issues already noted. Northern political development is viewed in two very different ways. Various groups in the NWT recognize the colonial relationship which exists between the federal and territorial governments and wish to see greater political independence for the NWT. The "northern frontier" approach, prevalent among people who have come to the North from southern Canada, has been to work towards the goal of northern self-government. Native political groups, whose ancestry has been based in the North for thousands of years, have been working towards an additional goal, self-determination, which they demand as a prerequisite to self-government. Unlike the "frontiersman", native groups demand that they be able to develop a political structure appropriate to northern native needs, a structure which is not automatically mirrored in southern Canada.

The foundation upon which government programs for N.W.T. recreation have been structured has been examined through three categories:

1) the types of activities supported by government,
2) the reasons for government support,
3) the ways that recreation services are delivered.

In the Northwest Territories, there are also two very different perspectives on the nature of government services. The "northern frontiersman" views government as responsible for providing services comparable to the rest of Canada. Accordingly, these people support the system in place, since it draws heavily on government structures in the South and works toward a national calibre of services. Native people who see the North as their "northern homeland" do not view government services in the same favorable light. Instead, services modelled after southern Canada are considered inappropriate, because they have not been developed in conjunction with native people, who alone are familiar with the lifestyles of small communities.

If the assumptions underlying the present government are accepted, then the differences noted would not be seen as serious problems by government. The government perspective is, however, southern Canadian in nature. While programs are provided which are available to all groups in the N.W.T., it is apparent that the prime beneficiaries are southern Canadians presently living in the North. Thus, the recommendations have been broken into two groups -- those which are suited to the continuation of the present government system and those which would suit a system more in tune with a "northern homeland" view of the North.

The northern frontier:

1. Greater emphasis on community level recreation, through the development of appropriate competitive opportunities, leadership skills, facilities and funding.
2. Greater coordination between the various departments responsible for the social welfare of northerners, with flexibility at the community level to allow a holistic treatment of social concerns.
3. The development of regional recreation committees responsible for both sport and traditional activities.

The northern homeland:

1. Development by native people of a community leaders program which includes information on the government system along with a knowledge of, and sensitivity to, traditional ways.
2. Coordination of the agencies and groups concerned with social well-being at both community and government levels, with discretionary funding provided directly to each community for use in these areas.
3. Changes made to the present delivery of recreation programs so that smaller communities, and native peoples in general, can benefit from government services for recreation.

The northern frontier, northern homeland perspective has been used to illustrate the needs of two very different groups in the North. Reality, however, is never that black and white. The recommendations which have been offered all work toward a greater sensitivity to the needs of small, traditional native communities in the North. Those recommendations included under the "northern frontier" label accept the government system as it exists today. The "northern homeland" suggestions, in comparison, are grounded on the assumption that native people must be granted the right -- and thus develop the skills -- which will lead to their self-determination as a people within Canada.

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SLAVEY QUILL BANDS

Barbara J. Winter

ABSTRACT

Porcupine quill bands were once used extensively to decorate traditional Dene clothing. Some Slavey women continue to weave quill bands on bow looms for use as clothing decoration and for sale. This paper examines a number of contemporary bands in the collection of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, and describes how they were made.

The native people who traditionally lived in the Subarctic regions of the western Northwest Territories are known as the Athapaskans, or, as they refer to themselves, the Dene. The Dene are made up of several groups, including the Dogrib, Mountain, Slavey, Chipewyan and others.

The Dene aesthetic was expressed in ways which suited their lifestyle. While art forms suited to a sedentary way of life, such as massive sculpture, were not practiced, the Dene developed a unique art style in intricate patterns applied to clothing. In spite of the rigours of the harsh climate, Dene women decorated shirts, leggings, moccasins and belts with quills, fringes, dyes and seeds.

Prior to the introduction of beads and embroidery thread Dene women decorated clothing with bands of porcupine quill weaving. Dene moccasins, belts and shirts collected in the 1860's and 1870's, now in the National Museum of Man in Ottawa and the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, are decorated with quillwork bands (National Museum of Man 1974, Thompson 1972).

These bands were made using several distinct methods, including plaiting, twisting and weaving. One method that has been in use since at least the 1860's is bow loom weaving. Quill bands are still woven by Slavey women in the upper Mackenzie valley. The Slavey were not the only Dene to use this method, but are the only group which continues to weave

bands on bow looms to the present day. The centre of bow loom weaving today is Fort Providence, located on the upper Mackenzie River near the western shores of Great Slave Lake. Bands are also occasionally woven by women in Fort Liard, Fort Simpson, Jean Marie River, Hay River and Yellowknife. Some of their work is now in the collection of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife.

This collection consists of thirty-one pieces. Eighteen of the bands are unfinished, with the weaving remaining on the loom. The other thirteen are finished bands. Some of these decorate belts, baby carriers, a gun case and the mace used in the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. The bands in the collection were made in Fort Providence, Fort Simpson, Hay River, Fort Liard and Yellowknife.

The earliest bands in the collection were made by Mrs. Josephine Elleze Sr., and were acquired in 1961. The bulk of the collection was acquired from Mrs. Memoree Philipp of Fort Providence in 1982. As a craft shop owner and a resident of Fort Providence since 1962, Mrs. Philipp has encouraged the production of art and craft items decorated with porcupine quills and tufted moose hair. She collected examples of the best quality work done by each of the women in the community. She hoped that she would eventually be able to place the collection in a northern museum where they could be seen and enjoyed by Northerners as well as visitors. We were very pleased to be able to secure this fine collection for the Northern Heritage Centre. The other pieces in the collection were purchased from craft shops in the communities by Northern Heritage Centre staff.

Quill bands vary in width from under one centimeter to over five centimeters. As it is more difficult to maintain an even tension in broader bands, these are less common. Most bands range from two to four centimeters in width, and those in the Northern Heritage Centre's collection range from 2.3 cm (15 stitches) to 4 cm (23 stitches). The length of the band is determined by its intended use, and the size of the bow loom. They are rarely under ten or over fifty centimeters in length. Longer bands were used as belts and clothing decoration. Shorter bands, now produced for sale, are often left on the loom. Each quill can make up to eleven stitches. The lengthwise gauge ranges from seven to eleven

stitches per centimeter.

The two most common motifs decorating the bands are running zigzags and concentric diamonds. Running zigzags can be extremely simple, striking designs, such as the band woven by Elise Gargan (Fig. 1). More commonly, running zigzags have several colours, usually on a white background. Small filler blocks often relieve the background triangles (Fig. 2). Occasionally the background on one side of the zigzag is coloured (Fig. 3). One band in the collection has two parallel running zigzags (Fig. 4).

Concentric diamonds are usually woven as a running pattern. Bands with this design sometimes have a two-line checker border. Multicolored diamonds are most common (Fig. 5), but simpler patterns are sometimes made, often with very effective and pleasing results (Fig. 6). A variation of this motif can be seen on a band made by Ernestine Minoza which has hourglass patterns between the diamonds (Fig. 7). Dora Minoza has made several small bands with complex three colour designs in this motif (Fig. 8).

Zoomorphic, floral or geometric designs are occasionally woven. Stylized birds adorn a band made by Dora Minoza (Fig. 9). Ernestine Minoza has woven several bands with a rose pattern (Fig. 10). Simple geometric designs such as X patterns (Fig. 11) and maltese crosses (Fig. 12) are sometimes done. More complex geometric designs are rare (Fig. 13).

Weaving a Quill Band

Making the bow loom:

First a short hardwood stick is skinned and smoothed. The ends are tapered and notched to form a shoulder to hold the weaving.

A short rectangular piece of skin anchors one end of the warp elements, which form the lengthwise structure of the quillwork band. These are now usually made from lengths of cotton thread, although traditionally they would have been made from sinew or vegetable fibre. Each thread is knotted and sewn through one edge of the skin tab. The threads are sometimes secured at the skin tab with an additional line of

stitching.

The warp elements must be kept parallel in order to weave the quills. One end is secured by the skin tab, the other is held in place by a small piece of stiff bark, card, cardboard or plastic. Each warp element is threaded onto a needle and drawn through a hole in the card. These holes are pierced through the card in a straight line and are spaced from one to three millimeters apart. With the knotted ends of the threads anchored to the skin tab, the other ends are wrapped around the notched stick and tied tightly. A small hole is cut in the skin tab and the other end of the stick is forced through the hole to form a bow.

Preparing the quills:

The porcupine quills are cleaned and sorted by size. Quills grow to shorter or longer lengths on the different parts of a porcupine's body. The largest quills are taken from the back and tail. Smaller quills are found on the neck, with the smallest quills taken from the belly of the animal.

Undyed quills are off-white, with a dark sharp end. Traditionally quills were coloured with natural ochre and organic dyes. Since the introduction of aniline dyes over one hundred years ago, the use of natural agents to dye the quills has discontinued. Quills are now dyed with commercially available dyes, sorted by colour and size and stored for future use in folded newspaper.

The quills must be kept moist during weaving. This makes them pliable enough to bend without breaking. They are soaked in a dish or tin of water, or held in the mouth. When they are needed, the proximal end of the quill -- which is the end attached to the porcupine -- is trimmed off with a pair of small scissors. The distal end has a sharply pointed tip, and is dark in colour.

Weaving the band:

Before it is used, each quill is flattened with the fingernails or teeth. The trimmed ends of the first row of quills are put between the warp threads and sewn in place by the weft thread. The weft thread

is placed across the band, securing the first row and each subsequent row. The tips of the quills are pushed down to the lower side of the band over the first weft thread. They are held in place by the next pass of the weft thread. The weft is brought back and forth across the band, holding each row of quills in place (Fig. 14). On some bands a bead is threaded on the weft at the edge of the band. This results in a row of beads along the edge of the finished work.

Approximately two-thirds of each quill is used to form the woven pattern. The tip of the quill, being darker than the rest, is not used. Colour intensity is thus maintained throughout the band.

New quills are inserted often when the work reaches the dark end of the quill, or when a change of colour is desired. The tip of the previous quill is folded to the lower side of the band and the trimmed end of a new quill inserted. Both quills are held in place by the next weft (Fig. 14).

Finishing the band:

When the band has reached the desired length, the work is finished by knotting the weft band. Occasionally the weft is worked back across the band, knotting each warp thread.

With the final row of quills secure, the band is removed from the loom. The extending warp threads are trimmed to between one and three centimeters beyond the last row of quills. If even tension and stitch size have been maintained throughout the weaving, the band will lie flat when placed pattern side down. Bunching or twisting indicates uneven tension. A band with even tension demonstrates the skill and experience of the maker.

The sharp quill ends which protrude from the back of the band are then trimmed, leaving up to four millimeters. Shorter ends might become dislodged and begin to fray. The ends are covered with a skin or cloth backing sewn through the small thread loops at the edges of the band. The weft thread ends are folded and covered with the backing as well. The band is then finished and ready to be applied to an article of clothing, a gun case, baby belt or other item.

The women who continue this craft tradition are proud of their work, and pleased that it appeals to people outside their culture. They have maintained a strict design style which has its roots in decorative patterns of a period long past. Their use of colour and design is individual and varied, but adheres to an aesthetic sense evident in objects made over a hundred years ago.

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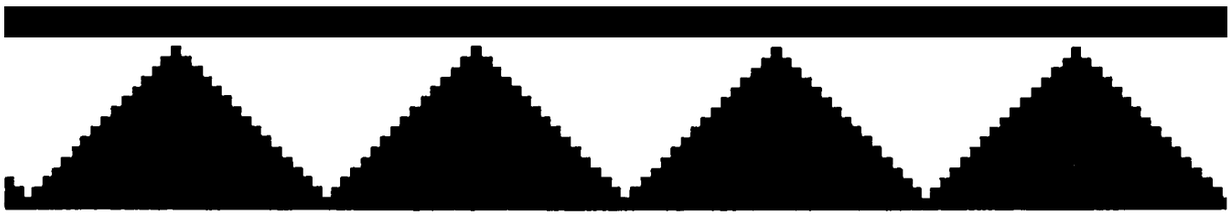


Figure 1
Quill band made by Elise Gargan, 1979. (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre accession #982.100.58)

WHITE
BLUE

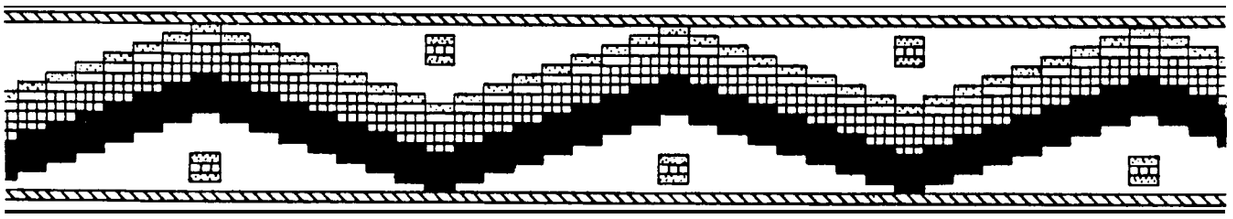


Figure 2
Quill band made by Rosa Minoza, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.2)

WHITE
PINK
ORANGE
PURPLE
RED

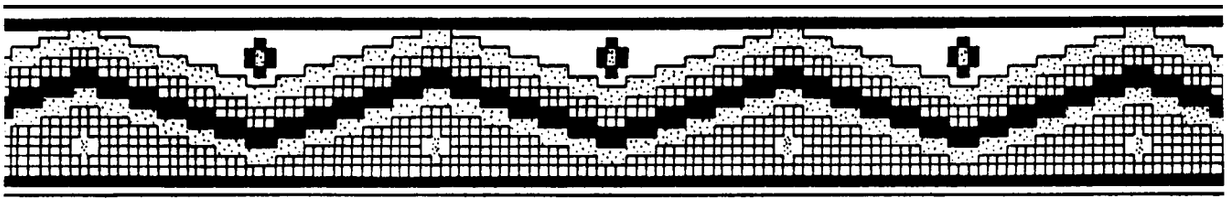


Figure 3
Quill band made by Rosa Minoza between 1970 and 1974. (PWNHC# 982.100.12)

WHITE
BLUE
PURPLE
ORANGE

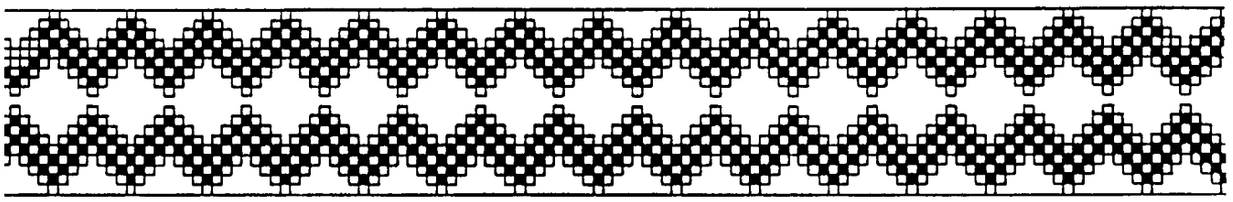


Figure 4
Quill band made by Christine Minoza, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.1)

WHITE
GREEN
RED

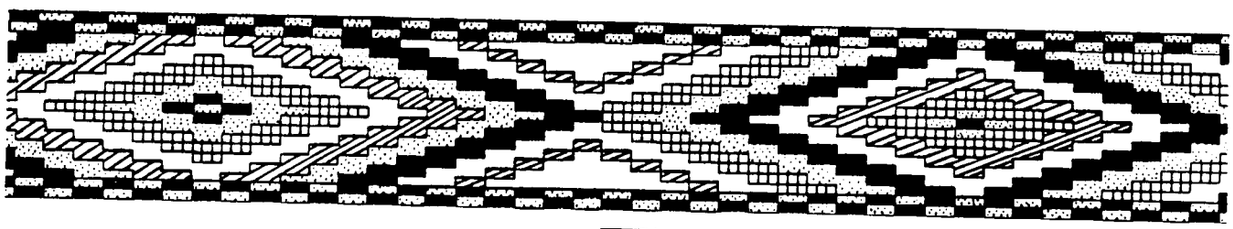


Figure 5
Quill band made by Margaret Sabourin between 1970 dnd 1974. (PWNHC# 982.100.10)

GREEN
WHITE
RED
BLUE
YELLOW

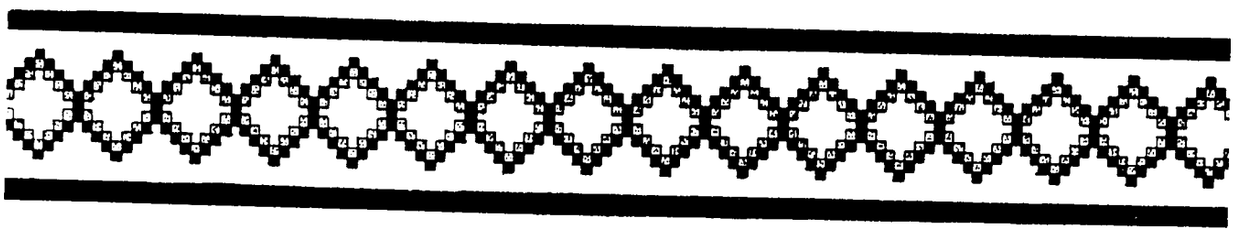


Figure 6
Quill band made by Ernestine Minoza, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.6)

WHITE
RED
BLUE

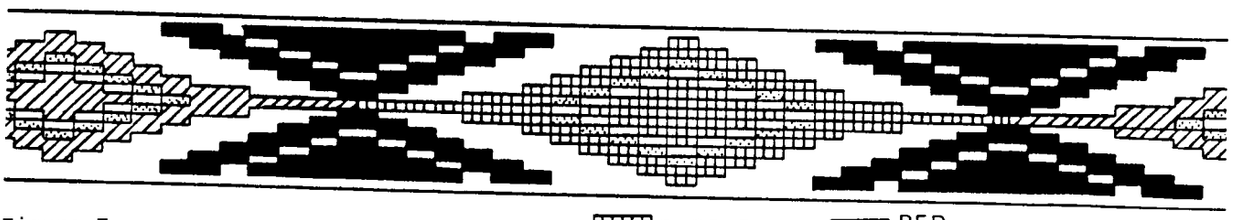


Figure 7
Quill band made by Margaret Sabourin, 1975. (PWNHC# 982.100.8)

PURPLE
RED
WHITE
GREEN
BLUE

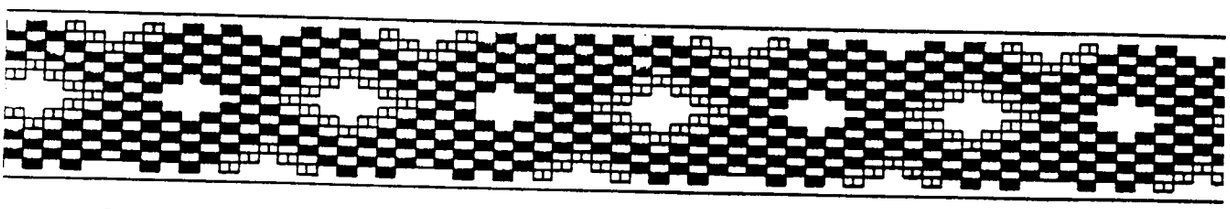


Figure 8
Quill band made by Dora Minoza, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.3)

WHITE
RED
13333 GREEN

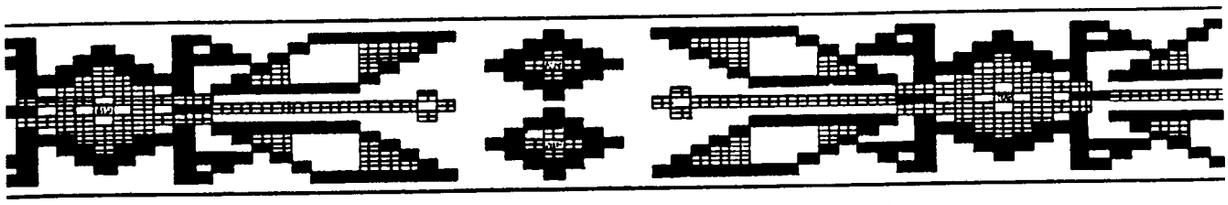


Figure 9
Quill band made by Dora Minoza, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.7)

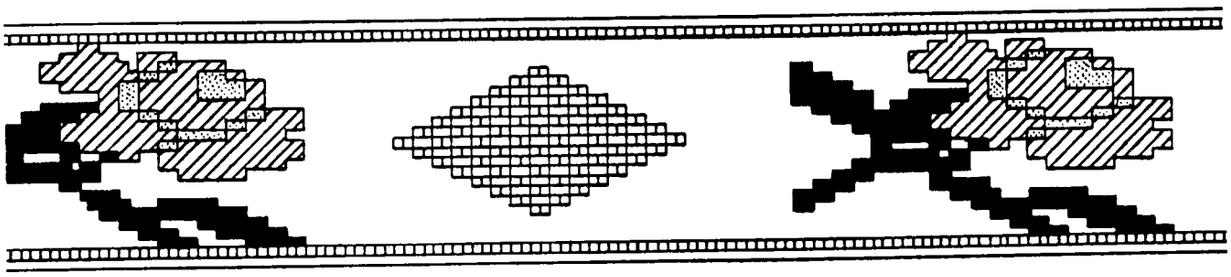


Figure 10
Quill band made by Ernestine Minoza *circa* 1975. (PWNHC# 982.34 .6)

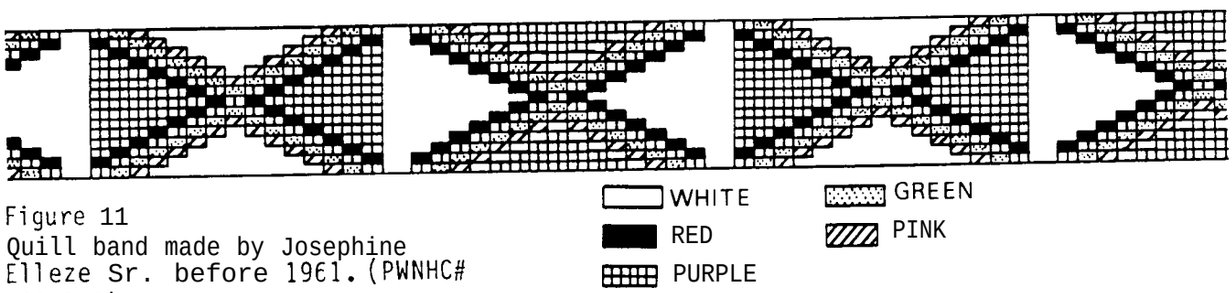


Figure 11
Quill band made by Josephine Elleze Sr. before 1961. (PWNHC# 961.1.3)

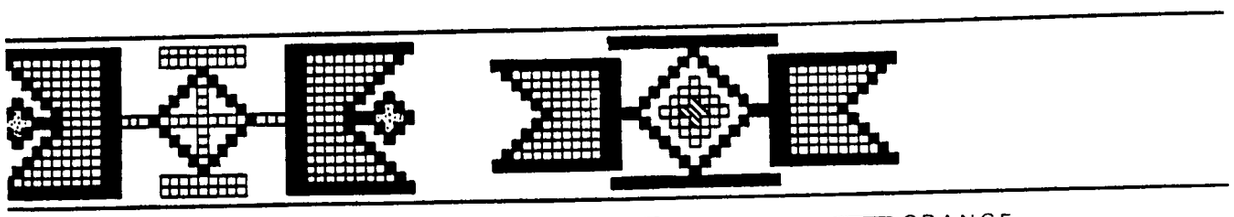


Figure 1'2
Quill band made by Margaret Sabourin, 1975. (PWNHC# 982.100.9)

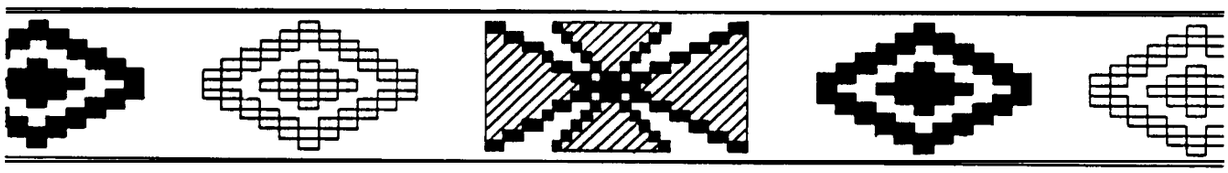
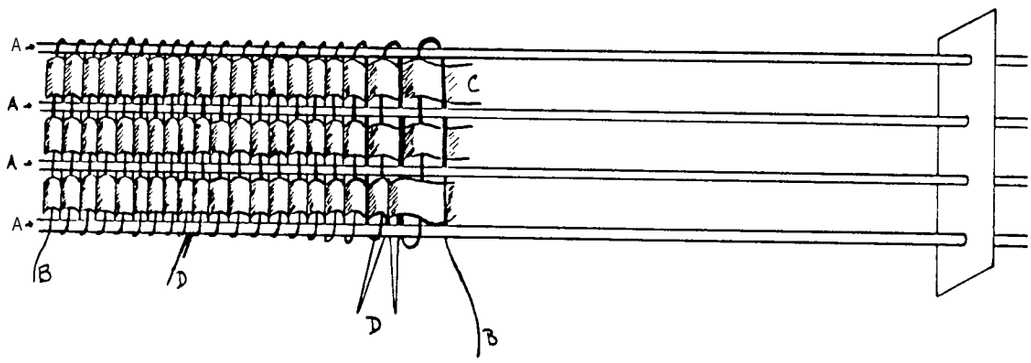


Figure 13
Quill band made by Helen Canadien, 1983. (PWNHC# 983.27.4)

WHITE
DARK RED
LIGHT RED
ORANGE



WEAVING A QUILL BAND

A WARP THREADS
B WEFT THREAD
C PORCUPINE QUILLS
D INSERTING A QUILL

Figure 14
Weaving a quill band

Figure 15
Helen Canadien of Fort Providence
weaving a quill band on a bow loom.

A FROZEN GLIMPSE OF BRITISH EXPLORATION IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

Robert R. Janes
Joe D. Stewart

INTRODUCTION

William Laird McKinley reclined against one of the many sandstone boulders which accentuate the starkness of a beach on Dealy Island, Northwest Territories, Canada (Fig. 1). Although the weather was balmy for the high Arctic, the sea ice before Mr. McKinley only now, in July, was beginning to recede from the beach and to show leads out from shore. Behind him the beach ended abruptly in a steep, 30 m high escarpment, its slopes partially covered with a permanent snowfield. Atop the escarpment perched a large cairn built of local stones, its antiquated purpose to call the attention of weary sledge parties and ships' crews to a storehouse of life-sustaining provisions on the beach below. The store-house was warmly named the "Sailors' Home" by British naval Captain Henry Kellett, under whose orders it was constructed and stocked in 1853 (Fig. 2).

On that summer day in 1977, our archaeological field party was working in and around the structure, concerned with the deteriorating state of this important vestige of British exploration in the Canadian Arctic. Mr. McKinley seemed somewhat aloof from our activities, as well as from the visitors who milled about curiously examining the site. He had arrived with this group by helicopter as an honoured guest of an oil and gas exploration company, based some 75 km away. Mr. McKinley appeared to be absorbed in reminiscences, as well he might, for he had last visited the Arctic in 1913 as a member of Vilhjalmur Stefansson's and Rudolph Anderson's Canadian Arctic expedition. McKinley survived the sinking of one of the expedition's ships, the Karluk, and was eventually

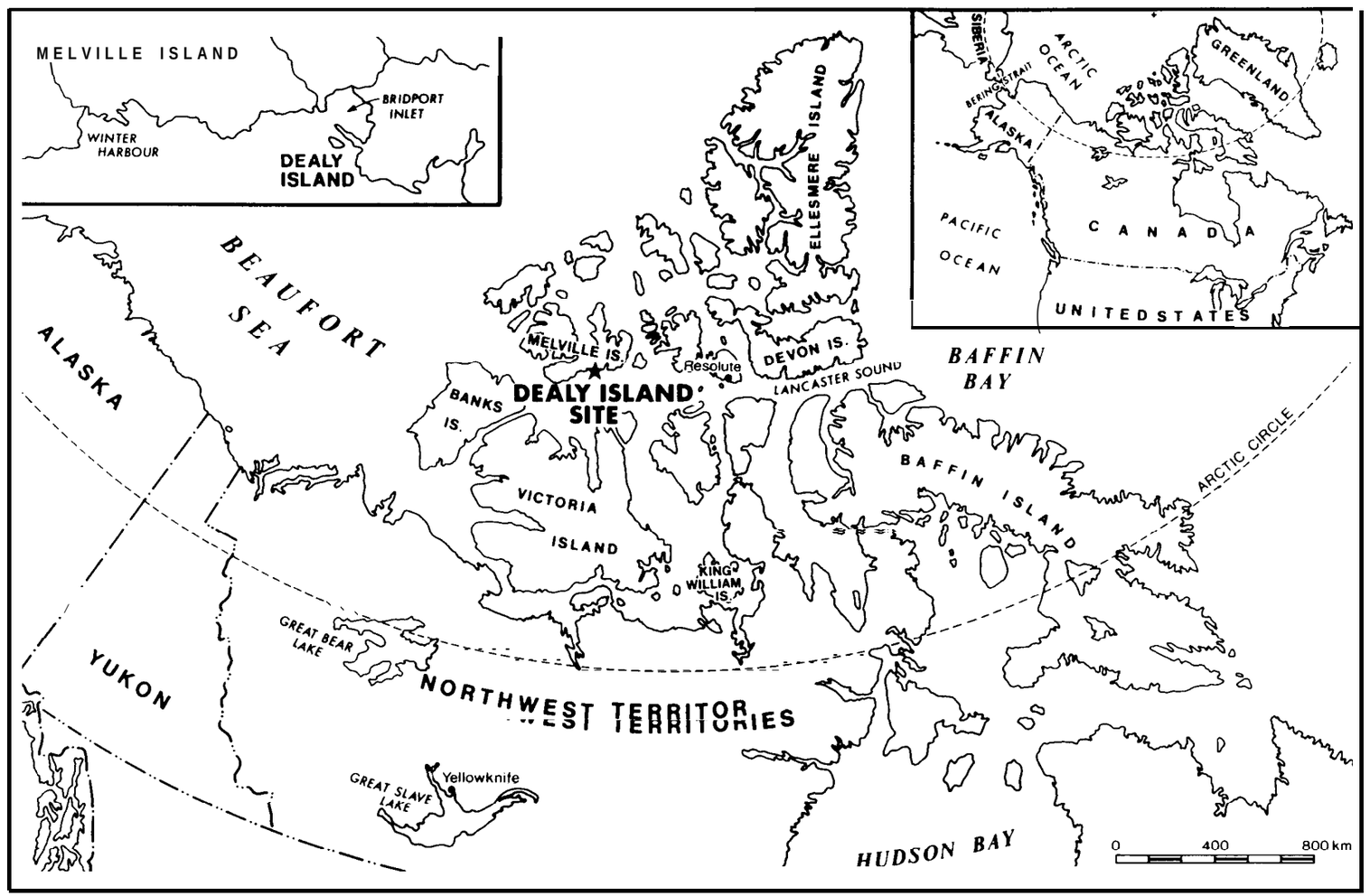


Figure 1
Location of Dealy Island.

rescued on Wrangel Island.

Although access to the Arctic is relatively easy today, the archaeological and conservation work on Dealy Island was both difficult and expensive. Why go to such lengths for a disheveled ruin like Sailors' Home? For one thing, because so much is known about the physical changes the site has undergone since its construction, it serves to test some of the assumptions and methods of modern archaeology. For another, the site is a unique testimonial to the nature of mid-19th century British exploration in the remote and rigorous Arctic. Additionally, it is part of the history of the search for a Northwest Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, a quest begun by John Cabot of England in 1497 but not fully accomplished until Roald Amundsen of Norway sailed the entire route in 1903-06. Kellett's Sailors' Home is an indirect result of one of these exploratory voyages, the last British Naval Northwest Passage expedition under Sir John Franklin.

Leaving London in the spring of 1845 in the Erebus and Terror, Franklin's expedition was last seen by a pair of whaling vessels two months later in northern Baffin Bay, heading for Lancaster Sound (Fig 1). After that, the members of the expedition were never again seen by white men, although the fate of the expedition has been pieced together since and can be summarized as follows (Cooke and Holland 1978). Franklin's vessels were trapped in the ice to the north of King William Island from the fall of 1846 to the spring of 1848, during which time Franklin died. The ships were then abandoned and the survivors (105 men from the original total of 129, as 24 men had died already) set out southward towards the mainland, on foot and drawing heavy sledges. The entire expedition perished before reaching safety, succumbing en route to scurvy, starvation, exposure and perhaps other causes that may never be known to us.

Francis Leopold McClintock, whose search expedition retrieved the only two written records of the last Franklin expedition ever found, noted in 1859 that Franklin's men had dragged with them a bewildering array of both practical and impractical items, ranging from firearms to

silk handkerchiefs, toiletries and dinner knives. In McClintock's words, they had carried:

> ... a quantity of articles of one description and another truly astonishing in variety, and such as, for the most part, modern sledge travelers in these regions would consider a mere accumulation of dead weight, but slightly useful, and very likely to break down the strength of the sledge crews. (McClintock 1972).

Franklin's desperate men had hastened their own doom by clinging to burdensome articles which were of little or no use in the environment from which they struggled to escape.

The search for the missing Franklin party began in 1847 and continued until 1880, involving 24 government and private expeditions (Pullen 1979). The search expeditions themselves, no less than the missing Franklin party, were subjected to dangers and privations. They, too, sometimes required assistance. A naval expedition, under the general command of Sir Edward Belcher, was sent out by the British Admiralty in 1852 to continue to search for Franklin and to carry provisions to Melville Island to assist yet another British naval searching expedition, one that had not been heard from since its departure in 1850.

Captain Henry Kellett was in command of the two ships charged with sailing to Melville Island. Parting from the rest of the fleet in 1852, they headed westward with the aim of finding the lost, would-be rescuers. His destination was Winter Harbour on the south coast of Melville Island (Fig. 1), but he did not make it that far. By September, the ships were frozen in the ice less than a kilometre east of Dealy Island, a tiny island only 4 km long and 1.8 km wide off the southeast coast of Melville Island.

Although Kellett failed to find any trace of the missing Franklin expedition, he did encounter the lost search party led by Robert McClure frozen in at Mercy Bay on Banks Island, and is credited with averting yet another Arctic disaster. The other ship in the missing expedition, under the command of Richard Collinson, was apparently the main reason for the

Figure 2
Kellett's storehouse as it appeared in July 1978.

construction of the depot house. With Collinson thought to be somewhere in the western Arctic, Kellett was under orders to deposit provision caches for him, as well as future expeditions in dire circumstances. As it turned out, Coil inson returned safely to England in 1855.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STOREHOUSE

The story of the western division of Belcher's search expedition has been recorded in a detailed and graphic account by the sailing master of Kellett's ship, George F. McDougall (1857). His narrative, along with the official dispatches of Captain Kellett, provide rare details on the construction of the storehouse on Dealy Island.

Advance work began in September of 1852, when a boat and a portion of the wooden casks containing the provisions were landed on Dealy Island. This work was completed the following February and the foundation for the building was laid about two months later. Kel 1 ett (1855:79) described the project in a memorandum to the British Admiralty:

> This is a house which I have named the "Sailors Home", under the special patronage of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
>
> Here, royal sailors and marines are fed, clothed, and receive double pay for inhabiting it. The first stone was laid on the 1st June 1853; the building completed and ready for occupation on 23rd July 1853, under the able direction of Mr. Dean, carpenter of H.M. Ship "Resolute". Dimensions, 40x14 feet: the walls are four feet thick, the east wall nine feet high, the western seven; it has taken about one hundred tons of stone to build it. The roof is supported by pillars in the centre, is covered, first with new canvas tarred, then a covering of coal bags, and lastly with new canvas painted white. The accompanying plan shows how the provisions are stowed, and where the drains are dug (Fig. 3).
>
> The provisions left here are sufficient to sustain a party of sixty-six men on full allowance for two hundred and ten days, with stores, ammunition and fuel (Fig. 4).

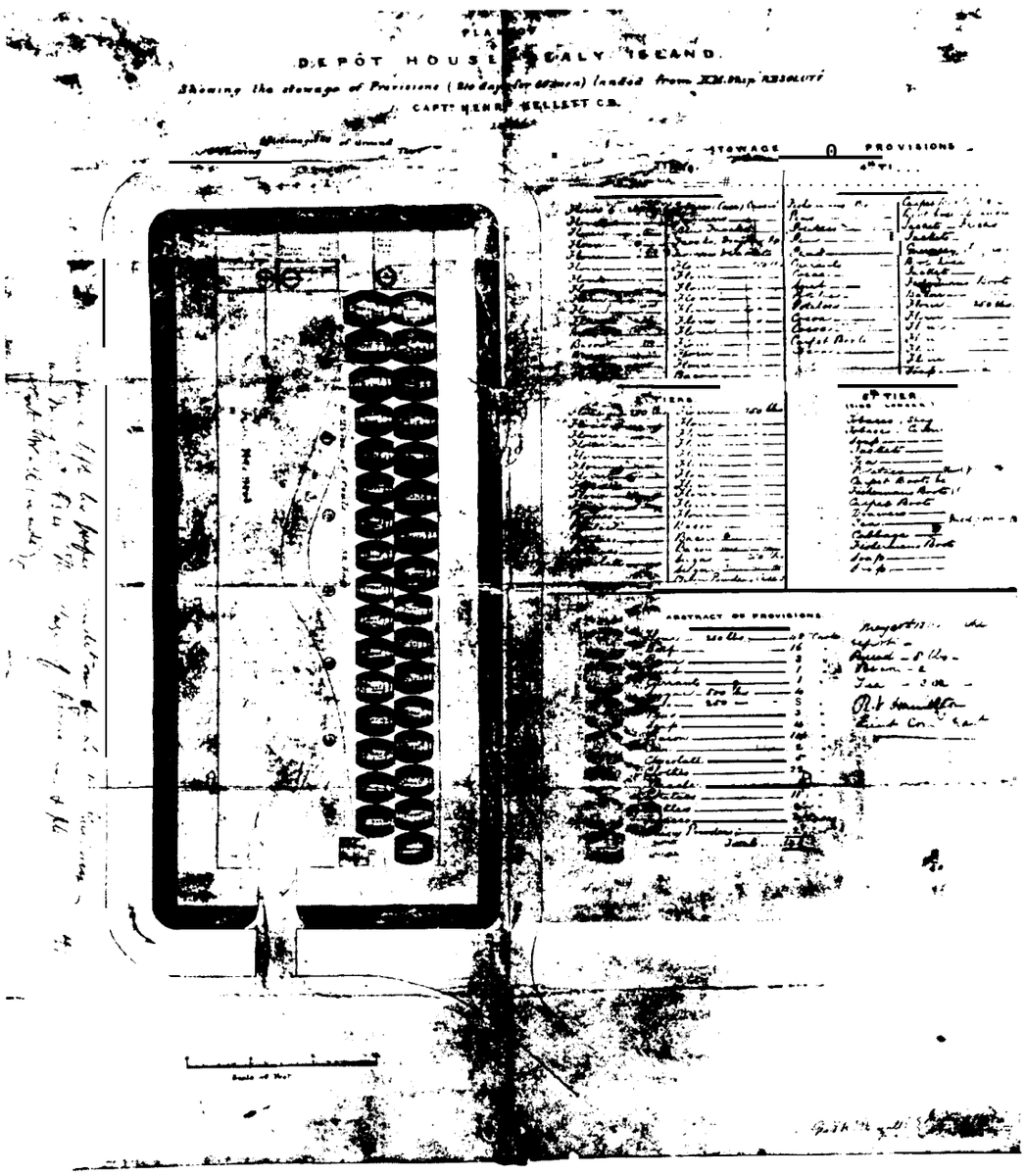
The original memorandum was placed in the storehouse and contained, in addition to the above, notes on the safest routes to rendezvous, the number of hours that men should travel and rest and the provisions with which they should be supplied. Captain Kellett was a thorough and painstaking officer.

The building was constructed of local sandstone. The long east and west walls, as well as the south wall, which contains a wood-framed entrance, consist of double-walled dry stone masonry with a sod-filled cavity in between. The east wall is higher than the west one, creating a sloping roof intended to shed accumulating snow. The canvas roof was supported by a central row of posts, apparently portions of a ship's mast, as well as by top plates running along the east and west walls. The north wall is quite different, consisting of various materials, including three iron ballast tanks, sandstone blocks, empty tin cans and sod (Fig. 5). The exterior metal surfaces were coated with tar to inhibit decay. Sailing master McDougall wrote with unabashed satisfaction:

> The last week in July saw the depot house and cairn on Dealy Island completed in every respect; with all information respecting our discoveries and future proceedings, as also a descriptive chart. Nothing I believe was forgotten, as will be seen in the list of contents. Both cairn and house are built of such stout materials, as will enable them to withstand the effects of time and weather for ages (McDougall 1857).

Kellett's plan drawing of the storehouse, along with the list of provisions, are precious documents from an archaeological point of view. From them and the archaeological work we know that the ballast tanks in the north wall were filled with canned soups, meats, vegetables, bread (hardtack), Normandy pippins (dried apples) and baking powder. The remainder of the food and all the clothing were stored in oak casks in four tiers of two rows each along the east wall of the building. A fifth tier consisting of a single row of casks completed the storage arrangement. Other items such as tobacco, mustard and onion powder were stored in wooden cases.

Ten tons of coal in 82 bags were placed adjacent to the tiers of casks. The other non-food items such as the gunners' stores, boatswain's stores and carpenter's stores presumably were placed along the west wall. A comprehensive supply of medicines, instruments and surgical appliances also was placed in the depot, including such things as a silver catheter, scalpels, opium, spermaceti ointment and a bottle of brandy. A tent with



FACSIMILE OF PLAN FOUND BY CAPTAIN J. E. BERNIER AT DEALY ISLAND IN 1908.

Figure 3
Facsimile of Kellett's plan showing the storage of provisions within the storehouse. Courtesy of the National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

Provisions on Dealy Island.

LIST OF PROVISIONS landed at DEALY ISLAND frum H. M. Ship "Resolute," for the relief of distressed parties visiting it. 21st July 1853.

Provisions.	Quantities.	In what Packages.
Biscuits - - - lb.	1,980	Tsnks-
Flour - - - - - „	12.000	48 Casks.
Rum, concentrated - - gall.	"166	3 „
Beef - - - - - - lb.	4,840	16 „
Bacon - - - - - - „	4,679	14 „
Suet . . . „	112	1
Currants - - „	200	1
Fens - - - - - - gall.	106	3 „
Sugar - lb.	2,500	6 „
Chocolate - - - - - „	926	3 „
Tea - - - - - „	200	2 „
Tobacco - - - - - „	346	2 Cases.
Soap - „	417	4 Casks.
Normandy pippins - - - „	600	Middle Tank
Preserved meats - „	3,465	4lb. Tins.
——— vegetables . - . „	2,166	4 and 2lb Tins.
— potatoes - „	2,080	11 Casks.
— soup, ox-chink - „	868	Tanks.
Mustard - - - - „	10	1 Case.
Treacle - „	378	1 Cask.
Baking powder - „	30	Middle Tank.
Onion powder - „	66	1 Case.
Pickles - . - - -	204½	2 Casks.

210 days for 66 men.

* The weight before boiling.

Proceedings of Captain Kellett, C.B.

Stores . Dealy Island.

BOATSWAIN'S STORES landed in Depôt on Dealy Island, from H. M.S. "Resolute." July 1853.

Palms (sailmaker's) - -	1 in No.
Needles (sail) . . . " . " - -	12
Twine - - - - - - -	1 lb,"
Reps (2-inch) . - - .	30 fms.
Spunyarn - - - - - - -	20 lbs.
Junk (6-inch) . . - - .	4 fms.
Awls (shoemaker's)	6 in No.
Hemp - - - -	½ lb.
wax - - - - - - - - - - -	
Old canvass - - - . .	12 yards.
Marling spikes - . . .	1 in No.
Mallets (serving) - - - - - - -	1 „
Shovels - . . . . -	2 „
Nettle stuff - - - - - - -	6 skins.
Beeswax - - - - - - -	½ lb.
Bristles (bugs' - - - - - -	½ oz.

Poop housing, complete.
Union Jack and Halket's boat.

(Signed) G. F. M'DOUGALL,
Master in charge.

CARPENTER'S STORES landed in Depôt on Dealy Island, from H.M.S. "Resolute." July 1853.

Pickaxes - 2 in No.	Nails (iron) led. . - 3 lbs.
Chisels - - - 3 „	——— 6d. - - 3 „
Mallet - - - 1 „	——— 4d. - - 3 „
Plane - - 1 „	——— 2d. - - 3 „
Saw, (hand) - - 1 „	——— (tacks) 2
Mauls, (pen) - - 1 „	Nails (copper boat) - ½ „
Gimblets - - - 3 „	Chalk - . - 2 „
Files . . - 3 „	Seal oil - . - 65 gallons.
Axes - - 1 „	Candles - - - 50 lbs.
Adze - - - - 1 „	Baking and wash-house stove - 1 in No.
Cotton (for lamps) - 4 lbs.	Rettie's stove and funnel 1 complete.
Nails (iron) 30d. - - ½ „	
——— 20d. - - 4 „	

(Signed) WILL. DEAN, Carpenter.

Proceedings of Captain Keett, C.B.

Provisions in Depôt.

Warm Clothing landed.

Box cloth jackets - .	66 in No.
— — — trowsers .	66 pairs.
Guernsey frocks	- 122 in No.
Knitted drawers .	- 108 pairs.
Fishermen's boots . . .	63 „
Carpet boots	66 „
Boot hose - - -	- 132 „
Mits	- 143 „
Crape - - - - - -	39½ yards.

(Signed) W. H. RICHARDS,
Clerk in charge.

SCALE of Victualling for which Provisions are landed.

	Flour or Biscuits.	Beef.	Bacon (boiled).	Preserved Meats.	Potatoes.	Vegetables.	Peas.	Sugar.	Chocolate.	Tea.	Rum.
	lb.	–	–	–	–	–	gill.	oz.	–	–	
1st day - -	1	–	–	¾	½	–	–	2¾	1	¼	½ of a gill per diem.
2d day - -	1	1	–	–	–	½	–	2¾	1	¼	
3d day - -	1	–	¾	–	–	–	1	2¾	1	¼	

The remaining Provisions are intended to be issued as circumstances may render necessary. The soup might be issued once a week, at ½lb. psr man, in lieu of vegetables or peas

Dated on hoard H. M S. 'Resolute," Dealy Island, 21st July 1853.

(Signed) HENRY KELLETT,
Captain.

Stores on Dealy Island.

(copy.)

GUNNERS' STORES landed in Depôt on Dealy Island, from H.M.S. "Resolute," July 1853.

Powder (sporting) - - -	4 lbs.
——— (fine grain) -	15 „
Cartridge, ball (musket) - - - -	500 in No.
——— (blank) -	500 „
Caps, percussion (musket) - - - -	1,000 „
——— (fowling-piece) - -	1,000 „
Rockets (signal) . .	10 „
Port-tires - -	20 „
Blue lights -	12 „
Maroons, (2 oz.) -	20 „
Spare nipples (musket)	- 2 „
Wrenches (nipple) - - - -	- 1 „
Wads - - - - - - - -	4 boxes.
Paper cartridge (purple) - - -	2 quires.
Loose ball - - - - - - -	500 in No,
Shot, lead (No. 2.) - - - - -	56 lb
—Duck -	56 „
Rocket sticks - - - - - -	10 in No.
Slow match . .	30 lbs.
Hudson Bay gum - - - -	2 in No.
Tents, marquee complete - - - -	1 „

(signed) G. F. M'DOUGALL,
Master in charge.

Figure 4
Contents of Kellett's storehouse. Adapted from Kellett (1855).

a marquee, a wash-house stove, a Union Jack and 19 books were also left in the storehouse.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE STOREHOUSE

As we sat in camp one evening, wrapped in parkas against the chilling wind, we examined messages scrawled on scraps of paper which we found in jars among the rocks of the cairn. Light to read by was no problem, given the never-setting sun at that season. While mostly quite cursory, these messages afforded glimpses into activities on Dealy Island over the years. Together with a dozen published accounts, some with photographic documentation, they provide an historical collage of exploration in this remote part of the Arctic.

Of particular interest historically is the position Dealy Island occupies in the story of Arctic exploration. Its visitors include some of the most prominent individuals in this field. Kellett came in search of Franklin and geographical knowledge, while Bernier was engaged in the establishment of sovereignty over Canada's northern islands. Navigation of the Northwest Passage prompted both Larsen's voyages and that of the H.M.C.S. Labrador. Stefansson's mission was geographical exploration and the collection of scientific information.

These and other reasons brought all these individuals to Dealy Island, where the abandonment history reads like a "who's who of Arctic exploration" . If, however, the visitors after Kellett had not published or otherwise recorded their visits, we would know little or nothing of their involvement in the historical and archaeological record of Dealy Island. The exception would be Bernier, whose men carved an appropriate message on a rock near the building.

By the early 1960's Kellett's storehouse had become an increasingly attractive stop for visitors. While time, the elements and polar bears have been responsible for much of the destruction at the site, human visitors have also done their share.

The problems of site looting, disturbance and continued deterioration had reached alarming proportions by 1977. In that year, as director of the institution responsible for the protection of archaeological sites in Canada's Northwest Territories, Robert Janes organized an assessment of the site with Joe Stewart, another archaeologist, and Charles Hett, a conservator. A pure-bred Eskimo dog was brought along for its ability to warn of polar bears. As a further precaution, we pitched our camp near Kellett's cairn, choosing this high ground in order to avoid polar bears, which most frequently travel along beaches. True, we had a dog for warning and protection but, in our one polar bear encounter we were caught by surprise. The dog had managed to get into its laboriously concealed cache of frozen fish and gorge itself nearly senseless, after which it promptly feel asleep. Unbeknownst to us and the dog, the bear had approached alarmingly close to the storehouse where we were unwittingly at work. When the bear was sighted by one of our crew, we double-checked our firearms and retreated to camp to protect it and our food supply. Luck was with us, as the bear departed as suddenly as it had appeared.

We soon discovered that the walls of the storehouse were badly in need of repair and stabilization and that the unfrozen surface layer in the interior was in complete disarray (Fig. 6). Outside, the ground was littered with remnants of provisions of all sorts, as well as parts of the structure itself. A small test excavation inside the building along the east wall revealed some undisturbed wooden casks beneath the surface layer. In addition to our investigations inside the storehouse, we mapped the surrounding terrain and did a general survey of the island, noting the midden of empty cans and broken bottles near the structure, several signal cairns and the graves of three unfortunate sailors who failed to leave the Arctic with Captain Kellett in 1853. Hett collected various artifacts for later observation and analysis. Only in this way could the effects of removing these materials from their frozen environment be determined. Hett's findings became a major factor in the eventual decision to preserve, in place, as much of the contents of the

Figure 5
The north wall of Kellett's storehouse before it was reconstructed. Note the ballast tanks in the lower portion of the wall.

Figure 6
The disturbed interior of Kellett's storehouse, as photographed in 1977. The dark mass in the centre of the photograph is coal.

Sailors' Home as possible. Thus, the groundwork for the more lengthy and intensive field season of 1978 was laid.

It was decided to repair the structure and preserve its contents in place, rather than to do a traditional excavation of the site and remove all the artifacts. Once recovered from their frozen environment, only specialized treatments can prevent the very rapid deterioration of such materials. Hett, at the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa, found that small samples of organic materials, exposed only a few hours at room temperature, smelled so strongly that the laboratory was unusable. The logistics and expense of removing and preserving the large, frozen assemblage of the Sailors' Home prohibited the responsible removal of all but a sample to Ottawa and The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. Consequently, a plan was devised to preserve and protect the structure and its historically rich contents while, at the same time, allowing visitor access. A multidisciplinary team of specialists was sent to Dealy Island in 1978, under the field supervision of archaeologist Brian Yorga.

In 1978, the unfrozen surface layer of disturbed debris was removed and cataloged, later to be replaced beneath an insulated floor. Beneath this was a frozen layer of both disturbed and undisturbed material. Limited excavations using propane torches and hot water in two areas of the building revealed tent poles, a ship's stove, unopened food tins and a wooden crate, opened but still containing some tobacco (Fig. 7). Before and after the excavations, the interior of the structure was recorded in detail and with great accuracy by graphic and photographic procedures. The midden outside the storehouse also was recorded in detail and some specimens were removed to Yellowknife. A surface collection of artifacts was made in the vicinity of the graves of Kellett's sailors, but the graves themselves were left untouched.

Most of the items removed from Dealy Island for preservation, study and exhibition were taken from outside the storehouse. These materials required much in the way of care and handling. Materials were kept frozen prior to their being transported out in specially prepared,

insulated wooden boxes containing freezer packs. Constant temperature had to be maintained while the artifacts were in transit and at their destinations in Yellowknife and Ottawa. In addition, some of the artifacts have required special treatments including the removal of salts, slow thawing and drying, cleaning with special soaps, brushing and vacuuming, and chemical treatment to prevent mold growth (Fig. 8).

The facilitates and expert personnel of the Canadian Conservation Institute and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre have made the preservation of the Dealy Island artifacts possible. One aspect of this work, however, has yielded some alarming information. Because of their age and repeated exposure to annual freezing and thawing, the tinned provisions are considered to be potentially pathogenic. The Canadian Conservation Institute has developed careful procedures for handling the tins, including opening them in a glove box inside a fume hood, as well as sterilizing all tools, equipment and garbage afterward.

Most of the remaining contents of the storehouse were left in place in 1978, sealed beneath an insulated floor. This was done to inhibit the damaging effects of the annual freeze-thaw cycle, as well as to protect the provisions from looting while allowing unobstructed access for visitors to the Sailors' Home. The floor must also withstand the curious prying and tremendous weight of polar bears and consequently was designed to take a load of 600 lb/ft^2. The flooring consists of rigid polystyrene insulation and plywood sheets supported by wooden joists (Fig. 9). The plywood had to be handsawn on location in order to assure a tight fit with the walls and the roof posts (Fig. 10).

Repair and stabilization of the building began with the construction of a simple stone dam to divert the meltwater flow which was responsible for much of the architectural damage. Then the partially fallen stonework of walls and corners was reconstructed. An attempt was made to restore the walls as near to their original state as possible, using the standing remains, as well as photographs of the Bernier expedition, as guides. Finally, the site was posted as an official Northwest Territories Historic Site. By a fitting coincidence, the 1978

Figure 7
A stove, tent poles and unopened provisions found within the storehouse. This photograph was taken after excavation.

Figure 8
A Royal Navy leather boot, one of the many items found in the storehouse which required special treatment.

work was completed 125 years to the month after the construction of the storehouse.

How have these conservation efforts fared in the time that has elapsed since their implementation? The site has been revisited twice, in 1980 and 1981. In 1980 the diversion dam was still working well, though a year later, the presence of meltwater suggested that more elaborate procedures may be required to divert it in future. Temperature and humidity conditions are difficult to assess because of the debilitating effect of the extremely low temperatures on the batteries powering the instrument which records the temperature and humidity beneath the floor (Fig. 11). However, the increased build-up of ice under the floor in 1981 as compared to 1980 is encouraging. Polar bear activities remain a problem, however. Some apparent bear damage to the floor was observed in 1980 and, by 1981, the plaque which notes the protection of the site under the Historic Resources Ordinance was destroyed, its posts twisted beyond use. The claw marks of a polar bear were clearly visible on the sign. To restrain every polar bear in the Arctic, however, would not eliminate disturbance of the site. As in earlier days, some of the destruction was clearly done by people, including the removal of the new aluminum plates on top of the rusted-through ballast tanks in the north wall.

The human threat to the site will increase, for the Industrial Age has arrived in northern Canada. The intensive search for non-renewable resources now brings more people to the Arctic then ever before. The Dealy Island site will continue to be monitored, but it cannot be policed because of the vastness and remoteness of the Northwest Territories. We can only hope that a sense of history will restrain future visitors from destructive acts.

OBSERVATIONS ON BRITISH EXPLORATION IN THE ARCTIC

In examining the archaeological and historical records of the quest for the Northwest Passage and the search for Franklin, we are struck by the reliance of the expeditions on a self-contained European technology. They might have fared much better by taking advantage of the expertise and technology of the Inuit (Eskimos), who have been surviving in the Arctic for many centuries. There are exceptions to this lack of adaptability in the annals of Arctic exploration, particularly the case of Charles Francis Hall, the leader of the 1864-69 United States Franklin search expedition. He learned the Inuit language, ate their food and generally adopted their way of life. To an extent, Kellett adapted his European technology to Arctic conditions, as when he abandoned the standard leather boots for canvas ones made aboard ship, with adequate room for heavy socks and wrappings. And despite ample stores of food-stuffs, Kellett realized the importance of fresh meat and encouraged his men to hunt. This they did with considerable success. In general, however, learning from the Inuit was a long time coming, and it cost the white newcomers dearly in lost lives, expense and untold hardship.

What are the reasons behind this seemingly inappropriate behaviour in the Arctic? For one thing, the Royal Navy's approach to exploration was understandably based on a sense of superiority. This is neither unfounded nor surprising. For example, the sailing master McDougall, writes of five Inuit men in Lancaster Sound in explicit terms: "... they outvied all we had previously seen in want of cleanliness, and were, without exception, the most disgustingly filthy race of human beings it has been my lot to encounter" (McDougal 1 1857). The ethnocentrism of such men was rooted not only in their belief that their own cultural practices and values were superior to those of other societies, but also in the proud sailing tradition of the Royal Navy in which forms of behaviour and organization were deeply entrenched.

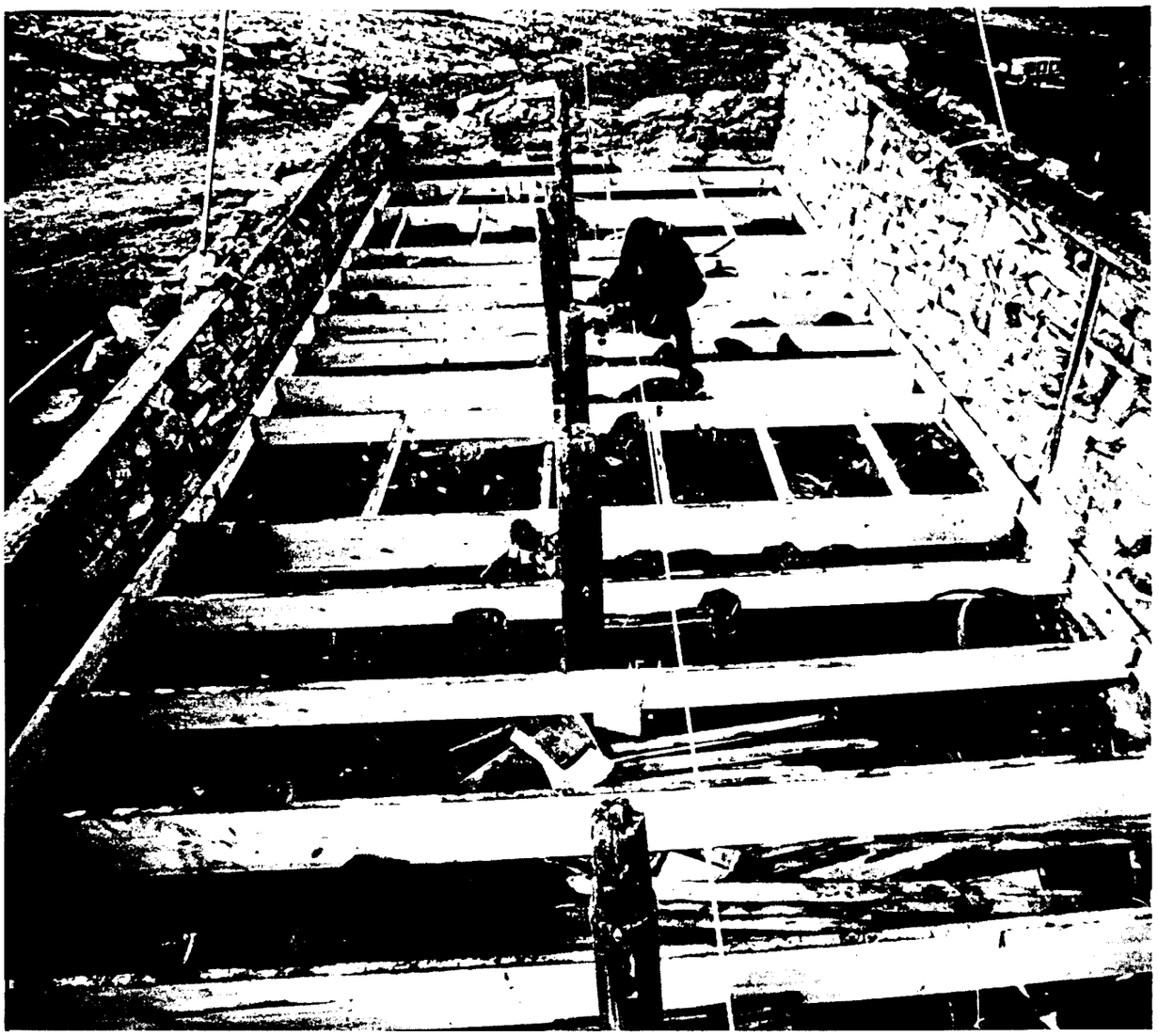


Figure 9
The installation of the wooden joists to support the insulated floor.

Figure 10
The insulated floor in place.

But this attitude of superiority does not constitute a full explanation of the behaviour of the Arctic naval expeditions. It contrasts markedly with the approach of fur traders operating in the western Canadian Subarctic, a region no less perilous for the newcomer than the Arctic. Subarctic winters are long and severe, and the number of animals is subject to severe fluctuations. The Euro-Canadian traders were required to be as self-sufficient as possible, because the riverine supply network which linked them with the south was fragile, inefficient and did not permit the importation of sufficient provisions.

The traders overcame these limits imposed by the environment by trading with native peoples for meat and fish and employing them as hunters, fishermen and guides. In so doing, the Euro-Canadians were able to maintain year-round operations while simultaneously exploiting the dispersed and variable food resources of the Subarctic. Their dependence on native co-operation and expertise was nearly complete.

This is in striking contrast to the British Northwest Passage expeditions, all of which carried massive quantities of food, supplies and equipment. After all, a sailing ship was a far different mode of transportation than canoes or snowshoes. It was natural that ships be more self-contained. Moreover, these vessels carried large crews and it is very doubtful that they could have lived entirely off fish and game even with the best assistance from Inuit. The Arctic expeditions were just passing through, and lacked the commercial motivation of the fur traders to become involved with native populations. Thus, logistics and purpose must be considered, along with ethnocentrism, to account for the nature of Royal Navy operations in the Arctic.

The matter of Inuit adaptation brings up a last and very interesting aspect of 19th century European exploration in the Arctic. It is very curious that Inuit do not appear to have made use of the cache on Dealy Island, considering that they freely plundered McClure's Royal Navy depot at Mercy Bay on Banks Island (Fig. 1). It seems likely that the Inuit simply did not know about the Sailors' Home or that, if they did, it was too far from home to be worth the trip. Kellett makes no

mention of Inuit in the vicinity of Melville Island and the latest archaeological evidence of their presence there appears to predate Kellett's arrival by more than 700 years (Schledermann 1980). There are many other indications throughout the high Arctic that the northern islands were largely unoccupied by Inuit in the 19th century.

There is a general agreement among climatologists that the Arctic climate deteriorated between roughly 1430 and 1850 A.D. (Bryson and Wendland 1967). During this period, known as the Little Ice Age, the Arctic pack ice underwent considerable expansion and sea temperatures in the North Atlantic were one to three degrees C lower than present values (Lamb 1966). It is assumed that this was paralleled by an advance in the summer limit of permanent pack ice throughout the entire North American Arctic (McGhee 1972). The coincidence is both bizarre and tragic, as the Royal Navy was most persistently committed to the discovery of a Northwest Passage during the latter portion of this cooling trend. Without the benefit of retrospective climatic investigations, they did not know that they were sailing in Arctic waters during some of the coldest summers of the past seven centuries (Koerner 1977). There were certainly exceptions to the oppressive ice conditions during this period, such as when Parry sailed through Lancaster Sound to Melville Island in 1819, in one season (Parry 1821). Franklin's expedition suffered the opposite extreme, however, dead to a man as a result of unrelenting ice.

Kellett's storehouse, despite the ravages of man, nature and time, is a virtual time capsule of mid-Victorian, Royal Navy exploration technology in the Arctic. Fascinating as it is, it may offer still further insight into Arctic history and prehistory. We hope that its in situ contents will remain preserved for future researchers with unanswered questions and techniques of investigation now undreamed of (Fig. 12).

William Laird McKinley died several years after his visit to Dealy Island in 1977. He was one of those rare and privileged individuals who first saw the Arctic from the deck of a sailing ship and yet paid a final visit there in a flying machine. He, no less than

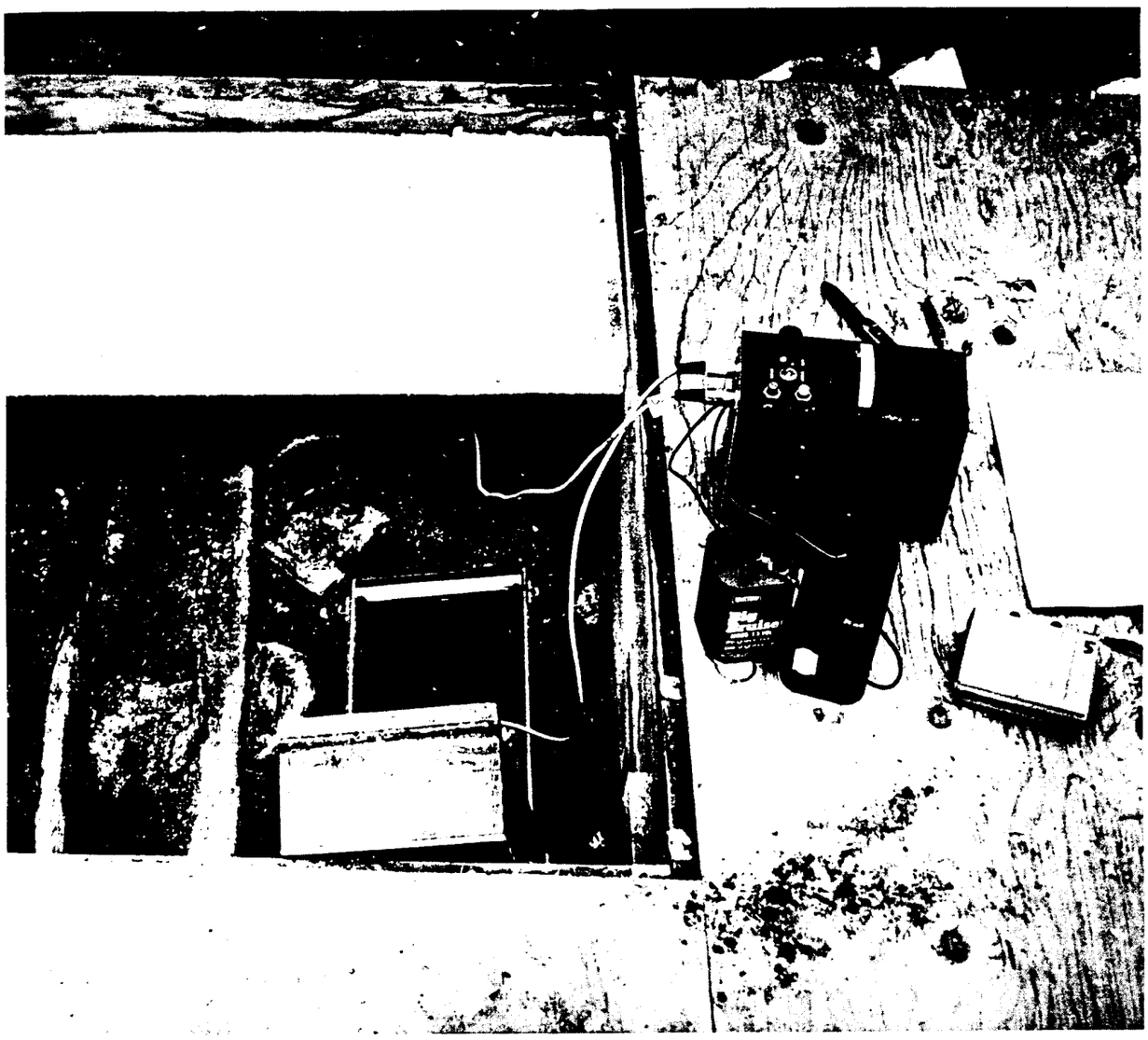


Figure 11
The installation of the hygrothermograph. This instrument measures the temperature and hum dity beneath the insulated floor.

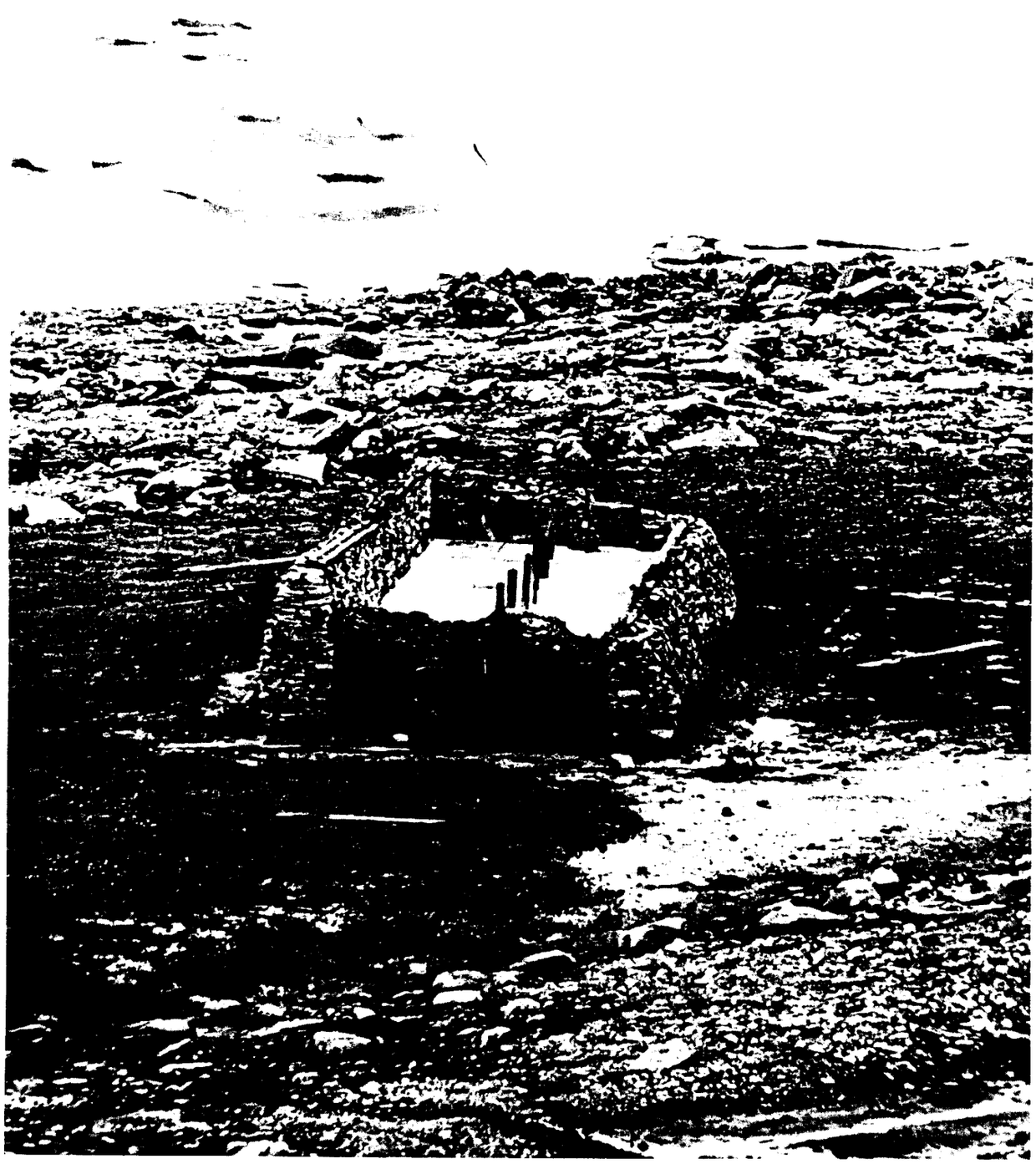


Figure 12
Kellett's storehouse upon completion of the work. Viscount Melville Sound is in the background.

Kellett's storehouse, was a time capsule of Arctic exploration. He had experienced adventure and untold privation at a time in Arctic history when the price of failure was most often life itself. Our chance meeting with him was subdued with the respect and wonder we all felt for a man of his age and experience, and we kept our questions and excitement to ourselves. We will always wonder what he was thinking about that day.

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A detailed report of the work at Dealy Island was published earlier in the journal Arctic. We sincerely thank the Arctic Institute of North America for their permission to use the photographs which appear in this article.

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Fort Fitzgerald on the Slave River. Known to the Chipewyan people as Thabathi -- the Place Above the Rapids -- this was a major transportation center for the whole North.

Travel and transport of goods from the south to communities between Alberta and the Beaufort Sea was via the Slave River, to Great Slave Lake and up the Deh Cho, the Big River, later named after Alexander Mackenzie.

The opening of the road to Hay River, linking the N.W.T. to Alberta in the 1950's, and the popularization of air travel, diminished the economic importance of Fitzgerald.

In accordance with policies of the Department of Indian Affairs at the time, this entire community was relocated to Fort Smith, N.W.T. in the late 1950's and early '60's. This move of 14 miles created serious social impact among the people. All the buildings in this photo were torn down or burned. Today little trace remains of this once-thriving community, except in the minds and hearts of the people.

Credit: Provincial Archives of Alberta

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ELEONOR McNEILL OF FORT SMITH

Marie Helene Laraque

The real history of the North is in the memory and hearts of the old people.

Eleonor McNeill is a Chipewyan woman. She is independent and proud. Her health is not too good these days and she hardly gets out of the house. But just thinking of her makes me smile, recalling the way she laughs and calls me “my girl” as we talk.

She is 77 years old, born in Fort Fitzgerald, Alberta, just across the border from the Northwest Territories. Thabathi or "Fitz" was home for most of the Native people who now live in Fort Smith, 14 miles away. Mrs. McNeill speaks of the life she knew there, what it was like for a young woman in earlier days, the everyday experiences of the people, and the things they made and used.

Mrs. NcNeil did not wish to be photographed, which is why no picture of her is used here.

WOMAN’S LIFE

> “Native women, they used to work hard. Not now. I laugh at the girls. They wash and put back their clothes in the washtub and then they hang them and ‘Oh I’m so tired because I washed clothes!' (laughs). They don’t think about how we used to have to wash with a washboard. In the bush we used to do that.”

There was always work to be done in order to survive. Work in the bush and in town was shared. Men had their special friend or relation they did things with and women also, but much more than today, “The men and women, they’d work together. They used to help each other lots.”

Women trapped along with the men. Mrs. McNeill has happy memories of learning to trap beaver with her dad. From her mother she learned to sew, cook, and the things that a woman had to know. As a child, her grandparents sent her to take fresh meat and dry meat to the old people at Christmas and New Year. She learned to listen to and have respect for the elders. She finds it a little strange now to be one herself.

> "In January it's cold. My mother and my old auntie used to make moosehide. They had to make a big fire, it was so cold. They got the flesh out, after that they scrape too. After that you had to tan that moosehide. Then they'd make the moccasins, everything like that." (laughter)

If a woman tanned a hide for another she would be given a part of that hide.

> "In them days, the women never used to sell their moosehides. They were all using them, making mitts, making moccasins, like that, for the kids and all."

MOSS BAGS AND BABIES

Babies were born at home, "every one of them!" Everybody was happy after a baby was born. There were no doctors and people had their own knowledge of medicine and healing. "When somebody was sick, they'd send for old people to help them." Women helped each other to deliver their children. A lot of that knowledge was lost with the coming of doctors and the hospital.

Mrs. McNeill describes how she used a moss bag for her children. It was lost when her house burned down some years back.

> " I made i t fancy, and I used to have that for all my babies. People used to use that a lot. It's good like that. Babies never wet the sheet, nothing."

Moss bags were made out of hide or material and they were used to keep babies warm, dry, and comfortable. Mrs. McNeill says there are different ways moss could be used.

> "I used to make a little bag like a pillowcase and put the moss in it. Just on the bottom I used to put lots. But in old time, my mother says they used to put the moss on the baby. But me I never did that because too much dirt, when it's too dry.
>
> In the fall, they'd bring in all that moss. You had to take out all the sticks from it, and when it was clean you put that in a bag and keep it all winter for that baby."

It was cheaper than Pampers too.

EDUCATING CHILDREN

Children were taught by example. Parents were not too strict, but discipline was very important.

> "Them days, they'd teach kids all kinds of things even the smallest ones. When the women would clean the moosehides, they'd tell the kids to help them. That's why when you get big you know what to do."

Children had to help the family with cooking, washing dishes, picking berries, carrying firewood, feeding dogs, or whatever needed to be done. Young people went to bed early and woke up early. They learned to listen and to do what they were told without questioning. Parents and

grandparents provided guidance for the young people as a part of their own responsibility and because they loved them and wanted them to know the right way to do things. Mrs. McNeill says seeing children today walking around alone at all hours of the night, "It makes you wonder if they got no mother." In the old days it was different.

> "I remember that when I was young, my mother cut out moccasins for me. And she said to me 'You make a pair of moccasins.' I said all right. I made one side. When she come back I told her 'I sewed one.' She looked at it, she cut it (where I had sewed). 'Do it again all over. I hope you don't do it the way you did this one!' (laughter). So I had to do it all over again. That's the way they used to teach the kids, you see. The next time I make a good one."

LIFE IN TIPIS

In the old days, the Chipewyan people lived in tipis all year round. Later, as log houses came to be used, people stayed in tipis during the warmer weather. They had a built-in advantage:

> "When you wanted to make a tipi, you'd buy canvas by roll. Then they ask an old lady to cut that. The old lady comes over and cuts that. And then they'd sew it all together. It was lots of work to make a tipi. They got to sew it by hand -- them days, no machine.
>
> "In the summertime when they stayed in tipis, they'd make a fire with smoke and then when they go to bed they'd put the top of that canvas (flap) there. They never used mosquito net, just go to bed like that."

BIRCH BARK AND PRESERVING FOOD

"My mother used to make birch bark containers for when they boiled berries and then they would seal them. They'd make them just like bottles with a cover too. And when they cooked berries, they'd put it in there, and when the berries cooled, you had to put moose grease on top and let it get hard and cover it and keep it like that. They used to do that with meat too, boil it and when it's cold, put it in there."

Birch bark containers were used also for picking and storing cranberries, gooseberries and any other kind of berries.

Mrs. McNeill learned how to build a food cache as a young girl. Her dad showed her how. He cut the logs for it, which she hauled by dog team. The cache was built high above the ground. Dry meat would go on the bottom, then other food. Everything would be covered with moose hides.

"You put some snow on top, then put water on top of that to freeze it. That way raven never bothers it. When you want to open it, once you break that ice, well, that's it! Everything is nice, the way you put it, just like that. Must be that Indian way..."

Similar caches were also built on top of trees, but then when it rained the food could get spoiled.

SHARING THE FOOD OF THE LAND

"Now you have to buy everything in the store. It's not good. Nowadays, for old people, even a piece of meat you have to pay for."

Dene woman of Fort Smith stripping birch bark in the traditional way. Birch bark served many useful purposes, from cooking pots to canoes to storage baskets. The sap of the birch tree was also tapped for syrup.
Credit: Provincial Archives of Alberta

In Fitzgerald, there used to be a real feeling of community and people shared everything.

> "Johnny Paulette, his dad was the chief. His name was John Paulette too. Sometimes, they'd take about 15 horses. All the people they'd go with him with the horses too. They'd kill about 4 or 5 moose. They'd bring that. They'd cut all the meat and put it all on the ground. They used to yell 'Come and get the meat! ' and everybody used to get the meat and they used to give it away.
>
> "Everybody used to get some meat.
>
> "They used to fish at Dog River for little suckers and some whitefish. When they come back, if they got fish, they'd yell to the people to go each get fish. They didn't have to pay for it."

LIFE IN FITZ

It was mostly Native people who lived in Fitzgerald.

> "Not many white people that time, but lots of stores. There used to be lots of houses there. Now nothing."

Mrs. McNeill recalls a trip her dad made once to Fort MacMurray with his brother-in-law. He bought a scow and brought it back full of supplies to last the family for a long time -- flour, bacon, butter, everything they would need. Food had to be kept away from mice. People used to go from house to house to give away apples and oranges, a real treat when they could get them.

"1 remember New Year's day. In the morning they'd start to shoot. All day long. And then they used to make a great big pudding on Christmas day and New Year's day. They never used to make cake. In them days, there was no drinking, nothing like that."

People used to build their own homes out of logs, with every piece having to be cut or put together by hand.

"In October, everybody used to be in the bush for trapping. They'd come to town for Christmas and bring their fur and after New Year's go back to the bush again."

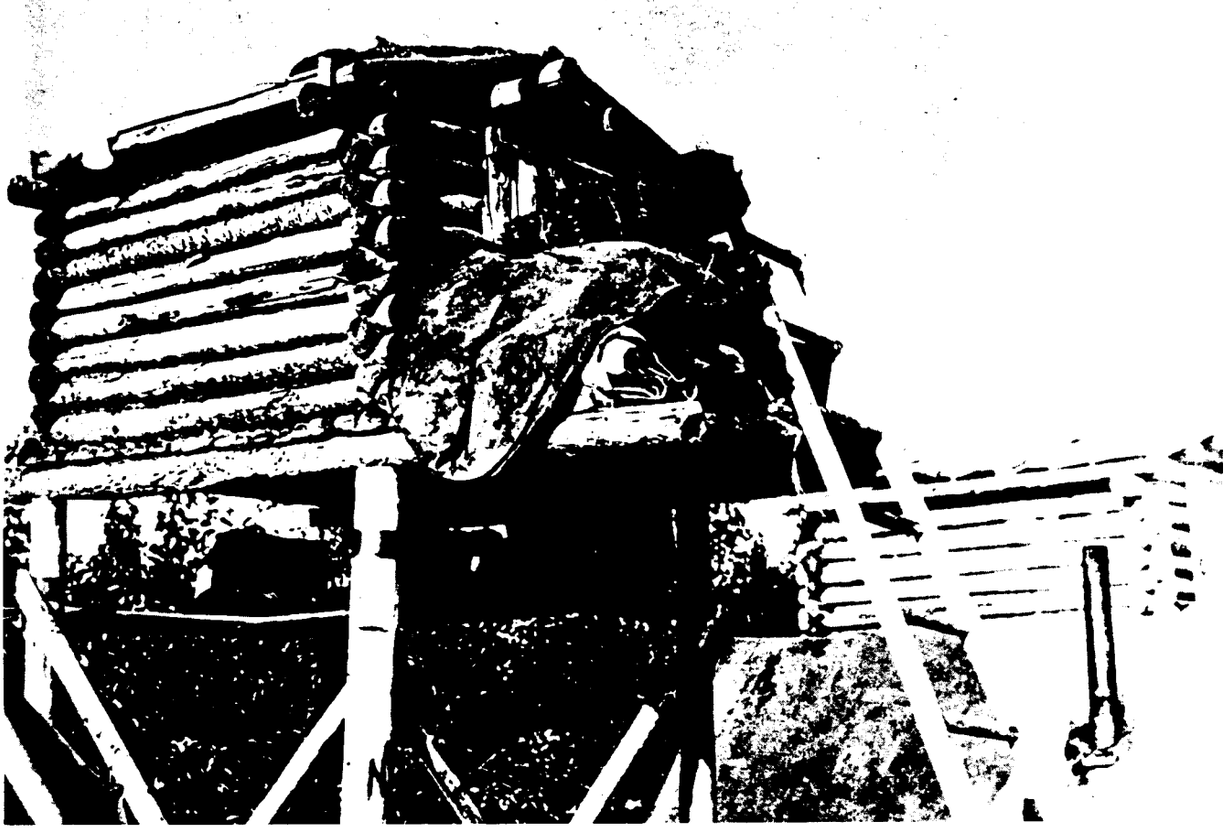
With some families, the whole family would go to the bush, with others, just the man went.

"We used to go in September, my mother, my dad, my old auntie and myself. In the fall, when there's not too much snow, well you'd catch lots of fur, you know. In them days, the people, that's all they used. They didn't know about working and making money.

"They stayed in town just in the spring, in May. They always come in April some time and in May they go to Salt River. They make dry fish. Some of them they caught about 2-3000 fish.

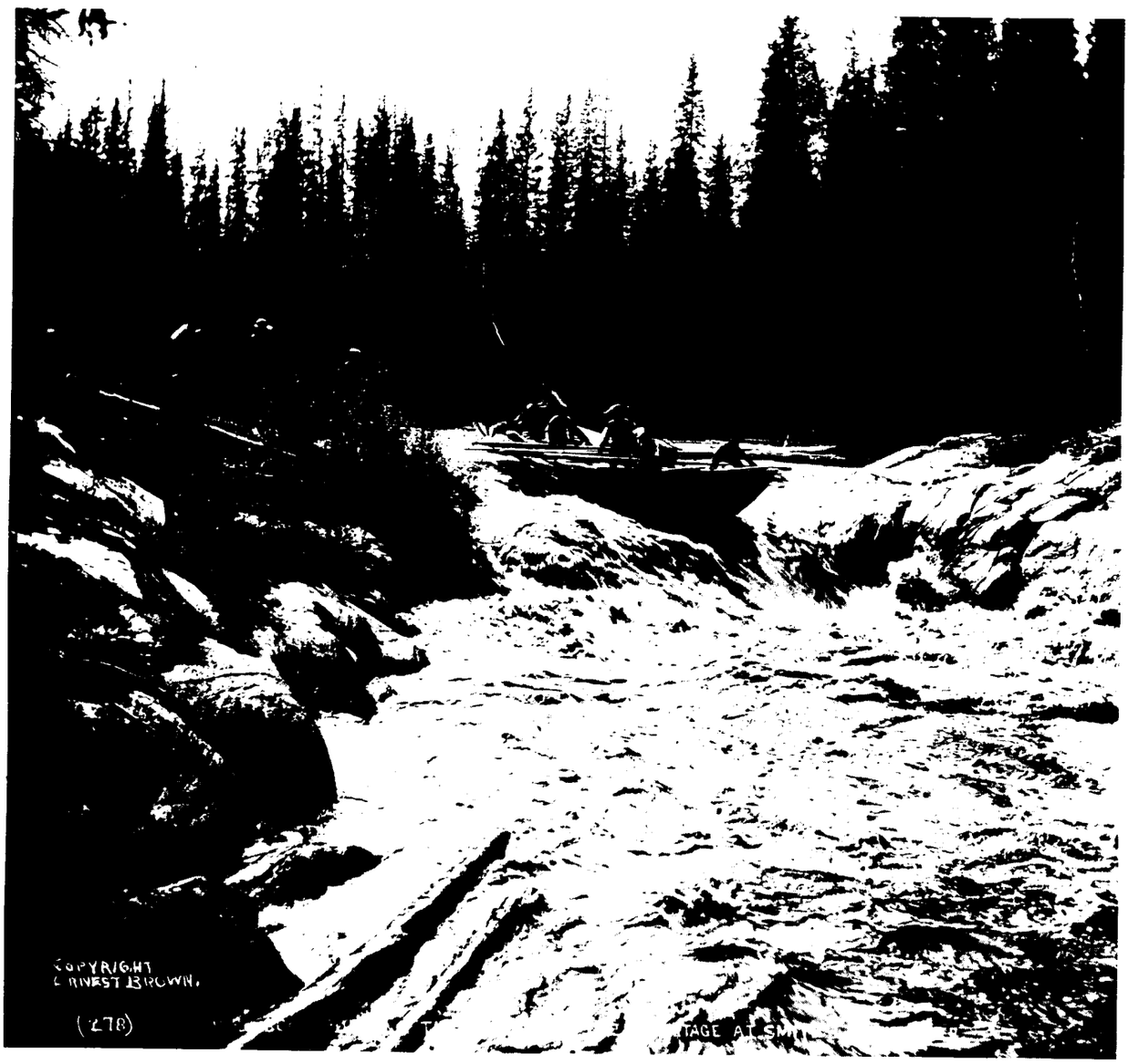
"After the first of July, the people used to go down the (Slave) river. They'd make all kinds of dry meat. They'd come across the river and they'd bring that."

Dry fish and dry meat were prepared and stored separately "because they didn't want to mix up the taste of it. They'd pound the dry fish, pound the meat. Some of them they'd boil that."



Elevated food caches like this one were used to keep food and supplies away from animals. Goods could be stored for extended periods of time when families were traveling.

Credit: Northwest Territories Archives



Trader's boat running the Rapids, second portage on the Slave River.

Because of the dangerous rapids between Fort Fitzgerald and Fort Smith, passengers and boats traveling North would unload at Fitzgerald and go through several portages. Only rare scows guided by experienced river pilots were able to go through the rapids, recalls Mrs. Mc Neill.

Credit: E. Brown Collection
Provincial Archives of Alberta

People were careful about what they did and how they worked.

"The old people, they used to be clean."

CHANGES

In 1924, when she was 18, Eleonor Jeremie married William McNeill, who was originally from Labrador. Her parents were Eleonor and Alexie Jeremie of Fort Fitzgerald. Through marriage she became step-mother to Wilf McNeill, who later became a well-known Northern artist and carver.

"When I was young I used to be in the bush, and when I got married I used to be in the bush."

However, after her daughter Matilda was born in 1944, Mrs. McNeill did not want to go back to the bush and the family stayed in Fort Smith. It was not much of a town then.

After the Department of Indian Affairs relocated the community of Fitzgerald to Fort Smith in the late 1950's and early '60's, many people continued the traditional life, though it was becoming increasingly hard.

"Eh . . ..In fall, when they want to hang fish, they used to go down the river bank here. Lots of tipis. Yeh, lots of tips.

"And they set their nets, there, eh. And when they catch the fish, they hang fish down there. And some of them they'd make dry fish for the winter, for the dogs. In the spring too, like that."

TODAY

Mrs. McNeill has a well-used cane that she uses to help her get around - and keep younger members of the family in line. It's Mama's known trademark and they tell fond stories about it.

She remembers working 12 hours a day for $3 a day in the 1940's to support her family when her husband was sick.

She remembers as a child seeing scows going through the Slave River rapids, full of goods people needed, to take further up to the Mackenzie Valley communities. Scows were the only boats that could go through the dangerous rapids. The men on the boats were paid $25 a month -- they thought it was a lot of money then, she says.

She comments often about how different everything is today. Like other pensioners, she is concerned about the high price of food, clothes, and life in general.

Today, a lot of people are getting gall stones, Mrs. McNeill says, and she thinks it's from the water, which is not as clean as it once was.

> "The government started making a pipe that goes down the river for toilet, you know. After that the people didn't want to drink it, so they hauled water from Mountain Portage."

But nobody does that anymore.

The Slave River, which has been such an important part of the life of the Fitzgerald, Fort Smith, and Fort Resolution people, is now threatened by a massive dam which the Alberta government and utility companies want to build across it to generate hydroelectric power. Mrs. McNeill is not sure what this development might mean.

> "I don't know what they're gonna do. Nowadays, I think when the government wants to do something, I guess they just keep on doing, even you say no, they wouldn't listen to you. That's what I think myself."

Eleonor McNeill shares her sadness at seeing friends, relatives, and other old people die, and what it's like to become one of the older people in the community. It's a lonesome feeling, she says.

The impression of her that stays with me always is of a kind, beautiful face and a happy laugh that's full of life.

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Parts of this story appeared in "Native Press", Yellowknife, May 4, 1984. Reprinted with permission

THE MOUNTED POLICE AND CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC, 1903-1924

William R. Morrison

When in 1904 Wilfrid Laurier said that the twentieth century would be the century of Canada, he enunciated the main catch-phrase of the Canadian nationalism of his era. In Canada the first decade of this century was an expansionist one: new prosperity, new provinces, new industries, a great growth of population. If ever this country has experienced an echo of American "manifest destiny," this was the time. Yet the main thrust of our national development in this era was not towards a half-known frontier; rather, it was towards the southern prairies, a region which, though only partly settled, had been brought into the orbit of the Canadian economy by the end of the eighteenth century.

The real Canadian frontier in the early twentieth century was the Canadian North, and here the flame of our manifest destiny burned more feebly. Here, where there really were questions as to the reality and the effectiveness of Canadian sovereignty, the Government of Canada was most hesitant to assert its authority. Canada would have preferred to ignore this frontier. But in the first decade of this century the Canadian government found itself compelled to take notice of its rights and responsibilities in two remote areas under its nominal control: the eastern and western Arctic. This paper deals with the attempts of the government, through its agents of sovereignty, the Mounted Police, to establish its control over the western Canadian Arctic in roughly the first twenty years of this century.

The focus of the government's attention in these years was a barren piece of land named Herschel Island, about thirty-five miles square, a few miles off the coast of the Yukon Territory in the Beaufort Sea, about forty miles east of the International Boundary. Under ordinary circumstances this island would likely never have attracted the

attention of anyone but the local Inuit, but not long before the turn of the century it had acquired a strategic importance far beyond the ordinary as a wintering place for the western Arctic whaling fleet.

The ships of this fleet generally came north for a voyage of two summers at a time, because of the short open-water season and the great difficulties involved in getting home around the north of Alaska. Beginning in 1889, the captains of these ships became accustomed to winter at Herschel Island, central to the whaling area, where they built warehouses and dwellings for the cold season. From the point of view of Canadian sovereignty these whalers, most of whom were Americans, were transgressors on several counts. They were unhampered by customs regulations and were under no restrictions in regards to liquor. Nor was the value of the whales taken inconsiderable; in 1907 four of the ships' captains stated that since 1891, 1,395 whales valued at $13,450,000 had been taken, while trading furs with the Natives had yielded another $1,400,000 (PAC, RNWMP Report 1908a). Although the men involved in this business had no interest in making territorial claims, their very presence cast doubts on Canadian sovereignty over the island and the surrounding area. Furthermore, the whalers were suspected, not without reason , of corrupting the morals, and what was more important, the whole social structure of the Inuit inhabitants of the area.

The Government of Canada had held title to this general area since 1870, when it acquired Rupert's Land; the more northerly part of the Arctic was transferred to Canada by Britain in 1880 (Johnston 1933: 29-30) . Although the lieutenant-governor of the North West Territories held a tenuous oversight over these vast lands, they were, in fact, for nearly thirty years after their acquisition, terra incognita as far as Ottawa was concerned. Diamond Jenness, a trenchant critic of government policy in the North, stated the situation concisely:

> Down to the very end of the nineteenth century . . . Canada completely neglected her Arctic . . . As long as no other country attempted to gain a foothold in that region . . . [Canadians] were content to forget it and push on with the development of the southern resources of the Dominion . . . the authorities . . . were carrying more important burdens than the remote and useless Arctic (Jenness 1964: 16-17).

Jenness' comment, while no doubt meant ironically, was nonetheless unfortunately true.

A.R.M. Lower (1961: 325) wrote that "Some peoples are born nations, some achieve nationhood and others have nationhood thrust upon them. Canadians seem to be among these last." He was describing Confederation, but his adaptation of Shakespeare applies equally well to Canada's involvement in her North. It was not until foreigners had been catching whales and trading with the Natives for fourteen years that a representative of the Canadian government first arrived at the centre of their activities on Herschel Island.

What forced the government's hand were complaints from missionaries in the region that the Inuit were being exploited by the whalers, some of whom had no hesitation in supplying liquor to the Inuit or teaching them to make it for themselves, the purpose being to acquire cheap servants and complaisant women. So potent and rapid were the combined effects of liquor, disease, and general social disintegration, that the Inuit population of the general area of the Mackenzie Delta, which had been about 2,000 in 1830, had by 1930 declined to 200, of whom only twelve were true Natives of the region, the rest having migrated from Alaska (Jenness 1964: 14). An Anglican missionary, the Reverend 1.0. Stringer, had reached Herschel Island in 1894, followed by the Reverend C.E. Whittaker in the next year (Boon 1962: 232). These men forwarded complaints to the government concerning the alleged debauching of the Natives. From the Mounted Police in Dawson came a report that

> ... as long as the liquor lasts, the Natives neither fish nor hunt, and die of starvation in consequence . . . The captains and mates of these vessels purchase for their own use, girls from nine years and upwards . . . (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 135).

It was also reported that in the winter of 1896, over twelve hundred white men were wintering at Herschel Island (PAC, NWMP Report 1896:238). In June 1896, Bishop W.C. Bompas, whose diocese of Selkirk included Herschel Island, wrote to the Minister of the Interior, asking for the "interference of your government" (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 314a).

The attitude of the Canadian government to this situation was ambivalent. When Bishop Bompas made his request, Canada was in a state of flux; Sir Charles Tupper's government had fallen, and the country was nearing the end of a prolonged economic depression. There was no money for perceived non-essentials such as Inuit welfare. In fact, after the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, the government budget for the "unorganized" North West Territories was only about $5,000 per year (excluding the cost of the police), a sum which was spent mostly on grants to church mission schools, and which included the salary of the Commissioner [2]. Furthermore, the government was heavily involved in establishing its control over the Yukon in the late 1890s, an enterprise which was costly in terms of manpower and money, and after that there was the Boer War. Thus, for several years the new Laurier government took no action. As the Comptroller of the Mounted Police put it in a letter to Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, "It is certainly desireable that Canada should assert her authority in the Arctic Ocean, but it is questionable whether the results would justify the expenditure, at present" (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 314 b).

But the government was concerned about the situation in the western Arctic. It was not very long since Canada had been involved with the United States in the matter of the Bering Sea seal fisheries, and officials in Ottawa viewed the presence of American whalers in Canadian waters with misgivings born of years of experience. It became clear to the government that in order to assert economic and political control over the western Arctic, some display of sovereignty would have to be made. And perhaps something might be done for the Natives, though privately officials downplayed the warnings of the missionaries. As Comptroller White of the police complained, "It is so difficult to convince the goody-goody people that in the development and settlement of a new country allowances must be made for the excesses of human nature" (PAC, RCMP Comptroller's Letterbooks 1903).

When after three years' discussion it was finally decided in the winter of 1902-1903 that something had to be done to demonstrate Canadian sovereignty in the western Arctic, the task of showing the flag was given

to the North-West Mounted Police[3], who had proved themselves during the Yukon gold rush to be equal to the task of acting as agents of government control among a foreign-born population. During their Yukon service, which began in 1894, four years before the gold rush, the Mounted Police had solidified and expanded their role, first established on the prairies, as the enforcers of government civil policy on the frontier. In the Yukon they had quelled dissent, and had undertaken the duties of almost every branch of the civil service which had business there: the post office, customs, revenue, vital statistics, and many others -- as well as their regular police duties. In the Yukon, they had established the effective administration that was essential under international law in laying claim to remote areas. What made them valuable to Ottawa was their flexibility, their esprit de corps, their obedience to a central authority, and the fact that they worked harder and for less money than did the regular civil service (Morrison 1973: ch. 1-v). Thus, without a second thought the government turned to the police as the logical agents of sovereignty in the western Arctic.

Plans were drawn up in secret by the government departments concerned, and the necessary money was raised by passing an appropriation through Parliament to extend the fisheries protection service[4]. The official position was set out in a memorandum drawn up by the Department of the Interior to justify the police expedition. It stated that there was no doubt that Canada had absolute title to the area in question, but that a show of the flag was necessary as a preventative measure:

> It is feared that if American citizens are permitted to land and pursue the industries of whaling, fishing and trading with the Indians without complying with the revenue laws of Canada and without any assertion of sovereignty on the part of Canada, unfounded and troublesome claims may hereafter be set up. (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 293).

No doubt the pleas of the missionaries carried some weight with the government, and Ottawa's desire to collect customs duties had some significance, but the heart of the matter is in the phrase "unfounded and troublesome claims". It was a case of sovereignty and the government's desire to demonstrate it. The Herschel Island region was one about which

the government knew virtually nothing. Except for the Inuit and a missionary or two, there were no Canadian or even British subjects there -- only foreigners, who were indifferent towards Canada's pretensions to sovereignty. There was little immediate danger; the whalers were not likely to proclaim a republic, or try to annex Herschel Island to Alaska. But it was damaging to Canada's conception of her own nationhood (especially when it was felt that the twentieth century was to be hers) to have part of her territory completely outside her control, inhabited by men who might make awkward "claims", and who seemed to be up to no good. It was not that the Arctic loomed large in Laurier's national policy; there was no "northern vision" in 1903. The establishment of sovereignty in this region was undertaken reluctantly, as had been the case in the Yukon seven years earlier, largely in response to a perceived threat from foreign interests.

No doubt the Mackenzie Delta expedition of 1903 was also in part a reflection of the Alaska Boundary dispute, the final settlement of which took place in the same year. "Unfounded and troublesome claims" had arisen in this affair too (though few today would deny that the Americans had the better case), and it seemed only prudent to the Canadian government that the ownership of the western Arctic be made unequivocally clear. It was not that Ottawa wished to settle a question in the area; no question was to be permitted to arise.

Thus on May 30th, 1903, a six-man NWMP expedition left Fort Saskatchewan for the Beaufort Sea. In command was a veteran of northern service, Superintendent Charles Constantine, who had led the original expeditions to the Yukon in 1894 and 1895. Second in command was Sergeant F. Fitzgerald, a famous and later a tragic figure in northern history[5]. The orders were to travel to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort McPherson by way of the company's steamboat on the Mackenzie, reporting on conditions along the route (at that time there were no police posts anywhere in what is now the Northwest Territories). At Fort McPherson a detachment was to be set up, and then the party was to proceed to Herschel Island and establish another one.

Superintendent Constantine, traveling north down the Mackenzie, made comments in his journal about the weather and the general character of the country, but the main idea behind the mission was never far from his mind. During his journey, he was alarmed to see that at several Roman Catholic missions the flag being flown was the French tricolour. This practice, he reported, should be suppressed. The Comptroller of the force agreed, and suggested that any posts set up in the region should be liberally supplied with Union Jacks to set an example and for distribution (PAC, Constantine Papers, MG 30, E-2, v. 4) [6].

The astonishing thing about the expedition of 1903 was its essentially haphazard nature, though this had been true of the early Yukon expeditions and was equally so in the eastern Arctic. Six men had been sent with a minimum of equipment and provisions to the Arctic and told to establish two posts and show the flag. No housing, food, fuel, or means of local transportation were provided; the men were expected to improvise. In retrospect it is remarkable how successful they were in doing so.

In the summer of 1903, the party reached Fort McPherson, where Supt. Constantine saw his men settled in a cabin owned by the Hudson's Bay Company and returned south. In August, Sgt. Fitzgerald and one constable sailed on in a borrowed boat to Herschel Island and established a second detachment there.

The two policemen were, if not destitute, almost without supplies. Where were they to find quarters? A tent, even if they had had one, was out of the question. There were only six proper buildings on the island, two owned by the Anglican missionary, and four owned by the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, the chief whaling concern (PAC, NWMP Report 1903a). As well as the six frame buildings, the island also boasted fifteen sod huts, owned by the whaling company, various members of the crew, and the missionary. It was in one of these houses, "ventilated by a hole in the roof, the same opening also serving for a window . . . very damp and dark", (PAC, RNWMP Report 1905a) that the police spent their first winter, warmed by coal borrowed from the whaling company, and fed in part by meat bought from native hunters.

As agents of Canadian sovereignty in the western Arctic, the police were, in the beginning and for several years thereafter, in a somewhat anomalous position. They had come to Herschel Island to emphasize Canada's control over the area, to protect Canadian sovereignty from the inroads, real or imagined, being made on it by the American whalers. The secondary purpose was to collect customs duties from these ships and whoever else might be trading with the Natives, and also to halt the flow of liquor which was supposed to be demoralizing them. It must have weakened the moral authority of the police considerably to have been dependent for heat and partly for food on these same whalers, for food on the Inuit, and for shelter on the missionary, even though the police paid for these services. Later, when the police detachment for a time was located in a building rented from the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, the anomaly must have been even more pronounced. How could the police carry out their mission, establish government authority and enforce the laws in the area when they owed their lodging to one of the "power groups" on the island, and their warmth and some of their food to another?

The answer is that the police and the whalers were not necessarily adversaries, and that the demonstration of sovereignty was for many years largely symbolic. The whaling captains seem to have been glad to have police around who would presumably help control their crews -- for the crews were notoriously unruly[7]. It was a lonely place, and the whalers were likely glad to have more white men to talk to. No attempt was made to ban the whalers' practice of living with native women in the winter. And customs duties were collected haphazardly at first; in 1903 no collections were made, for Sgt. Fitzgerald had not been furnished with the schedule of duties. In any case, the whaling industry in the area was in decline; by 1903 whalers were seeking their catch to the east of the Mackenzie Delta, and some were wintering at Bail lie Island, 250 miles east of Herschel, out of reach of the police.

Thus, the police encountered virtually no opposition from the whalers, owing essentially to the fact that they had little real effect on their whaling and trading operations. If the whaling captains wished

to avoid paying customs duties on trade goods, or if they did not wish the police to pry into their business, it was a simple matter to bypass Herschel Island. Since the police had no boat of their own they could check only those ships which stopped at their detachment, though little went on along the Arctic coast that they did not at least hear about at second or third hand. The captains had no objection to laws which were unenforceable.

Thus any assertion of sovereignty, insofar as it manifested itself in the enforcement of Canadian customs regulations, was more apparent than real. Getting the captains to pay duty on trade goods would have been a good way of asserting Canadian control. But two police officers could not search a dozen or so ships, especially when the ships were under no obligation to come anywhere near them. Fitzgerald was thus reduced to the expedient of asking each captain to give him a list of goods brought in for trade. The lists, honest or otherwise, were soon forthcoming, and Fitzgerald collected duties on that basis, beginning in 1904. Ships which avoided the island could escape paying duty altogether. On at least one occasion, Fitzgerald was compelled to feign ignorance to conceal the weakness of his position: "I could not let the captains know that I knew that tobacco was being traded" he reported, "as that would show them that I could take no action at the present time" (PAC, RNWMP Report 1905b). The tactic of bluff was most uncharacteristic of the way the police usually operated, and shows how tenuous their position was at the time.

As far as protecting the Natives was concerned, the police adopted a hands-off attitude. Fitzgerald concluded that no harm was being done to them, and that Inuit women did not mind being sold into temporary concubinage by their husbands. He wrote:

> I cannot reconcile the stories with the eager manner in which the Esquimaux greets [sic] the arrival of the ships and go on board shaking hands with everyone they meet. If the women were ill-treated and abused . . . they would surely keep away from the ships after one lesson . . . The stories about them being diseased and demoralized by the whalers I do not think is [sic] true (PAC, RNWMP Report 1905c).

The police did, however, try to stop the traffic in liquor. Supt.

Constantine, while at Fort McPherson, warned the Natives that liquor was forbidden, and sentenced one Inuit to two day's imprisonment (PAC,NWMP Report 1903b) 8. The reaction of the Natives to all this is difficult to determine, but some evidence exists which suggests that neither the whalers nor the police were resented. One young boy, an Inuk named Nuligak, who was present at Herschel Island during this period lived to dictate his memoirs as an old man. When he was seven, in the summer of 1902,

> uncle Kralogark took us west to Herschel Island . . . Herschel! The great big town! I felt very happy at the sight of so many houses . . . There were drinking bouts every day. People would drink anything; the Alaskan Inuit are renowned for that (Metayer 1966:29-33).

There is no hint in the memoirs of resentment towards the police for bringing these adventures to an end; some of his happiest memories concern New Year's parties and games arranged for the Natives by the police and the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort McPherson (Metayer 1966: 135)[9].

The Inuit, at least in these early days, never seem to have objected to the new regulations; they were not onerous, and the police represented, to a certain extent, merely more white men bringing wonderful things to them. And the new regulations were not imposed all at once; the police did not expect the Inuit to obey the laws of Canada completely and immediately. They treated the Inuit with restraint, so that later, when there were episodes of serious trouble between Inuit and whites, the police were able to take control of the situation without any serious resistance from the Natives. This leniency came, in part, from the fact that the legal position of the Inuit was vague; they did not fall under the Indian Act, yet they obviously had to be treated differently from whites. Thus, there was a large element of improvisation in police policy towards them.

In its initial stages, the assertion of Canadian sovereignty in the western Arctic by the Mounted Police seemed to be fairly successful. The police at Fort McPherson had established themselves without difficulty, and those at Herschel, though their authority was largely

symbolic, and though they operated partly under an obligation to those they had been sent to control, met with no serious opposition. The few laws which were applicable to the situation were enforced. Intoxicated Natives were arrested, convicted, and subjected to token imprisonment (there was no place to lock them up). Those whalers who were within reach of the police were made to obey the customs laws and to stop selling liquor to the Natives. It was this kind of symbolism which was important to the demonstration of Canadian sovereignty in the region. There are many ways in which a country can demonstrate its sovereignty over an area, including exploring it, conducting a postal service in it, or by policing it. The Mounted Police did all of these things during their service in the western Arctic. The fact that the Canadian government had agents at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson in 1903 regulating the activities of foreigners, even if such regulation was nominal , was of crucial importance. The government finally had a force on the ground in that remote northwestern part of Canada to show that Ottawa was aware of its existence and was determined to exercise control over it.

For sixteen years, from 1903 until 1919, the entire government presence in the western Canadian Arctic consisted of the eight police manning the two detachments at Fort McPherson and Herschel Island [10]. What possible effect could such a small number of men have over such an enormous area? Was their presence no more than a pitifully inadequate manifestation of symbolic flag-waving?

The answer is that the two detachments were in many ways surprisingly effective. In the first place, though isolated, they were located at the main settlements of the western Arctic, which meant that they were at the hub of human activity in this vast region. Furthermore, the police who manned these posts, though few, were not static. Patrols were made every winter over a wide expanse of territory, to the south, east, and west, all the way from Dawson to the central Arctic coast. Some of these patrols were for communication, as was the case with the semi-annual Dawson-Fort McPherson mail patrol, which was begun in the winter of 1904-1905. Some were exploratory, and some, such as two famous

ones into the Barren Lands during World War I, were made for the purpose of investigating crimes. The two posts were gathering places for the Natives, the whalers, and such occasional visitors as explorers, traders, and members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.

Life at the posts was largely a matter of routine. Not much happened to disturb the daily round of duties relating to warmth, food, and what the military calls "interior economy". A selection from the Herschel Island detachment diary for 1906 illustrates the daily activities of the police at this remote post (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 253):

> Sept. 29th -- Saturday. 24 above, strong wind. Scrubbed out quarters.
> Sept. 30th -- Sunday. 24 above. Very strong gale.
> Oct. 1st -- Monday. 25 above, fine. Hauling [drift] wood to storehouse.
> Oct. 2nd -- Tuesday. 27 above, strong wind. Hauling wood to storehouse.
> Oct. 3rd -- Wednesday. 24 above, strong wind. Hauling wood to storehouse.
> Oct. 4th -- Thursday. 22 above, foggy. Cleaning up storehouse.
> Oct. 5th -- Friday. 25 above, fine and clear. Repairing dog harness.
> Oct. 6th -- Saturday. 21 above, fine and calm. Cleaning stove pipe and scrubbing out quarters.

The diary is much like this throughout the year, with increased emphasis on heating as the weather got colder. Not surprisingly, the morale of the police tended to fluctuate. Inspector D.M. Howard, who had served in the Yukon, and was commanding at Fort McPherson in the winter of 1906-1907, complained "I feel weak and run-down. This country is the hardest I have yet been in during my seventeen years' service" (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 353a) .

Over a period of several years, the police gradually broadened their activities in the western Arctic. Since the whaling ships, though fewer every year, were still the most obvious challenge to Canadian sovereignty, the police were ordered in 1907 to crack down on their operations. A detailed report was to be made of every aspect of their activities. Above all, the natives were to be protected from them:

"Your duty is to see that intoxicating liquors are not given to

> the Esquimeau . . . [Any ship doing so is] liable to be seized and sold. It is also your duty to protect the Natives from abuse by the whaling crews . . . forcible abduction of native women must be rigorously "dealt with" (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 353b).

To uphold the law, the officer commanding in the western Arctic was given, under the authority of the Northwest Territories Amendment Act of 1905, the power of two Justices of the Peace, which impowered him to try all but the most serious crimes which might arise in his district (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 353b).

This seemed like a good idea, but in practice it demonstrated a great drawback in the policy of trying to establish sovereignty on the cheap, so to speak. When minor crimes such as selling liquor to the Natives or trying to evade payment of customs duties were committed, the officer in charge of the district could dispense speedy justice, which generally proved a useful lesson to guilty and innocent alike. But when more serious crimes were committed, the police could not try the case, because for this a stipendiary magistrate was needed, and Ottawa would not send one to the Arctic. Thus, in such cases the police had to transport the accused and all witnesses to Edmonton, or bring the entire court North (which was first done in 1923, see below), or else ignore the case altogether.

An example of how this approach tended to be detrimental to justice in the Arctic occurred in 1907. An Indian woman at Fort McPherson complained to the police that she had been raped by a white man. Because the charge of rape was beyond the authority of the police to try, the officer in charge had to forward the particulars to Commissioner A.B. Perry in Regina, asking him if he thought the evidence was strong enough to warrant the expense of bringing everyone concerned south for a trial. Perry conferred with Comptroller White in Ottawa, who asked the opinion of the Department of Justice, and after much letter-writing and delay the decision was made that the evidence was insufficient to justify the expense of a trial [11]. This decision was probably the most practical one, and might have been the best from a legal standpoint. It does not seem to have given full justice to the

plaintiff, however, and was not a very convincing example of the exercise of sovereignty. Fortunately, instances of such complaints in the region were infrequent.

Another more serious example of the inadequacy of symbolic sovereignty occurred in 1905. This concerned a Dane named Charlie Klengenberg, who was captain of the Olga, a ship engaged in trading along the western Arctic coast[12]. In 1905 there was a series of incidents on board the Olga in which the chief engineer was shot, for mutiny according to Klengenberg. Three other members of the crew also died, two by drowning. When the Olga arrived at Herschel Island in the autumn of 1905, the police ordered Klengenberg to stay on the island until a full investigation could be made. Instead, he fled in a small boat with his Inuk wife and their children, whereupon the remaining members of the Olga's crew accused Klengenberg of criminal responsibility for all four deaths.

The police were now in an awkward position. They had testimony of a very nasty crime, but could do little by way of catching the suspect for want of a boat of their own. The best they could do was to wait and beg a ride on the next whaling ship which was going in what they hoped was the right direction. Thus, in the summer of 1907, nearly two years later, Inspector A.M. Jarvis travelled on board the Beluga more than fifteen hundred miles to the north and east of Herschel Island in an unsuccessful attempt to find Klengenberg or learn of his whereabouts. Later that year, Klengenberg came to Herschel Island voluntarily. A hearing into the charges against him was held, but for lack of conclusive evidence or testimony against him (the witnesses having scattered in the intervening two years) the case was dropped and he was allowed to go free. The episode reflected badly on the real effectiveness of the government presence in the region, at least when serious offences were committed[13].

Attempts made by Ottawa to strengthen the hand of the police in their exercise of sovereignty also tended at times to be ineffectual. In 1906 the Fisheries Act was amended to impose a fifty dollar fee on whaling ships, and in 1909 the Superintendent of Fisheries asked the

police to collect the fee in the western Arctic. The police agreed, but asked to be informed of the extent of territorial waters. When it was admitted that Canada had no right to ask whaling captains to buy licences unless whales were being killed within three miles of shore -- which was almost never the case -- the whole matter was quietly shelved, partly because the question of international waters was a vexed one. Canada was not then prepared to assert her sovereignty past the three mile limit. It was too late anyway, for the whaling industry in that part of the world was almost at an end. Again, though there was symbolic value in the episode, the practical effect was negligible (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 384).

In other ways, however, the demonstrations of sovereignty were more effective. Although the police could patrol effectively only in the winter, at least until 1928 when the RCMP ship St. Roth appeared in the North, they did make effective use of dog-teams to make their presence felt over a wide area. Early in 1910, for example, Inspector G.L. Jennings on his own initiative made a patrol of over four hundred miles from Fort McPherson to Herschel by way of the Porcupine River and the extreme northern interior of the Yukon Territory. He had heard rumours "that traders had come among the Natives bringing goods from Alaska, duty unpaid, and also intoxicants; that many individual miners were located in the district". The patrol was planned to "gain as accurate knowledge as possible on such a trip of the topography and general conditions of the country . . . visit as many miners and traders as could be reached" (PAC, RNWMP Report 1910). Most of the civilian activity in the area was transitory, but the police were quick to make their presence known where they felt that their authority was in question.

In lesser ways, too, the police confirmed the claims of Canada to this region. For many years they ran the postal service, taking two lots of mail from Fort McPherson to Dawson and back each winter (?AC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 353c). They also ran a local mail service.

> Our patrol leaving Herschel Island [for Fort McPherson] took 184 letters, exclusive of official correspondence. Eight of them were written by Eskimo to other Eskimo along the coast, to be delivered by our rural delivery system. Some 50 letters came

> from the West coast as far as Flaxman's IsId., a sled having been sent to Herschel with them, as there is no winter mail in that part of Alaska. The balance is from the crew of the ship wintering at Herschel. A few letters were sent from the eastward ... (PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence, vol. 383a).

This service must have helped make the area a sort of community loosely based on the police post, an area which even included parts of the eastern coast of Alaska.

The customs department was also represented by the police. Although there was little collection to be done, owing to the fact that ships could easily avoid the police, in most years at least token sums were collected. In 1909 just under $400 was paid, in 1908 none, and in 1911 about $300, to give three representative examples (PAC, RNWMP Report 1911; RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 383b). The sums were slight, but the principle was important. Making ships' captains pay duty on trading goods was a good practical demonstration of sovereignty, even when carried out on a small scale -- and the demonstration of principle was what was wanted. Other small tasks were performed for the Department of Indian Affairs (mainly reporting on the conditions of the Indians of the Mackenzie Delta region), the Chief Astronomer of Canada (provisioning members of the International Boundary Survey in 1912), and other government agencies which had interests in the area. Later, for example they collected the income tax -- $14,500 at Herschel Island in 1925 (PAC, RNWMP Report 1925).

But despite the symbolic importance of government presence in the western Arctic before World War I, this presence was essentially passive. During the war, the chief manifestation of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic occurred in two remarkable expeditions into the central Arctic and the Barren Lands. The first was to search for the murderers of two explorers, H.V. Radford and George Street, and involved a journey from Hudson Bay to Bathurst Inlet in Coronation Gulf, which lasted over four years, and the final stage of which required a dog-sled journey of 5,153 miles (PAC, RNWMP Report 1918; Morrison 1973: Ch.10; Anderson 1972). The second involved the murder of two Oblate missionaries, Fathers Rouviere and Le Roux, and required an expedition in 1916 from Great Bear Lake to

the mouth of the Coppermine River (PAC, RNWMP Report 1916; Morrison 1973: Ch.10) [14]. Largely as a result of this wartime penetration of new territory (in which several groups of Inuit were encountered who had never met a white man), new detachments were established immediately after the war at Baillie Island and Tree River on the Arctic coast, as well as one at Aklavik.

1924 was chosen as the final year for this study because it was in that year that two events occurred which marked the end of the period of almost total isolation of the western Arctic and its neglect by the government. This first was the establishment of the first wireless station in the region, manned by the Canadian Corps of Signals, at Aklavik. The second was the first trial of a serious offence in the region before a court brought in for the occasion, and subsequently the first legal executions of Canadian Inuit. Another date which would have done equally well is 1928, for that was the year in which the RCMP schooner St. Roth appeared in the western Arctic, enabling the police to patrol the entire coast of the mainland and the south coast of the offshore islands, and the coastal waters as well. No one in the western Arctic could for long avoid contact with the police after 1928.

The trial and execution of Alikomiak and Tatamigana, which took place at Herschel Island in 1923-1924, showed that the government at last was prepared to make its authority in the western Arctic real rather than symbolic. It was also not without significance, in this respect, that one of the victims was a police corporal. When a government official, rather than a priest or an explorer, was murdered there was less talk of leniency. The whole purpose of having the trial at Herschel Island was to impress the Natives with the might and resolve of the government. The lawyer appointed for the defence, T.L. Cory, who was the solicitor for the Northwest Territories office in Ottawa, wrote to his superior:

> As kindness has failed in the past I strongly recommend that the law should take its course and those Eskimos found guilty of murder should be hanged in a place where the Natives will see and recognize the outcome of taking another's life (PAC, Dept. of the Interior, Northern Administration Branch Papers, RG 85, vol. 607, f. 2580).

One wonders how vigorous his defence was.

On February lst, 1924, after a protracted debate in the Canadian press as to whether clemency should be shown them, the two- Inuit were hanged at Herschel Island, in front of the entire population of the island, in what amounted to the last public execution in this country. This grisly demonstration of Canadian sovereignty -- for what could demonstrate sovereignty over a region better than the legal execution of its inhabitants? -- emphasizes a harsh criticism made by Diamond Jenness (1964) of the government's attitude to the North. Jenness made the point that the Government of Canada was concerned far more about sovereignty in the North than about the welfare of its inhabitants; that the government cared about the citizenship and good conduct of the Inuit, but not about their health, education, or well-being. He calculated the amount of money spent on their Inuit populations by the governments of the United States, Canada, and Denmark during 1939 to be as follows (1964: 71):

	Alaska (pop. 19,000)	Canada (pop. 7,000)	Greenland (pop. 18,000)
Education, health, and welfare	$844,000	$88,000	$338,000
Pol ice	8,000	119,000	nil.

He asked:

> Did the political philosophies of Denmark and the United States differ so greatly from Canada's philosophy that the first two countries could select doctors and schoolteachers to be the apostles of western civilization, whereas Canada had to assign that role to the police? Or was Canada, as I believe, negligent? (Jenness 1964: 71).

He speaks of the "cloak of deceptive or pious phrases" in the annual reports of the Indian Affairs Department in which the Natives of the North were portrayed as healthy and happy, in contradiction to police and other reports which portrayed them as tubercular and destitute. (Jenness 1964; 46) [15]. Such criticism is justified, for until the end of the Second World War it remained government policy to maintain its sovereignty over the Arctic as cheaply as possible, depending on missionaries for the education and salvation of the Natives, and on the

police for everything else. In retrospect, it was lucky for Canada that her bargain-basement sovereignty in the western Arctic was never challenged, for it rested, for over forty years, on a dangerously thin foundation.

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ENDNOTES

1. The Comptroller of the Mounted Police, who was a civilian rather than a uniformed member of the force, lived in Ottawa, and provided liaison between the police and the government. Originally a kind of accountant, he became of crucial importance to the force, and remained so as long as the headquarters of the police was located in Regina. He was in effect a deputy minister of the Department of the Interior (which was then responsible for the police), and because all dealings between police and government went through him, his files are of more use in a study of this kind than those of the Commissioner in Regina himself.

2. The position of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories was a sinecure until after World War I. Frederick White, for many years Comptroller of the Mounted Police, held the post from 1905 until he died in 1918 at the age of 71. His main duty was to oversee the distribution of the school grants.

3. Soon (1904) to become the Royal North West Mounted Police.

4. A somewhat similar expedition was sent to Hudson Bay at the same time, and the two were financed by the same appropriation. See PAC, Department of the Interior Papers, Northwest Territories Correspondence, RG 15, B-1 a, vol. 232.

5. He was in command of the Fort McPherson to Dawson patrol of 1910-1911, popularly known as the “lost patrol”, in which he and three other men died of starvation and suicide.

6. PAC, Constantine Papers, MG 30, E-2, vol. 4. There was a nasty quarrel over the same question a few years later when the police ordered the fathers at Fort Simpson to lower their flag (the Red Cross) and hoist the Union Jack. Bishop Gabriel Breynat

complained to friends in high places that "meme clans le Nerd, nous eumes a souffrir. . . des activites de certains fanatiques. " The police had to apologize, and the offending constable was transferred (Gabriel Breynat 1945-48, II: 182-85).

7. In 1908 three deserters from the Karluk were brought back to their ship by the police.

8. Officers of the police in the North had the powers of a justice of the peace; they were thus empowered to arrest, try, sentence and imprison -- a convenient arrangement.

9. Brody (1975) gives a much less sanguine picture of Inuit attitudes towards the police and other whites, but he is describing a much later era, when the Inuit way of life had been thoroughly changed by "civilization" -- particularly government bureaucracy.

10. The two posts formed the Fort McPherson Sub-district, part of "N" Division (northern Alberta), with headquarters at Athabaska. In 1913 detachments were opened at Fort Resolution and Fort Simpson to extend control over the Mackenzie River area.

11. Correspondence relating to the case is in PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 336.

12. Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1964: 73) describes him as being much like the captain in Jack London's "Sea Wolf".

13. PAC, RCMP Papers, Comptroller's Correspondence vol. 353 has the records of the case.

14. Both patrols achieved their objective; in the first the murderers were not prosecuted, on the grounds that they had been provoked. In the second they were tried twice; acquitted in Edmonton for the murder of the first priest, they were convicted in Calgary for the murder of the other, and subjected to token imprisonment for two years at Fort Resolution. See also Moyles (1979).

15. This was even more true in the eastern Arctic (see Morrison 1973: 346-51) .

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ARCHAEOLOGY AT GREAT BEAR LAKE

Donald W. Clark

INTRODUCTION

This paper recounts an archaeological survey of the northern and western shores of Great Bear Lake. It then describes some of the procedures by which archaeologists analyze their information, including collections. The result is an account of the prehistory of the region.

It is intended that the first section portray a particular kind of archaeological work: the field survey or reconnaissance. The "dig" or intensive excavation at a single location does not enter into the project described here. Field trips were made by the writer to Great Bear Lake in 1972, 1976 and 1979 for the National Museum of Man. The survey account has been generalized in order to portray the work-life of most museum scientists. The final section draws on the research of others who have worked in the greater area as well as that of the writer (see Reading List).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AT GREAT BEAR LAKE: THE FIELDWORK PHASE

The days become longer and warmer. Among the millions for whom the wheel of nature has turned to a new position are the archaeologists. In northern Canada, summer is the only practical time to do archaeological fieldwork. As well, most project staff come from universities, so the field season is tied to the school year.

The completion of fieldwork later brings a climactic end to summer. The anxieties of the past months are over: the vagaries of chartered aircraft, of the weather, finding secure boat landings, the uncertainty of success, and even the uncertainty of whether freighted

field equipment will arrive at its destination. With the fieldwork completed, all effort is placed on getting home, laden with select portions of the summer's collection -- a safeguard against loss in shipment -- and dressed in an odd selection of clothing that looks good in the informal north but dowdy among dark-suited businessmen on morning flights between urban centres.

As soon as he arrives back at work the museum scientist takes care of all correspondence and disposes of the memoranda and circulars that have accumulated over the past months and is busy writing a preliminary report and putting notes and records in order. The preliminary report also will form the basis for a paper to be given later at the annual professional meeting of Canadian archaeologists. Before long it is time to make new summer plans for the coming fiscal year; details will be worked out later. Now, in November, the last collections have arrived and are cleaned and cataloged. Any relatively unencumbered block of time is used to work on the final report of past research. But there are many other duties: scientific journals send manuscripts for comments (to be juried), committees meet, granting agencies ask for assessment of requests for funding from archaeologists, public visitors bring artifacts to be identified, Museum publications are edited and many more things are done for the general public, the archaeology profession, the Museum and other government agencies.

Before the end of winter it is necessary to complete plans for fieldwork: to hire an assistant, prepare lists of equipment which will be shipped, determine the logistics and availability of supplies near the destination, obtain archaeological permits, and arrange other details. Hours are spent studying topographic maps, and further impressions of the country to be visited are gained from studying air photographs, but the reality of the forest, bogs and tundra still awaits.

Then one evening we stand at the side of the runway in the clear but gentle Arctic sunlight, sniffing the pungently delicate muskeg, numbly aware of having risen for several flights early that morning. Heavy by one's side is a suitcase -- filled with magnetometer or other

wonder of physical science? No!: trail mix, fruitcake and salami -- the indispensable ingredients of high-energy backpack lunches that we will need for our reconnaissance work. Less specialized food usually can be gotten from the village store, though not always.

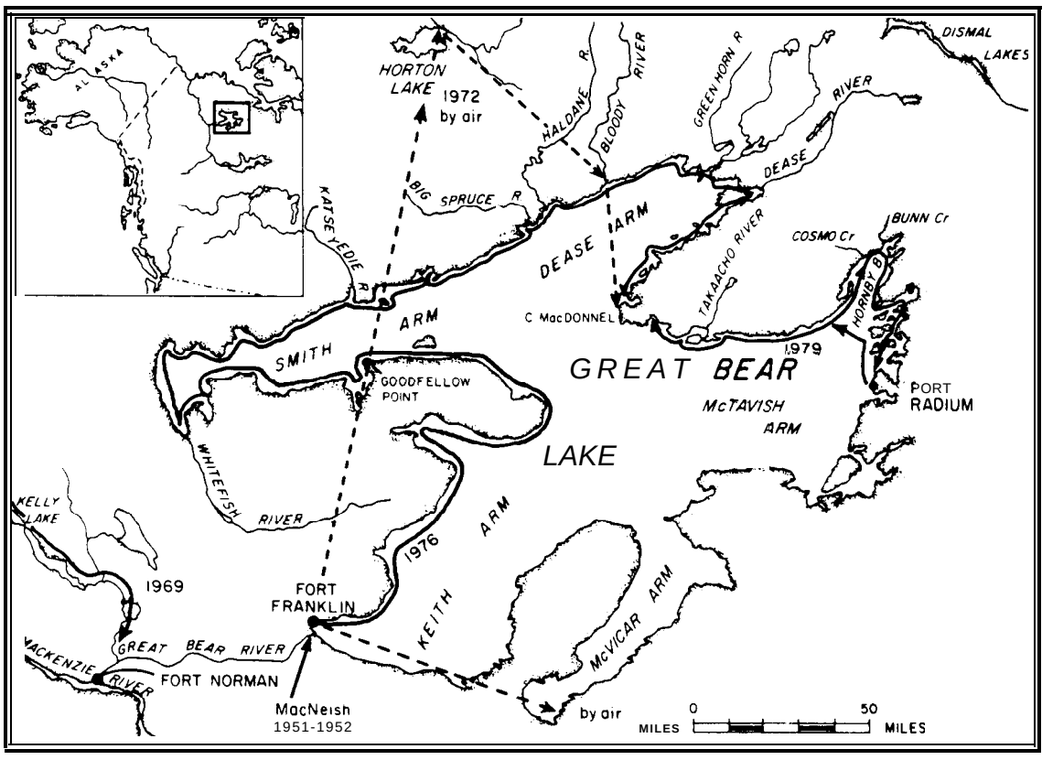
But why are we here; what will we be doing?

In 1951 and 1952, archaeologist Richard MacNeish excavated two ancient camp sites at the Great Bear River. He uncovered part of the prehistory of the region -- of the 10,000 years gone by. However, the past of Great Bear Lake -- one of the largest inland water bodies in Canada -- still remained largely unknown. To find out what was there was sufficient an objective in the search to discover more of Canada's -- indeed North America's -- early heritage. Ancient campsites might tell of early hunters who had passed this way during migrations at the end of the last Ice Age, and other campsites of those who were resourceful enough to live in this very difficult land afterwards.

Even in the case of such a simply stated objective there were underlying expectations. The lake lay within the great Subarctic interior, but close to the edge of the treeless barrens. Thus, it not only provides access to a suite of Subarctic forest animals but it also is within the range of barren ground caribou and is not far from muskoxen range. Moreover, the Inuit and their Arctic antecedents sometimes came to the lake. Expectations were for a rich and variable past.

The National Museum again sent an archaeologist to Great Bear Lake in the 1970s, and others were working not far away east of the lake. First, the writer spent a few days flying and making "touch downs" at selected localities, and short trips were made out of Fort Franklin by boat. Familiarity with the region thus was gained and a modest number of old campsites were found, but there are severe limitations to what can be accomplished while a chartered float plane is waiting.

The plan was to follow up on the air reconnaissance with a more detailed shore area survey. We worked through the nightless days to arrange for rental of boat and motor, to secure a local guide, and to obtain several of the now scarce 10 gallon kegs in which the supply of



Map of Great Bear Lake. The routes of the site reconnaissance by the author are shown and the location of excavations at the Franklin Tanks and Great Bear River sites is indicated.

The Great Bear Lake country; site of a late-summer camp on beachridges at McGill Bay, north shore of Great Bear Lake. A number of prehistoric and early historic sites are located in the vicinity.

outboard motor fuel will be carried.

One evening a few days later we saw the last of the settlement for six weeks, the late hour of departure being due to a brisk day breeze which had made the lake too rough for safe travel, heavily loaded as we were. Later the fuel load became lighter.

On the first day we had not travelled far before it was time to camp, about 10 p.m. though the sun was still up near the Arctic Circle. But the survey had begun and all that lay before us was unknown and full of prospects of discovery -- or of disappointment.

The immediate objective was to find large, layered campsite deposits that would be worth future controlled excavation, and to record all the lesser sites and collect any implements (artifacts) found. We were to obtain an overall idea of the distribution, kinds and abundance of remains in the area, which is the defining characteristic of a survey. Since the survey was not for right-of-way clearance we had freedom to do a "judgmental survey", examining the most likely places and skipping the bogs and forests and expanses of terrain which lacked localizing features that might have attracted early inhabitants. Too, sites have to be found where it is practical to work. Although hunters could and in fact did camp on boggy areas when the ground was frozen and covered with snow it would be almost impossible to excavate the remains they left behind.

We cruised along close to the shore looking for benches and knolls and old beach ridges that offered good topography for ancient summer living. We also stopped at all streams to inspect areas where there might have been fishing camps, and at small coves which were possible stopover points for people in canoes waylayed by rough weather. Eventually we even found stone implements and chips high up on hills where, undoubtedly, they had been left by hunters who had gone up to spy-out the terrain below and look for game.

Before long it had become apparent that most sites were either very small, or they consisted of a sparse, scattered distribution of material. This information fitted what is known of life in the Subarctic region, where camps often consisted of a single household and were

occupied briefly. Refuse, broken tools, and hearth remains were insufficient to accumulate in distinctive deposits. Accordingly, digging holes into the ground at seemingly favorable locations in search of traces of occupation was not very productive. More and more, dependence was placed on examining natural exposures, where vegetation is sparse, that allowed large areas to be checked quickly.

Each day we stopped to inspect the kinds of places described above; each night we made camp. Sometimes, however, we found a concentration of sites and there we completely unloaded the boat and set up camp for several days.

When the water was too rough to land we had to pass up places that look interesting and travel late to make camp. It would have been disastrous to beach on a bouldery coast. When we stopped overnight along an open shore we slept with one ear open in case the wind and waves should come up during the night. When that occurred we had to completely unload the boat and drag it up above the reach of the waves. Usually we found a small inlet or stream mouth that was completly safe in any kind of weather. Our tent and most frequently-used equipment and supplies were kept readily accessible so within minutes after landing the wall tent was erected, a pot of tea or coffee on the stove, and a cheery campfire blazing on a patch of sand. Along the shore we benefited from the strong breeze which grounds the biting insects, but what happened in the forest and along stream thickets is a sanguine torment. That stopped late in the season when cold wet Arctic air drove us to wear everything we owned and, sometimes, to go to bed in the same.

Day by day the work progressed. Some exciting finds were made, though no single major sites were discovered. We found, for instance, the greatly-decayed remains of corrals built to trap caribou, never previously described at Great Bear Lake, and we saw hundreds of places where people had camped 100 and 1000 and possibly 10,000 years ago. Most are marked only by a few fire-cracked hearth rocks. At others there are chips of flinty stone and a few implements, usually in fragments. Of the later people there were tepee poles and the collapsed remains of brush

shelters. Where there had been recurrent camping in prehistoric times there were scattered stone tools and chips, left from their manufacture, in areas that often extended for hundreds of feet. In such places we layed out a surveyor's tape to form a baseline and measured as right or left offsets the position of each implement. These, together with some or all of the chips, were collected. The chips (flakes) provide information about stone knapping techniques, the types of stone preferred or traded and even the function of some sites. For instance, lack of flakes at some sites shows that tool production took place elsewhere.

By now the nights had become a little darker and the vegetation had taken on a worn, tired look. It was time to head back. We travelled directly with few stops and cut across large bays. Long hours of sitting still in the boat, lashed by cold spray, left us chilled and stiff, so several times we landed to build a roaring fire and warm up.

Within a few days we had arrived back at the settlement, the specimens and camping gear were packed for shipment, and we became accustomed to being among people again. When one gets a little "bushy" from working in isolation, people, like bears, are to be avoided. Then we boarded the local scheduled plane and by that night we were on the last jet going eastward from Edmonton. The Dene (Athapaskan) village and the land about the Arctic Circle already were becoming intangible perceptions.

ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INFORMATION

We have seen that the survey of Great Bear Lake was undertaken to determine the distribution, kind, age and abundance of archaeological remains. This effort accordingly has yielded diverse information and collections from a large area which have to be interpreted and integrated. Here we discuss some of the procedures used. Interpretations are given in the next section.

Types of Data and Limitations

During the survey hundreds of localities with traces of human activity were recorded. Such traces consist of fire-reddened stones and ash from hearths, stone tools dropped where people camped, scattered flakes left from shaping stone tools, large cobbles arranged to hold down the margins of conical skin tents or for other purposes, and combinations of these features and artifacts. The slightest occurrences usually are not officially recorded as sites but they do carry information on the past manner of living on the land. Sometimes this information is just as important as are the lost, broken and discarded tools found about a site.

But there are limitations on the information obtained from surveys. Because the information and collections are divided between so many sites we are likely to have a sample from every period and from every kind of site (hunting, fishing, travel, storage), but we do not know as much as we would like about each location.

Most collections are from the surface, which results in uncertainty over whether all items found together actually belong together in time. In sand blowouts any strata (layers) once present are destroyed, mixing occupations if more than one was present.

In the acid soils and sands of the Subarctic region bone quickly decays. Consequently, bone implements survive only on very late sites and where they are buried by flood silts. Food refuse (faunal remains) also has disappeared.

Objectives of Research

The objectives of archaeological research range between two poles. One is to chronicle the succession and development of cultures and peoples, establishing history. The other is "archaeology as anthropology", which addresses questions of prehistoric lifeways. For instance, household organization may be interpreted from the floor distribution of purported mens' and women's implements.

Units of Analysis

Artifacts are not studied alone; their contexts or associations may be of more interest than an item by itself.

Site distribution:

The distribution of sites, including solitary features like cache (storage) pits, is examined for various correlations. Sites are not evenly distributed over the landscape, and there must be reasons for their clustering. It may be found, for instance, that the sites in a particular area are strongly associated with valleys connecting the interior with the lake. This can lead one to believe that they were situated to intercept caribou migrations through the valleys.

Site plan or within-site distribution:

The nature and arrangement of the constituents of features within a site also are studied. The number of hearths, scatter of stone flakes, and positioning and kind of implements and any refuse give some indication of the former presence of shelters and, roughly, the number of families or people who could have camped together and what they had been doing.

Artifacts and attributes:

Individual implements and features (like tent rings) have characteristics (attributes) which are described so that large numbers can be dealt with summarily and information about them can be communicated to others. As well, certain attributes are singled out for analysis. For instance, the kind of stone used for tools is identified because if it is not available locally it would appear that there was trade in this material (see below "Source analysis"). Stylistic attributes especially help to identify an artifact with a particular culture and to date it. Circumstances pertaining to the artifacts also may generate inferential suppositions. For instance, stringent reuse of all fragments could mean that stone for new tools was unavailable.

Methods of Analysis

A substantial portion of analysis is directed towards answering the following questions:

How old is it?

Interpretation in prehistory often depends on knowing the age of one's material, not only to develop a chronological sequence but also for more sophisticated purposes such as to determine the direction and rate of spread of styles.

Dating is done most frequently in laboratories by the radiocarbon dating method which measures the trace amount of radioactive carbon-14 atoms in organic matter. When an organism dies it ceases to replenish its cells and the unstable carbon-14 gradually decreases at a known rate. To use this "absolute dating" method, however, it is necessary to find suitable preserved organic material, such as charcoal in hearths.

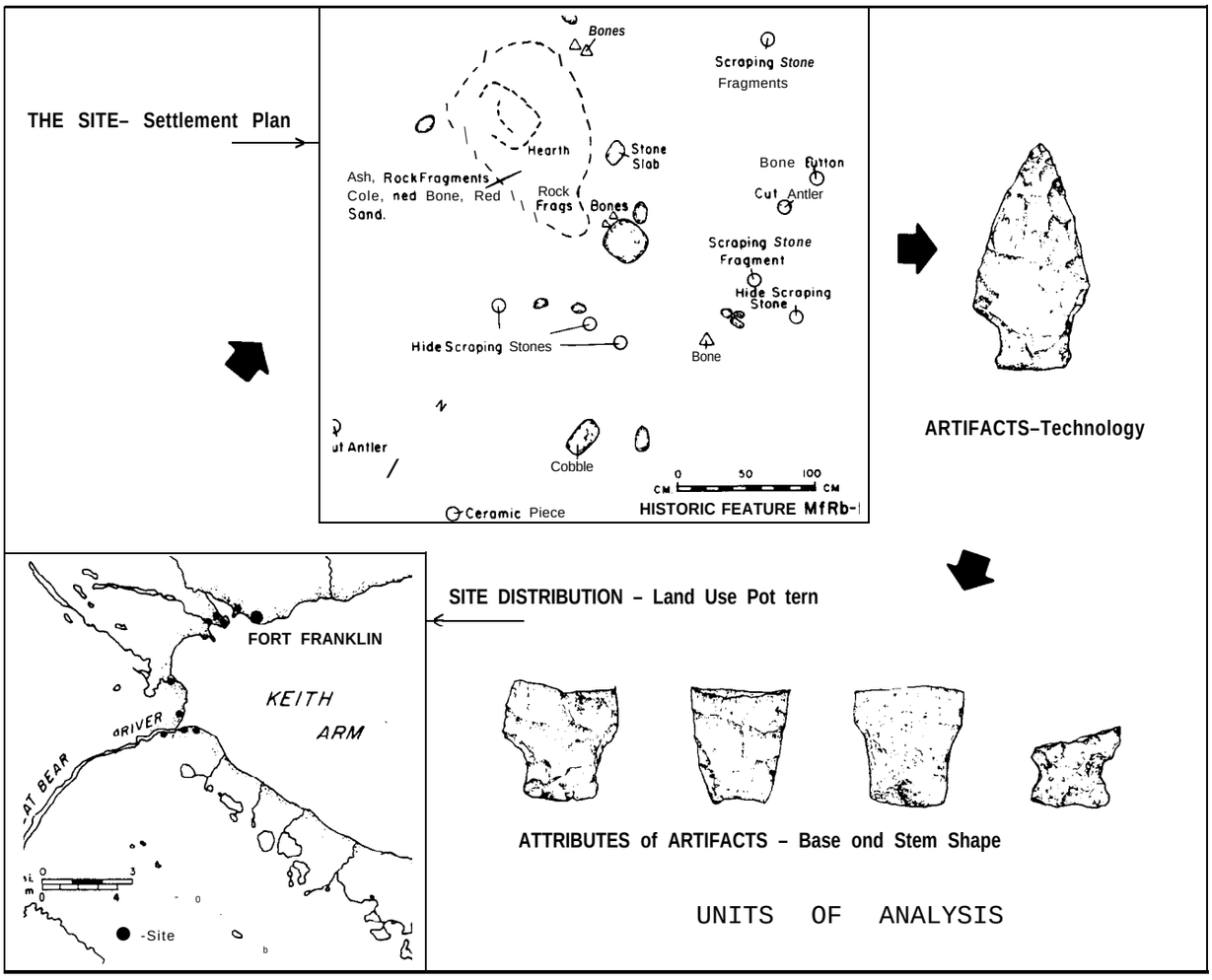
An object of unknown age can be compared with a similar object of known age. If the two are of a distinctive style they can be "cross-dated" .

If the landform development (geomorphology) of an area is well known, the age of topographic features can provide limiting or "stop-dates" for associated sites. An old beachridge cannot be occupied before it is formed!

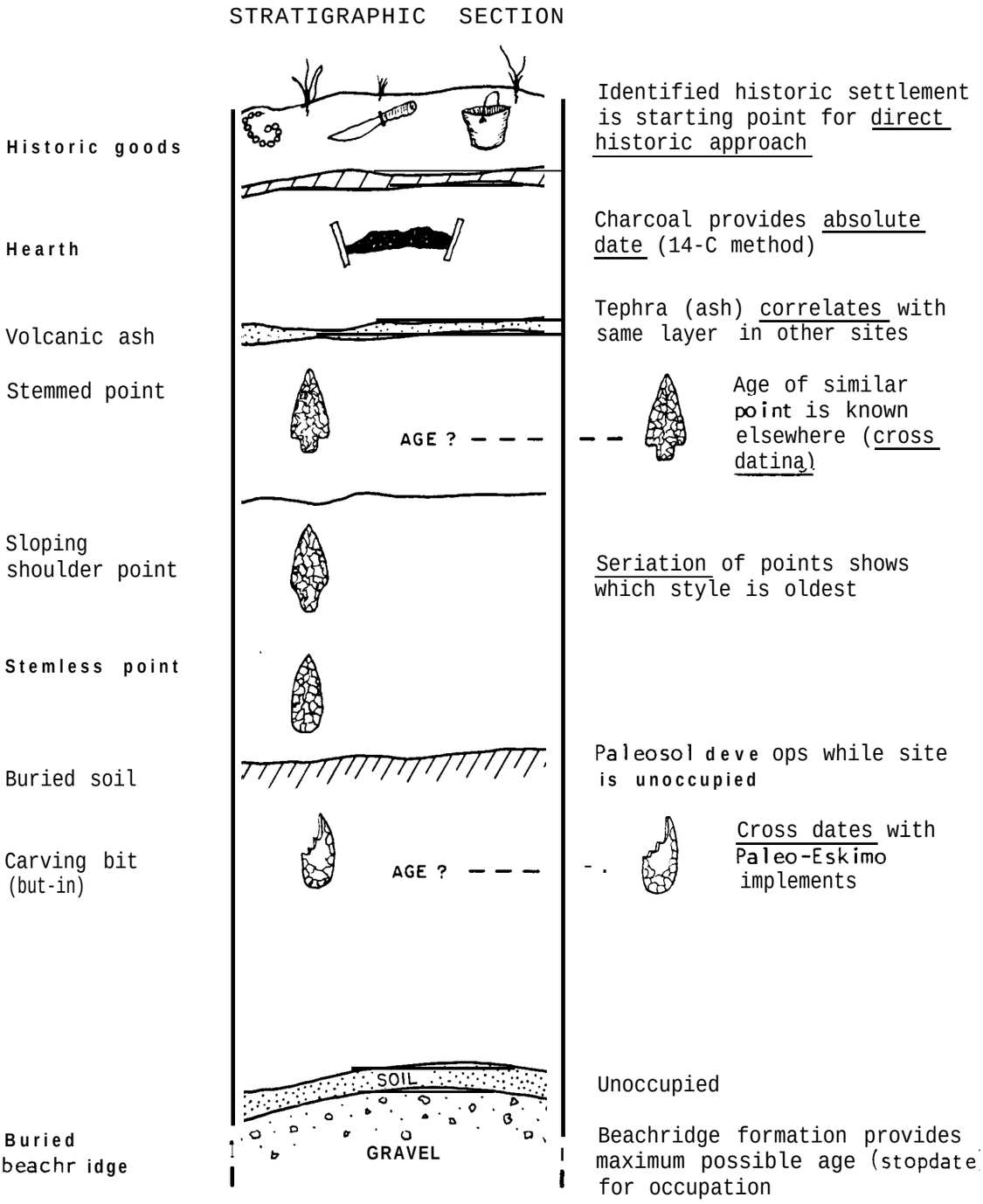
When a location is occupied for a period, abandoned, and reoccupied layered deposits or strata may be formed. The bottom layers will be older than the overlying layers. This stratigraphy provides "relative dating".

Often, artifacts have passed through successive stylistic changes. Once the sequence of change is determined, called "seriation", it is only necessary to know which style is oldest (or youngest) to have a relative chronology for the others.

Many other relative and absolute dating methods exist and have been used successfully in specialized cases.



)me of the units for the analysis of archaeological information. ite features, hearths and shelter remains for instance, which in sense are artifacts, also can be analysed according to their laracteristics or attributes. (The site, partially shown, is not ıe of those in the map area portrayed, and the array of point ıses shown does not come from any single site.)



Principals of dating and correlation. Sequences this detailed are not known to occur in any single site "at Great Bear Lake but have been found elsewhere.

Use and identification:

Often, archaeologists are more interested in how artifacts were used than in chronology in order that they can learn about life in an ancient community. Many so-called knives and points -- functional names inferred on the basis of shape -- are something else. But avoidance of such handy terms results in an almost uncommunicative mode of description, like "biface Type 3 Variety ii".

A common way to identify use is through "wear analysis," which is the examination of smoothing, scratching and damage of working edges. Knives thus show lengthwise scratches, scrapers crosswise ones. Another, new, method, not yet used in subarctic studies, is to examine residues which are remarkably persistent in trace quantities not visible to the unaided eye.

Blood on spear points thus sometimes can be detected through bio-chemical tests. Many artifacts are identified on the basis of the observations of explorers and early ethnographers, but often it is necessary to draw inexact "ethnographic analogies" on the basis of reports from distant regions. Circumstantial or contextual evidence also is important: notched pebbles found in numbers at the mouth of a stream are likely net weights.

Who made it?

Anonymity never can be dispelled in prehistoric archaeology, but it is important to attempt to determine the people or "tribe" whose ancestors lived at a particular site. For late precontact material this usually is done by identifying with the historic inhabitants of the region. One is on more certain footing if the location was occupied into the early historic period and its inhabitants are recorded in old documents. With prudent interpretation of the evidence one can carry an identification several centuries back in time from a known datum through the "direct historic approach". There were many displacements of people during the contact period, so this approach should be used together with a very careful study of historic records.

For earlier times, to about 3000 years ago, prehistorians are reluctant to name specific tribes but identification with ancestral language groups, often forming a cluster of related tribes, is sought through use of language distributions. For yet earlier periods linguistic and ethnic labels usually are replaced by technological or geographic terms like "Northwest Microblade tradition". These archaeological cultures are characterized by shared technological traits and this implicitly indicates some degree of relatedness.

Source analysis:

Sometimes an exotic item, especially stone (lithic) material, can be traced to its distant source through direct recognition as is the case with a distinctive glassy fused rock that occurs only near the Keele River southwest of Fort Norman. More often it is necessary to do this through various analyses. Common among these is "trace element analysis". The determination of specific trace amounts of certain elements in a specimen allows it to be matched with a source characterized by the same combination. Source identification often results in significant information on trade networks and travel or migrations.

The Report

To bring all these objectives, approaches and analyses to fruition, each project ideally generates a final report that fully describes the project together with supporting data from the fieldwork, description of collections, reports on the various types of analysis described above, and the resultant conclusions.

Operations Specific to the Great Bear Lake Analysis

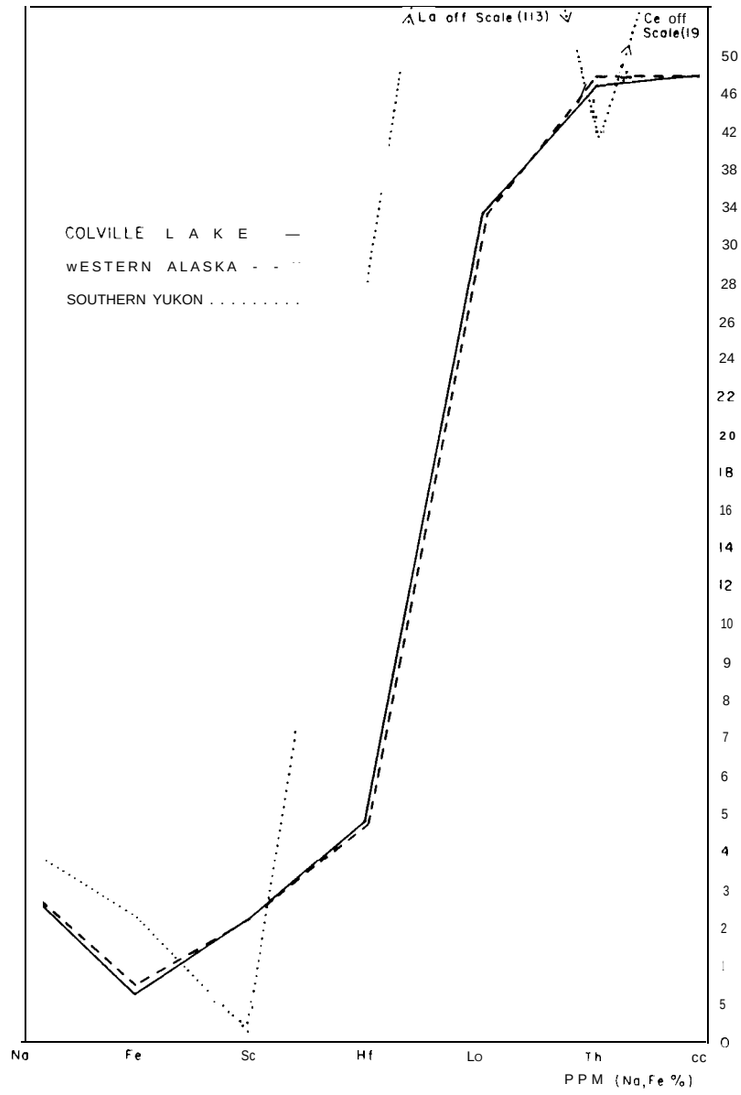
Each project has problems or procedures unique to itself. Those of the Great Bear Lake analysis are explained here so they will not intrude into the prehistory section.

ADZE BIT FROM AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE AT GREAT BEAR LAKE

The hatchet is made of stone pointed at both ends something like a wedge, and attached to a wood handle with a line, all of which, from their frail material and construction, require infinite labour and patience to enable them to perform their several offices. To fell timber with this hatchet they must always chop against the fil du bois, and after raising a few splinters, the tree is soon knocked down.

Gee. Keith, at Great Bear Lake, 22nd NGV., 1812

An early trader describes a "hatchet" (adze) used by the Indians at Great Bear Lake that corresponds to recovered specimens (from Masson 1890:122).



Comparison of trace element analyses of obsidian (volcanic glass) done by neutron activation shows that a specimen from Colville Lake, located north of Great Bear Lake, comes from the Koyukuk River of northwestern Alaska. Differences in the composition of a specimen from the southern Yukon territory indicate that it comes from a different natural source. Evidently, raw material and, eventually, a finished implement was passed eastward 1200 kilometres to Colville Lake where small chips from sharpening or reshaping the piece were recovered. (Vertical scale improvised to present data within a reasonable space)

Faunal analysis:

The importance of faunal analysis for determining diet, site seasonality and use, food preparation procedures, ritual disposal of bones and much else must be reiterated. But conditions peculiar to Great Bear Lake and the survey resulted in the recovery of almost no animal bones.

Historic sites: A special category:

Historic sites consist largely of wooden features, though there also are some artifacts in or on the ground. Most of these sites are no older than the accounts of late 19th century missionaries and early 20th century ethnographers. However, the still-recordable details of these sites document a life of which contemporaries wrote only in generalized terms. Today it has been possible to obtain information from the remains of shelters and caribou fences that had gone unrecorded. With the spatial relationships and land use of the historic period determined, it is possible to hold certain aspects of this period as a mirror to the remoter past. For example, it is probable that prehistoric sites clustered near recent caribou fences whose location is determined by landscape features, specifically canyons, arose from the existence of such fences at the same locations during prehistoric times.

Use of topological cross-dating:

Because few usable radiocarbon dates resulted from the survey, overwhelming reliance was placed on topological cross-dating and comparisons to divide the collections into archaeological cultures. The Arctic Small Tool Paleo-Eskimo culture (see prehistory section) is especially well-suited for this procedure because of its specialized small tools. From simple flake tools with cleaved edges, called "transverse burins", and a lobate-stemmed point, it was possible to recognize the Acasta culture at Great Bear Lake. Further comparisons showed that almost all of the remaining projectile points are similar to ones of the Taltheilei tradition.

Interpretations and settlement pattern:

The information can be used for much more than determining the sequence of prehistoric cultures discussed in the next section. During the analysis attention was given to the distribution of both sites and individual artifacts. Customarily, one thinks of a settlement site as having been occupied for a period each year, over several years, by a community which utilized the surrounding territory. But at Great Bear Lake most sites appear to lack such substance and meaning. There, settlements probably consisted of only one or two shelters, each occupied briefly by one or two small families before its inhabitants moved on. It is no surprise, then, that most sites contain few implements and some none at all. The individual family ranged over thousands of square miles within a single year. The whole territory, shared with a few score band members, was the settlement. With this approach in mind, the distribution of implements can be interpreted as showing how people stayed and worked more in certain types of locations than elsewhere.

PREHISTORY

You will see in this section fragments from countless past bitterly cold winters and mosquito-plagued summers, and even pleasant clear days when humankind could enjoy life without anxious thoughts of cold and hunger. Earlier in this paper, the archaeologist was encountered in the field on survey. Then we considered some of the ways he analyzed his information in the laboratory and specific aspects pertinent to Great Bear Lake. Now we shall leave the archaeologist out of the discussion and turn to the past of a unique place located at the northern edge of the world of the American Indian and the southern edge of that of the Inuit.

End of the Ice Age and the Formation of Great Bear Lake

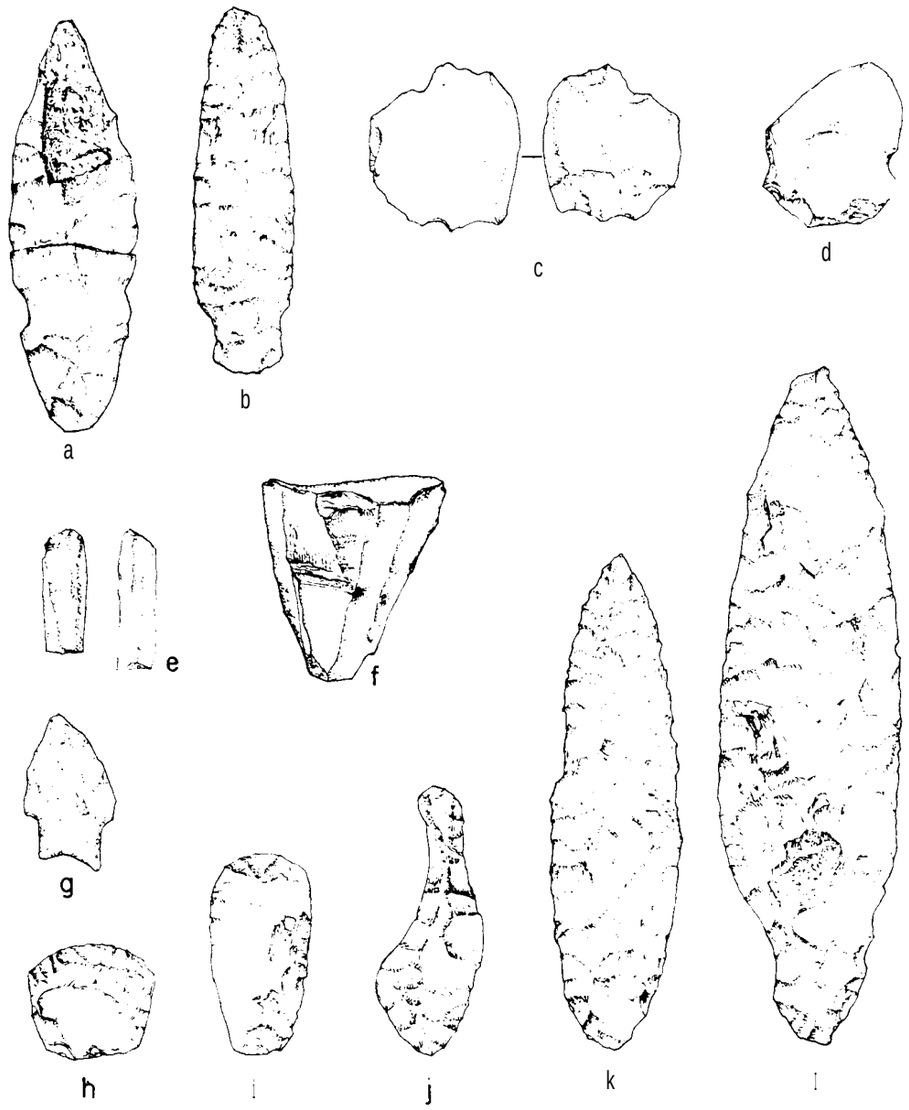
An uninhabitable landscape of a kind not seen on earth today

CHRONOLOGY AT GREAT BEAR LAKE

Date	Culture or Event
Present	HISTORIC PERIOD
1800 A.D.	European Contact at the Lake
1500 A.D.	LATE TALTHEILEI
1000 A.D.	Athapaskan Ind an
500 A.D.	MIDDLE TALTHEILE
0	EARLY TALTHEILEI
500 B.C.	
1000 B.C.	ARCTIC SMALL TOOL TRADITION Paleo-Eskimo
1500 B.C.	
2000 B.C.	EARL lEST KNOWN OCCUPATIONS AT THE OUTLET OF THE LAKE N.T. Docks,
3000 B.C.	Great Bear River,
4000 B.C.	Franklin Tanks phases*
5000 B.C.	ACASTA PHASE
6000 B.C.	
7000 B.C.	?
8000 B.C.	Ancestral Great Bear Lake
9000 B.C.	Ice Caps and Glaciers Melting (Land Inaccessible)

* Lower date 1 imit not determ' ned ; collections also include artifacts from later occupations.

Culture chronology at Great Bear Lake.



Implements of the Acasta phase, A-D; Northwest Micro blade, E-G; and undetermined phases or generalized implements, H-L. Acasta point (from Acasta Lake), A. Narrow format Kamut point, B. Burinated flake, dorsal and ventral views, C. Burinated flake, D. Microblades, E. Microblade core, F. Point (may be late and intrusive into microblade site), G. End scrapers, H-I. Spokeshave scaper, J. Point or knife blades, K-L. Scale: A natural , G 1.2 natural, others 0.75 natural size. Drawn by David Laverie.

extends infinitely towards the east. It is the dirt-strewn, rotting ice cap. By the end of the Pleistocene Ice Age, about 11,000 years ago, the climate is little colder than it is today, and rills of meltwater slip across the ice to plunge into crevasses, while silt-laden streams gush forth at the edge of the ice which is cracking and calving into a great lake -- ancestral Great Bear Lake. The western shores of the lake look like a huge, scandalously dirty bathtub. Ring after ring of unvegetated rocky beach ridges rise above the water level which has fallen drastically over the past several decades with the opening of the Great Bear River lake outlet through wastage of the ice cap.

To the west, in the Mackenzie Valley freed earlier from the ice, the land is shrubby and seemingly hospitable, though lacking forests. But if people had found their way as into this region, traces of their camps have yet to be recognized.

Early Migrations in Western North America

During the Ice Age (specifically the last or Wisconsin stage of the Pleistocene of geologists) there was ice-free land in present interior Alaska and adjacent parts of Siberia and the Yukon Territory. This area is referred to as **Beringia.** Most of the remainder of Canada was beneath glacier ice. The climate was harsh, but there was not enough snowfall to smother **Beringia** with glaciers, and game animals were present there. So too were people -- proverbial mammoth hunters -- who had come eastward from Asia, some at least 11,500 years ago and others probably earlier. As new lands in the south of Canada became available with melting of the ice-sheets, they were inhabited by other ancestral Indians **(Paleo-Indians)** who apparently had gotten into the mid-continent region at an earlier time when Great Bear Lake was inaccessible. Lands similarly freed in the north-western Subarctic area were occupied by people moving eastward from **Beringia.** Earlier, the two populations had been separated from one another and presumably they had developed differing languages and lifeways. It is thought that they met, intermarried, and probably fought too, in the Mackenzie drainage region

about 11,000 years ago when the ice disappeared. Their descendants could have been the first persons to reach Great Bear Lake. Presently, however, this logical reconstruction of events is informed speculation based on geological history and the distribution of early peoples elsewhere.

First Known Inhabitants around Great Bear Lake

The first people -- those presumed to have been present 11,000 to 8,000 years ago -- were few and erosion evidently has destroyed most of their campsites. Their artifacts have yet to be recognized from the region though some could be present among scattered, stylistically undistinguished finds. By 8000 years ago people whose earlier past leads back to the northern Plains had reached the barren grounds far east of the lake. Some of these "Northern Piano" hunters may have trekked to Great Bear Lake, but the land there more likely was the home of people descended from the proposed mix of ancestral Indians and peoples from Beringia.

These people are well represented in small camps around the eastern and northern parts of Great Bear Lake, and especially at Acasta Lake in the eastern hinterlands when their radiocarbon-dated hearths are 7000 years old. Acasta implements include widely-known types of stone tools such as knives and various scrapers, but they stand out through their distinctive lobate-stemmed spear points. As well, instead of delicately chipping a working edge to make scrapers, Acasta crafts-persons sometimes cleaved-off the whole edge in a single blow. Technicians call this tool a burinated flake. It also is found in early cultures of Alaska and the Yukon.

Ancient Economy

From the earliest times almost to the present the northern boreal forest allowed few alternatives for living off the land. A greater variety of game was available, though, to those who could reach both forest and tundra for hunting, as could the Great Bear Lake people.

Large and exotic animals of the Ice Age were gone, though at first there probably were bison, and muskoxen, survivors of the Ice Age, still roam northward and eastward from the lake.

It was necessary to be at the right places at the right time to hunt seasonal game, such as the migratory caribou, and to intercept runs of fish. Food requirements (subsistence) in a sense dictated the annual schedule of human activity.

Life depended heavily on caribou and fish. Caribou not only provided food but also skins which took the place of fabrics for shelter coverings, covering skin boats, clothing and bags; warm hides for winter clothing and bedrolls; and even sinew for thread and antler for tools. Small game like hare, and animals which today we customarily think of as furbearers, like beaver, also were important for food. Blueberries and low-bush cranberries were stored and eaten. Later, perhaps only recently, moose spread into the area and became important.

Wood was one of the most valuable resources because it was used for shelters, for caribou fences, possibly for fish traps, for many other manufactured items, and for fuel. Except locally towards the barren grounds, and during the earliest presumed occupation, timber was abundant around the lake.

A Poorly-understood Period

It is not known what happened to the Acasta people. No trace of them is recognized in implements found at the outlet of the lake, at the Great Bear River, in sites which are 3000 to 5000 years old. Preserved implements from the several cultures to which these radiocarbon dates apply are limited to stone and consist of spear points, knives, choppers and scrapers, and especially end scrapers which were intended to be mounted in the end of a handle. Many people spent busy seasons here, judging from the large numbers of manufacturing tools and knives recovered from the ancient encampment areas. At the outlet people could fish, hunt and meet travelers coming in from around the lake. One family evidently had just come from the west, from the Keele River,

bringing with it a quantity of a unique fused rock prized for flake tool s. Perhaps they would trade some of it to people from the east. Paleo-Eskimo implements at another site suggest visitors from the north about 1100 B.C.

An ancient manner of making tools found in one of the Great Bear River sites involves the use of microblades. Microblades are tiny, narrow, sharp, perfectly straight flakes, like injector razor blades in appearance. They were hafted to form various tools. The special techniques for making them spread from Asia to Alaska about 11,000 years ago. Microblades may have reached the Mackenzie valley about 4,000 years ago, and sometime after that they spread around the shores of Great Bear Lake. Perhaps they were brought in by new people from the west. But they are found no farther eastward among interior Indians. The migration had stopped, or these tools simply went out of style before people living farther east became interested in them. For our area archaeologists use to name "Northwest Microblade tradition" to refer to these tools and also for the ancient Indian groups who made them. "Tradition" means that a way of life and the associated technology lasted a long time, presumably handed down among related peoples.

Ancestral Eskimos Move Inland

Different faces appeared, and words of another language were heard across the entire barren grounds about 1300 B.C. The Paleo-Eskimos had moved southward. These people were related to others in Alaska who are thought to be ultimate ancestors of the Inuit. Their highly distinctive, carefully flaked small stone tools have earned them the designation "Arctic Small Tool tradition" though in Canada they also are known as the Pre-Dorset culture. The Pre-Dorset people may have been forced out of the Arctic islands by a worsening of the climate, but this is not certain. Indian inhabitants of the barren grounds and northern edge of the forest withdrew to the south at the same time, or were expelled by the newcomers. The Arctic people stayed for several centuries, which to them must have been a period without known beginning

or forseeable end -- except starvation in bad years.

However, details of exactly what was happening at the southern edge of their territories, where Great Bear Lake is located, can be interpreted in several ways. For instance, did the Arctic people come to the Great Bear River from the north only seasonally, or did they live there all year? Did they encounter Indians, sharing the land and trading with them, though meetings would have been tense and sometimes hostile? A few Arctic Small Tool implements are made from the unique glassy rock found southwest of Fort Norman, mentioned earlier. It probably was obtained through trade. At their camp sites around Great Bear Lake the Paleo-Eskimos usually left very few stone tools and points scattered close to the fire-cracked rocks of a hearth or roasting pit. These finds suggest visits by nomadic families who did not stay long before they moved on to another camp.

Ancestral Athapaskan (Dene) Indians

The Arctic Small Tool people disappeared from the southern barren grounds and, evidently, Great Bear Lake about 800 B.C. They went as mysteriously as they had come. Others from the west and south moved into the area. In the west these people may have been the last of the Northwest Microblade people, mentioned earlier, but the central Mackenzie District and District of Keewatin were recolonized by people who never knew about microblades. For these areas east and south of the lake there is a sequence of spear and arrow head styles which runs from 600 B.C. to the establishment of the first trading posts. Occupation by one long-lasting culture or by a group of related tribes seems to be indicated by this clustering and sequence of implement styl es. Therefore, archaeologists have named this occupation the Taltheilei tradition, after a place at Great Slave Lake where important remains have been found.

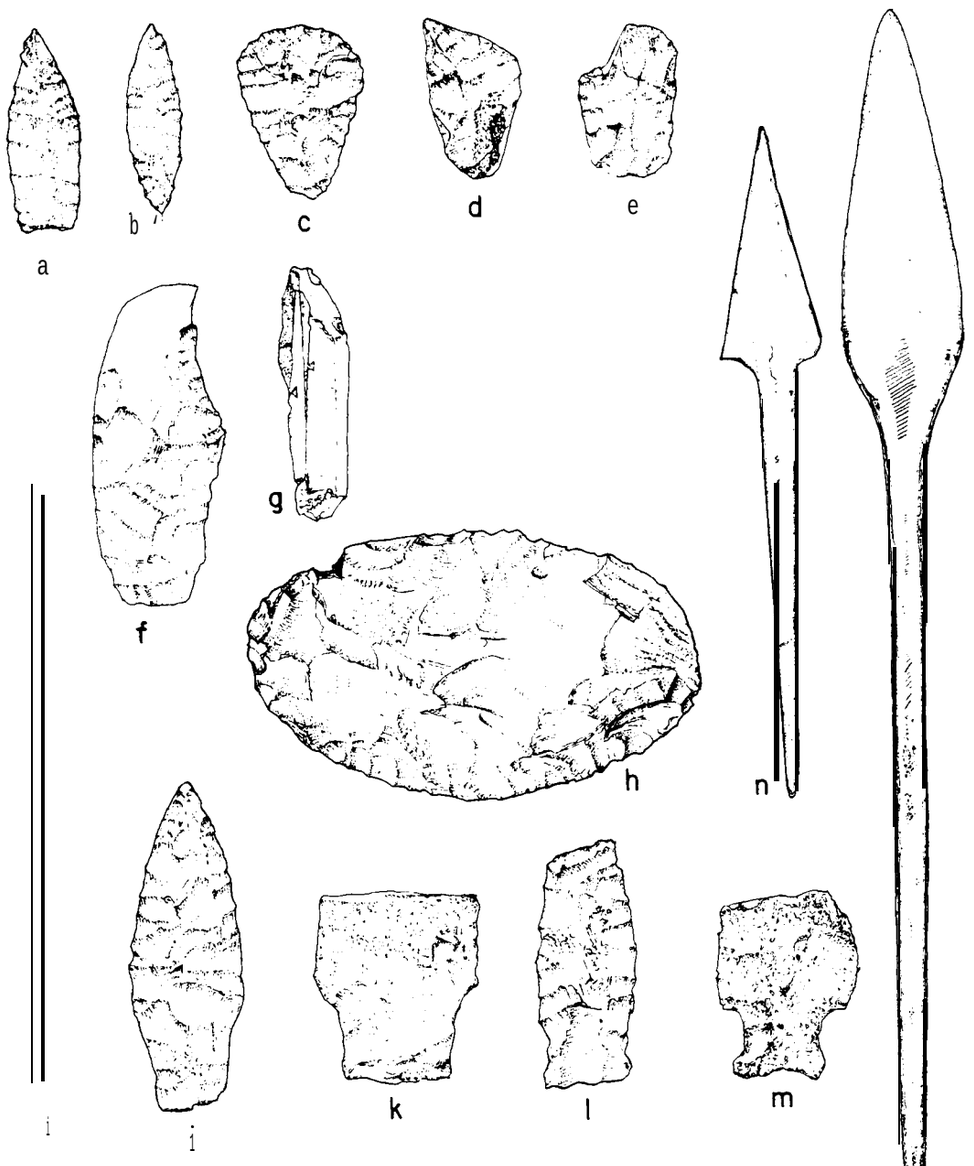
Taltheilei styles dated to about 100 B.C. and onward also are found around the eastern shores of Great Bear Lake. This does not necessarily mean that Taltheilei people came to the lake at this time

from areas where they had been found earlier. Simply stated, evidence from Great Bear Lake for the period 800 B.C. to 100 B.C. is difficult to recognize and interpret. When traders got to Great Bear Lake, about A.D. 1800, bands from several peoples (called tribes) were living around the lake or in it hinterlands. These were the Hare, Dogrib, Slavey and Yellowknife Indians. All spoke dialects of the same Athapaskan language and were related to one another and also to the Chipewyan Athapaskans who are found southeast of Great Slave Lake towards Hudson Bay. Because Taltheilei implements have been found in early historic sites occupied by the Chipewyans, Yellowknifes, probably the Dogribs and possibly some others, this archaeological tradition can be linked to the ancestors of these Dene (but possibly not the Hare). A thousand years ago, however, it must have been impossible to distinguish the specific Mackenzie peoples we know today on the basis of dialect spoken and the territory occupied. Other forms of ancestral Athapaskan or Dene culture found elsewhere show that even in ancient times the history of Canada's native peoples was very complex.

Taltheilei craftsmen made a series of spear and arrow points. Other implements include many varieties of scrapers, large and small knives, large adze bits which served in place of axes, whetstones, stone drills, small knives and awls fashioned from naturally-occurring copper, and snowshoe netting needles of bone. Most bone implements have decayed in the soil, as have items of wood, horn, hide and fur, but they may have been similar to ones collected during the historic period.

Historic Period

European traders came to Great Bear Lake in 1799, but for several decades there had been traders either among or accessible to Dene located farther south, such as at Fort Chipewyan (established 1788 or 1789) on Lake Athabasca and at Churchill (1717) on Hudson Bay. The shift from prehistory to history and from native technology to imports was gradual. Traders wrote 150 years ago, for instance, that some persons had not trapped enough furs to buy cooking pots. Consequently, in the early



Implements of the Arctic Small Tool tradition, A-f; undetermined phases, G-H; Taltheilei tradition, I-M; and historic period, N-O. End blade arrow tips, A-B. Petal-shaped scraper, C. Angled o scraper bit, D. Burins (carving tool bits), E-F. Quartz crystal chisel, G. Knife blade for side haft, H. Native copper awl, I. Arrow and spear points, J-M. Copper arrow head (grave item), N. Spear head made from file, O. Scale: the diminutive ASTt artifacts are enlarged to 1.2-1.25 natural; others are between 0.67 and 0.8 natural . Drawn by David Laverie.

1800s some continued to use stone implements and to cook by dropping heated stones into waterproofed baskets of meat and water -- a technique which is called stone boiling.

Finds of early trade goods are surprisingly rare. Glass beads are almost totally lacking, and no musket balls and gun flints have been found at Great Bear Lake. However, traces of traditional structures remain from this period. Caribou fences were used until the beginning of the present century and probably are very ancient hunting aids, although all surviving ones are historic. Many other wooden features show how formerly people had lived dispersed in areas now seldomly visited. Among these vestiges are tepee oultines and crushed brush lean-tos.

From later historic times there are bush camps and fishing camps where people usually lived in tents. Some of these have been used to the present day, and it is only there that one finds the North American "throw-away" culture. A number of old cabin foundations, largely the kind with mud and stone fireplaces, cluster at the pre-1940's site of Fort Franklin next to the present town.

This completes the story of the pre-European era and its immediate aftermath. There are also sites at Great Bear Lake representing the European and Candian white and metis explorer, trader, trapper and prospector heritage of nearly 200 years' duration. These have yet to be investigated, and though their story is told in books and letters, the recorded word often omits details which must be recovered by later generations through meticulous investigation of clues hidden in the earth.

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GOING TO GREC: INUIT YOUTH AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Sally Cole

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of secondary education in the lives of contemporary Inuit youth. The data presented here are based on field research conducted in Resolute Bay and Frobisher Bay in 1980. Unlike most studies which concentrate on the high drop-out rate of Inuit students, this study concerns those young Inuit who are completing their secondary education and graduating from high schools in the Northwest Territories.

This study finds that a majority of Inuit students who do graduate are graduating from the pre-vocational programs which have been especially designed for them. It also notes that young Inuit females tend to have higher academic aspirations than males. This is related to the finding that Inuit females seek permanent wage employment, whereas a majority of Inuit males continue to be more committed to hunting than to the wage economy and consider secondary education to be of little value.

This study suggests that, for a variety of reasons including parental pressure and a preference for settlement life, a majority of Inuit youth will return to clerical and trades jobs in the settlements after high school. The secondary education which is available to them also encourages them to do so.

INTRODUCTION

A majority of Inuit students who start school in Canada do not reach the secondary level and 90 percent leave before Grade 12 (Nash 1978:11). Analysts have offered a number of reasons for the low level of Inuit academic achievement. These include: the school curriculum; conflict of cultural values; lack of proficiency in English; homesickness; dislike of hostel life; the low level of formal education of Inuit parents; family problems; family responsibilities and a variety of other reasons (Cole 1981; Nash 1979; Special Committee on Education 1982; Whyte 1977).

While the problems of Inuit secondary education are debated, there has been little acknowledgement of the young Inuit who do graduate from secondary schools in the Northwest Territories. Why do they go to high school and why do they succeed? This paper addresses these questions through the analysis of case studies which document the secondary school experience of a small number of Inuit students.

This discussion is part of a larger study of the aspirations and expectations of contemporary Canadian Inuit youth. That study described the experience of different groups of Inuit youth including students and school leavers, unemployed and employed, and analyzed the development of a "pop" youth culture in Canadian Arctic settlements (Cole 1981). The focus in this paper is on the "hostel students", the young Inuit who are currently attending one of the three regional high schools in the Northwest Territories and live in student residences, or hostels, while away from their home settlements. The data presented here were collected during fieldwork in Resolute Bay and Frobisher Bay, June to November, 1980. I conducted interviews with teenagers, parents, teachers, nurses and employers while living in Resolute Bay and also interviewed Inuit students and teachers at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre and staff at the Ukkivik student residence in Frobisher Bay. Forty-three case histories of Inuit youth ages 14 to 19 were tape-recorded. These teenagers (20 girls and 23 boys) were from 17 different settlements and represent a range of Inuit teenage experience. Those teenagers of Resolute Bay who were attending high school at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre in Frobisher Bay at that time are the subject of the following discussion.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND: THE ARCTIC SETTLEMENT

Inuit teenagers grow up in a special kind of community, the Canadian Arctic settlement, created by the Federal Government after World War II for the primary purpose of administering services, notably health

care and education, to Canadian Inuit. These communities are small and isolated and, unlike non-Inuit northern communities, have no industrial base and limited opportunity for development of wage employment. Resolute Bay, in spite of certain unique attributes, illustrates the demographic, social, and economic characteristics that are common to all these Arctic settlements. Resolute is located on Cornwallis Island in Lancaster Sound, 1552 km northeast of Yellowknife, N.W.T.

The population of Resolute Bay (155) is small by comparison with other settlements which average about 495 in size. However, the age distribution in Resolute is similar to that of other settlements. The Inuit population is young: sixty percent of the community is under 20 years of age and nearly eighty-one percent is under 30. Just over forty-four percent is of elementary school age while teenagers between ages 14 and 19 constitute twenty percent of the Resolute Bay population (Table 1).

Table 1: Population of Resolute Bay, August 1980

Age Group	Age Distribution	
	Number of Individuals	Percentage
0-4	24	15.5
5-13	38	24.5
14-19	31	20.0
20-30	32	20.7
30-40	16	10.3
40+	14	9.0
Total	155	100.0

(Source: Resolute Bay Settlement Council)

In a majority of Inuit settlements, the only permanent wage employment is to be found in jobs connected with social services or with the maintenance of the settlement itself. These jobs include settlement council office work, janitorial work at the school and nursing station,

home fuel delivery, garbage collecting and a few skilled trades jobs with the local Housing Association.

This is the case in Resolute, where 19 people are permanently employed in the settlement, and all of these are employed in service and maintenance jobs (Table 2).

Table 2: Employment of Resolute Bay Inuit, August 1980

Employer	No. of Occupation	No. of Males	Females	Total
Settlement	Social Services	1	4	5
	Maintenance	11	3	14
Resolute - Base		5	5	10
Other -		13	2	15
Total		30	14	44

Note: Other employment includes: welfare (0 males; 2 females); full-time hunting (3 males; 0 females); seasonal labour (9 males; 0 females).
(Source: Cole 1981)

Ten others are employed at the Resolute Air Base. The Base, 3 km from the Inuit settlement, was established in 1947 as a joint Canadian-American weather station and telecommunications facility and is today a major transportation and communications centre serving the High Arctic and the oil and gas industries. The Base maintains a transient, non-Inuit, predominantly male population which has ranged from 120 to 500 persons depending upon the season and the level of industrial activity. However, the Base has generated relatively little permanent employment for local Inuit. In 1980, only 10 Resolute Bay Inuit were employed at the Base. Inuit men were employed seasonally as heavy-duty equipment operators and women were employed year-round as cooks and cleaners. As in most settlements in the Arctic, Resolute Bay has few alternatives to the limited number of social service and settlement maintenance jobs.

There is, however, another category of permanent employment in the settlements. These are the positions of nurse, teacher, missionary, Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer and Hudson's Bay Company store manager. These positions have been held historically by non-Inuit from southern Canada. This occupational stratification in Arctic settlements has important implications for the educational and occupational aspirations of Inuit teenagers. Inuit teenagers and their parents perceive these jobs to be "non-Inuit" jobs and young Inuit neither aspire to these careers nor do they seek the necessary training for them. The historic relationship of "tutelage" (Paine 1977) is therefore perpetuated and non-Inuit continue to hold positions of power and authority in the settlements.

Another feature of Arctic settlements which affects the secondary school experience and occupational aspirations of Inuit youth is the relationship between wage and non-wage employment. A mixed economy characterized by Inuit participation in both subsistence and wage-earning activities and by gender differences in degree of involvement in the wage-earning sector has developed in Arctic settlements. Myers (1983), in a study of four Lancaster Sound settlements, including Resolute, illustrates that 30 to 40 percent of the male Inuit in the region have permanent employment (39.4 percent in Resolute), while the remainder hunt, fish and trap using earnings from seasonal wage labour to supplement their cash income. Most hunters, however, earn less cash income than they require to cover the capital costs of equipment such as snowmobiles. Myers (1983:15), for example, estimated that in 1977 the average annual operating cost of equipment for each hunter was $2993. This is greater than the average estimated cash income per hunter which was $1715 in Resolute ($1078 in Pond Inlet, $1432 in Arctic Bay, and $1972 in Grise Fiord). At present, the Inuit appear to be solving this problem by subsidizing hunting with the wage earnings of other family members. In Resolute Bay these are primarily the earnings of wives employed year-round in service and maintenance jobs and, in some cases, earnings of teenage daughters and sons (Cole 1981).

Usher (1980) presents data which show that a significant portion of Inuit family income in these Arctic communities comes in non-monetary form from the subsistence economy or informal sector and that wage employment in the formal sector should not be used as the sole indicator of employment status or income. In 21 of 27 Resolute Bay households, hunting is an important source of food and a part-time, if not full-time occupation, for at least one family member. In fact, 60 percent of household income comes in non-monetary form (primarily country food) in Resolute Bay (Myers 1983:13). When Resolute is compared with the three other settlements in the Lancaster Sound region, it is found to produce the least country food of all the communities (Myers 1983). Subsistence activities are even more important in other settlements.

In summary, Canadian Arctic settlements are composed of a predominantly young population which has yet to enter the labour market. There are few wage-earning jobs locally and little potential for expansion or diversification of the wage economy. Some portion of Inuit household income comes from the subsistence economy, but all households depend upon wage employment for at least a part of their income. Young Inuit are encouraged by parents, teachers and government officers to leave the settlements to attend regional high schools and receive vocational training for jobs back home in the settlements.

"GOING TO GREC": THE HIGH SCHOOL

The Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC) opened in Frobisher Bay (population 2636) in September, 1971. It was the first high school in the Eastern Arctic and, as a regional school, receives students from 19 settlements in the Keewatin and Baffin Regions of the Northwest Territories, as well as from the village of Frobisher Bay. GREC, as the Centre is known locally, is a two-storey building of steel and fibreglass construction with few windows. It has 31 classrooms, a gymnasium, cafeteria, large library and a central common area. The

school was planned with a strong vocational and technical emphasis and is well-equipped with facilities for art, business education, industrial education and home economics. Although designed to accommodate approximately 450 students, enrolment has varied between 250 and 325 (Nash 1979:5). In the fall of 1980, 277 students were enrolled. About one-third (94) of these were from settlements other than Frobisher Bay and lived at the Ukkivik Residence as hostel students.

GREC offers two basic programs: academic and pre-vocational. Grades 7 to 12 in the academic program follow the Alberta curriculum and credit system. The pre-vocational programs -- Settlement Maintenance, Clerical Secretary and Homemakers -- were especially designed for the Inuit students and the pattern of enrolment reflects the distinction that is made between Inuit and non-Inuit students. In the pre-vocational programs, almost all the students (98.6 percent) are Inuit. In fact, only one student is non-Inuit. However, after Grade 10, only 5.2 percent of the Inuit students are in the academic stream, while the majority of non-Inuit students (93.8 percent) continue in the academic program as illustrated in Table 3 (Cole 1981). Carney (1983:108) describes a similar pattern at the regional high schools in Yellowknife and Churchill, where Inuit enrolment is primarily in the "Opportunity" or pre-vocational programs and non-Inuit enrolment is primarily in the academic programs.

In a recent history of Inuit education in Canada, Carney (1983:92) argues that missionaries, teachers and government officers, having "images" of the Inuit as hunters who are resourceful, inventive and "good with their hands", have encouraged the elaboration of "small engine repair" programs and have discouraged the development of academic secondary education for Canadian Inuit. He further argues that this emphasis on vocational programs for Inuit limits their employment opportunities and maintains them in auxiliary and dependent roles in the industrial development of the Canadian North (1983:86). My research suggests a greater complexity. It is true that Inuit students are encouraged by school staff to take vocational programs. However, Inuit

Table 3: Student Enrolment at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre, Frobisher Bay, October 31. 1980

Program	Grade	Number of Inuit Students		Number of Non-Inuit Students
		Settlement or Hostel	Frobisher Bay or Town	
Academic	7-8		75	25
	9A-9B	9	20	5
	10A-10B	33	3	4
	11-12	12		11
Pre-vocation	CS I-CS II[a]	22	10	
	SM I-SM II[b]	20	8	1
	Homemakers	1	18	
Total		97	134	46

Notes: Total Student Enrolment = 27/
(a) CS= Clerical Secretary
(b) SM = Settlement Maintenance
(Source: GREC Class Register)

parents also encourage their children to take these shorter, job-oriented programs. Young Inuit themselves seek secondary education which enables them to continue the social and economic relations in which they are engaged in the settlements, notably the maintenance of strong kinship ties and participation in subsistence activities. The pre-vocational programs meet these needs (Cole 1981).

The two-year Settlement Maintenance program at GREC (SM I and SM II) is designed to provide initial training for Inuit male students in those trades for which there are employment possibilities in Arctic settlements. The program concentrates on the development of basic skills in carpentry, painting, plumbing, sheet metal work, heating repair and service, minor electrical repairs, skidoo repair and maintenance, and welding. Students receive instruction in trade-related mathematics, scientific concepts and effective communication skills in English. They

are also taught to work safely, to co-operate with other workers and to attend work regularly and punctually. Students who graduate from this program are qualified to enter a vocational training program at the Adult Vocational Training Centre in Fort Smith or to begin an apprenticeship through on-the-job training. Opportunities for apprenticeships in the settlements, however, are few, and most graduates require further upgrading or vocational training.

Both male and female students enrol in the Clerical Secretary (CS I and CS II) program which prepares young Inuit for administrative and clerical jobs in the settlements such as settlement secretary, government field service officer *or* store clerk. They learn typing, accounting, business-related mathematics and how to perform general office duties such as handling mail, using the telephone, filing and how to operate various office machines. They also learn effective communication skills in both English and Inuktitut. Almost all graduates from the CS program to date have found employment, and the school considers this to be its most successful program among Inuit students.

The Homemakers program is designed to meet the special circumstances of Frobisher Bay Inuit girls who are often kept at home to help their parents or to baby-sit, and cannot keep up their schoolwork. Many have failed grades several times before being advised to move into the Homemakers program. The two-year program consists of a life skills component with basic instruction in English, mathematics, science, social studies and a homemakers component which includes such subjects as nutrition, family life, consumer education and child development.

GREC also offers a "cultural curriculum". School officials believe that since a mixed hunting and wage economy prevails in the settlements, "these kids have to see the value of hunting skills" as one teacher expressed it. The school's approach to Inuit secondary education is based on the assumption that the majority of Inuit students will return to the settlements and that the school's function is to prepare them for that life. As a consequence, the school organizes weekend camping trips which provide the Inuit students with the opportunity to

learn land survival and hunting skills under the direction of local Inuit hunters. The school has also assumed the responsibility for teaching the Inuktitut language and Inuit history because, as the principal explained, many parents are not providing this cultural education at home.

The differences in the high school careers of hostel students (Inuit students from the settlements) and town students (Frobisher Bay Inuit students) are as striking as the differences between Inuit and non-Inuit students. Of the 98 town students in Grades 9 to 12, 91.5 percent are in the vocational stream. Of 97 hostel students in those grades, only 44.3 percent are in the vocational program. Those Inuit students who do achieve in the academic program tend to be students from the settlements. These students begin to enter GREC in Grade 9 and by Grade 10 outnumber the town students. In Grade 10 there are 33 hostel students and only three town students and in Grades 11 and 12 there are 12 hostel students and no town students (Table 3). Town students often have a high absentee rate, few can keep up with their schoolwork and few reach the Grade 10 level.

There are a number of possible reasons for the difference in high school performance of town and hostel students. Nash (1979), a former principal of the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre, suggests that because town students live at home with their families and these homes are generally crowded, there is little privacy, space or quiet for students to study. He adds that Frobisher Bay Inuit parents have had little formal education themselves and tend not to associate doing homework or regular attendance at school with their teenager's success in school and so do not encourage such behaviour. However, my research suggests that Inuit parents frequently think that by the time their child has reached 16 or 17 years of age he or she had had "enough education". Parents often feel that their teenagers are needed at home to help with younger children, or they encourage them to get a job and contribute to the family income. All these pressures apply to the hostel students as well , but such pressures are mitigated by living away from home while attending high school (Cole 1981).

The hostel environment is essentially different from the Inuit home. At the hostel, students are provided with desks and bookshelves; study time is set aside each evening and the staff patrol the halls to ensure that students are doing their homework. Students are awakened at the same time each morning, breakfast is prepared for them and a bus takes them directly to the high school. Many of the teenagers have difficulty accepting this regimentation which is so different from the freedom of their lives in the settlements and they drop out in their first year. Many do not return to Frobisher Bay after their Christmas holidays at home. Some students, on the other hand, say they enjoy life at the hostel and give a variety of reasons: recreational facilities which the settlements do not have; meeting teenagers from other settlements; teenage activities such as floor hockey tournaments, dances and movies; shopping in Frobisher and "It's not as boring as home." Facilities at the hostel include: a gymnasium, organized sports activities, a dance hall, canteen, ping-pong and pool tables, video games, a sewing room and various television-viewing lounges. Students who accept hostel life tend to achieve higher grades in school than do the town students, in part because they are away from home living in the controlled environment of the hostel (Nash 1979:7). It seems clear that a selection process is going on in the hostel but it is difficult to identify the variables operating and to suggest which teenagers will accept hostel student life and which will drop out and return home.

Why They Go: Five Case Studies

The following case studies are based on my interviews with five of the ten Resolute Bay students enrolled at GREC in the fall of 1980 and living at the Ukkivik Residence. All names are pseudonyms.

Case #1: Winnie

Winnie is 18 and in CS II. She will graduate from the Clerical Secretary program in the spring and plans to be a bookkeeper or accountant in Resolute. Minnie says she decided to go into the CS

program after talking with her older sister who is employed as a clerk in the Housing Association office. "I asked her a few things. I said 'Is it interesting?' and she said it was so I went into Clerical Secretary." Winnie's sister did not go to high school; she was trained on-the-job in Resolute. She has, however, found work that she enjoys doing. Following a similar career offers Winnie some security.

The experience of older siblings has a strong influence on the teenagers when they make decisions about school, work and lifestyle. Winnie, herself, is now a role model for her younger sister and her younger sister's group of friends who are all in Grade 7 at Qarmatalik Elementary School in Resolute. They are proud that Winnie is away at high school and know she is in " Clerical Secretary". Whenever Winnie is home for holidays they visit her and enjoy being in her room listening to her music, reading her "True Confession" magazines and hearing about Frobisher. Within a short span of years, ideas about education, training and about being a teenager and a hostel student have developed. Going away for secondary education is a less intimidating experience than it used to be, at least for those who choose a pre-vocational program.
Winnie says she came to high school because "I want to be an educated person." She is taking "typing, accounting, business machines, math, Inuktitut, phys-ed and consumer fundamentals." She enjoys her program at school and, except for the rules, she is happy at the hostel. She is popular, outgoing and an active and enthusiastic participant in activities at the hostel and the high school.

Winnie spends most of her spare time at the hostel: "I sew, do exercises, do my homework." She goes to town for swimming lessons once a week on Monday evenings and takes the bus into Frobisher Bay with the other hostel students on Friday evenings for "shopping".

Winnie likes life in Resolute: "I like walking around, talking with my friends. I just mostly stay in my room back home. I lay around, listen to music, put posters on the wall, change the furniture around." On student exchanges, Winnie has visited different parts of Canada but she believes she has everything she needs in the settlement. "I like

small places. I don't know, I just like it. I was born there and I want to die there." It is small and she knows everyone and they know her. She feels secure in the settlement. Having her older sister as a role model, Winnie anticipates no difficulties in her future life. She says she enjoys her present life as a hostel student but she will also be happy when she returns to the settlement to work. Winnie accepts the conditions of her life as the way things should be and believes she has a good life.

Case #2: Moses

Moses, too, has no desire for any life other than the one Resolute Bay offers him. He is 16 and will graduate from the Settlement Maintenance program this spring. He says he decided to take the pre-vocational program because: "It was shorter. I want to go home early."

Moses' father died when he was five years old and one of his older brothers committed suicide two years ago. His mother is one of the two welfare recipients in the settlement. His brothers are helping to support his mother and the younger children and Moses is expected to do the same. He came to high school "to get a better job. We need the money. My mother said I need the schooling to find a job."

For Moses, "a good job" would be to be a mechanic. He thinks maybe he will work for Arctic Resources Limited in Resolute. He says he is not prepared to move away from Resolute for other employment opportunities. He will try to find work at home.

Although he had not been away from the settlement before coming to Frobisher Bay to high school, Moses has no desire to travel further. He does not want to leave the settlement again. He says everything he needs and wants is in Resolute: "Friends. Mother. Everything." He does not think he will miss anything when he leaves school. Life at the hostel, to Moses, offers only a gym where he can play floor hockey and a place to get three meals a day. "I play in the gym. Watch television. Wait for supper or lunch." Moses has not found that the world outside Resolute has anything to offer him.

Moses is proficient in English and articulate in expressing his thoughts and feelings. He says he finds nothing interests him in school. He finds school boring and he perceives that employment opportunities will be limited no matter how much education he has.

The major regret and source of bitterness for Moses is that he was not raised in a hunter's family and so not does have the necessary skills to be a hunter. He had no choice but to go to school in order to develop some skills which might help him to find a job. He does not really believe, however, that school will help him: "It's boring. I mean just nothing to do. I mean when we finish there's hardly any jobs and they're already taken, most of them."

Case #3: Peter

Peter is 16 and in Settlement Maintenance at GREC. He chose the SM program "because it's easier work". Unlike Moses, Peter often goes hunting with his father and this is one reason he likes living in Resolute. He plans to be a hunter but considers that he will also need a wage-earning job in order to buy and maintain the equipment today's hunter requires. So he came to high school to "learn about machines and woodwork and to learn more English to get a better job". These are the skills which are most useful to the Inuk male living in an Arctic settlement.

Peter had never been away from the Resolute area before coming to Frobisher Bay to school. It was overwhelming at first: "It was a really big place. Lots of people in one place. But I got used to it. It's really good now." Peter enjoys his life as a hostel student, especially "the gym activities and playing ice hockey and baseball".

Now that he has been away, he sees that Resolute is small and "There is no hockey arena, no gym and too few people." He knows he will miss these activities when he returns to Resolute to live. Although he is curious now about visiting southern Canada, it would only be to visit. Peter considers the settlement way of life as the one he is best suited for and that the way his parents raised him is the way to raise his own children. "My parents worked hard to raise me. I want to do the same."

Case #4: Levi

Levi is 16. He is also in the Settlement Maintenance program and will graduate in the spring. He, too, went straight into the pre-vocational program because "I thought I'd get more jobs doing well in carpentry and it was shorter." Levi thinks he will have no trouble finding work when he finishes school. He would be prepared, if necessary, to work away from home on rotations at an industrial site such as the Polaris mine near Resolute Bay on Little Cornwallis Island. To date, his job experience includes maintenance work for the Resolute Bay Housing Association and stocking shelves for the Bay and Co-op stores. He thinks being a carpenter will be a good job because "I like working with wood."

Levi is not interested in school. He came to GREC because his father wanted him to get an education. Now that he is there, he is absorbed in the teenage world of high school and hostel. He enjoys hostel life: "It's exciting. There's lots to do, like the hockey rink and the gym, and it's different from home." He is well-liked by his peers, enjoys "playing in the gym" or going shopping with his friends or to the Kativik Drop-In Centre in Frobisher Bay. He considers Resolute boring and dull by comparison: "A pretty dull place. Not enough activities and it gets pretty boring a lot and there's too much drinking and trouble." Nonetheless, he sees the settlement way of life as his own future way of life.

Levi is a pragmatist and is accepting of his life circumstances. He chose Settlement Maintenance because he thought it would help him get a job and because it requires only two years away from home. He is making the most of those two years by immersing himself in the teenage world of the hostel. And when he returns home to live and work, he will adapt to the lack of local employment opportunities by accepting seasonal labour jobs away from the settlement.

Case #5: Alice

Alice is 18 and in Grade 11. She plans to graduate from GREC

with a Grade 12 diploma. If she does, she will be the first Inuit resident of Resolute Bay to complete an academic secondary education.

Initially, Alice came to high school "because I passed the grade to go to Frobisher so I went". Her father did not want her to go but the principal at the settlement school convinced him that it was best for Alice. Alice says she wanted to go because "I wanted to get away from Resolute for awhile." GREC opened up a new world for her. Now, in her third year, she is one of the best students at the school. She is keenly interested in all that she studies at school and would like to travel and learn about other parts of Canada and the way other people live. She is happy at the hostel. She likes "meeting new friends" from all over the Northwest Territories, listening to music and writing letters. She enjoys the "activities" -- dances, movies and playing in the gym -- and she likes to go downtown shopping or visiting relatives in Frobisher Bay.

Alice would like to be a social worker like her cousin but says that, rather than going on for the necessary post-secondary education, she will probably return to Resolute after she finishes high school and work as a secretary in the settlement because her father would like her to be at home. She herself would prefer to live in a settlement where people do not drink and where there are community activities, "not like Resolute where there's too much drinking and too much trouble and people don't do anything". Alice says she would be prepared to move anywhere that she was able to get a good job, but she says she will probably live in Resolute as long as her parents are there.

ANALYSIS

A number of observations may be made from these case studies. A majority of the teenagers have chosen the two-year pre-vocational programs offering a variety of reasons ranging from "It's shorter, I want to go home early" to "It will prepare me for the job I want." Of those who graduate from secondary school, most will graduate from the pre-vocational programs. Only one will graduate with a Grade 12 diploma.

All the students express ties with their home settlements, with settlement life, or responsibility to their parents and other relatives. All plan to return to the settlements to live and they establish their career goals on the basis of the role models presented by older siblings, acquaintances or other Inuit in their home settlement. All but Alice accept the limited range of occupations and jobs open to them in the settlements.

A large number of hostel students are, like Winnie, Levi and Peter, enjoying their sojourn in Frobisher Bay and are relatively content with the prospect of their future lives in the settlement. Another group, however, like Moses and Alice, recognize some of the problems which face young Inuit.

Moses knows there are few jobs available for graduates in the settlements; he also feels he is not learning anything in high school. He finds life as a hostel student "boring" and expects his adult life in Resolute to be boring as well. Alice, on the other hand, has been challenged and rewarded in her high school career at GREC. She would like to continue her academic education at the post-secondary level but she receives little support for doing so; her father is pressuring her to return to the settlement. Although she finds Resolute boring and does not like life there because of alcohol-related problems in the community, she will return because her family wants her to and because she is not convinced that she has any other choice.

An explanation for the different secondary school experience of Alice and Moses -- Moses is bored while Alice is rewarded -- is found in the gender role differentiation which characterizes Canadian Arctic settlements. Young Inuit men find status rewards in the male hunting role and choose to work seasonally in both the wage and subsistence economies in order to continue to develop their hunting skills and to be able to engage in subsistence activities on the land. Young Inuit women, on the other hand, are oriented exclusively to the wage economy and are rewarded through academic achievement and subsequent permanent employment in service jobs in the settlements. All 20 teenage girls interviewed

plan to work, marry and live in a settlement. Their ideas of jobs include classroom *or* nursing assistant positions, social work, secretarial work and clerk-cashier jobs. At the same time, a majority of the boys interviewed (21 of 23) plan to marry and live in a settlement, to work and to hunt. Their ideas of jobs were seasonal labour jobs such as mechanic, heavy-duty equipment operator or carpenter.

These results corroborate the findings of Kleinfeld et al. (1983) on the Alaskan Inupiat and McElroy (1975) on the Baffin Island Inuit. Both studies find that the formal sector, female labour force participation is greater than that of males. Because women's work in the subsistence economy is arduous, Inuit women today prefer their lives in the settlements to their lives as outpost camp wives. Inuit men, on the other hand, are happier on the land and are more ambivalent about settlement life. Kleinfeld et al. (1983:14) point out that the permanent wage employment which is available in Arctic communities is found primarily in clerical, education, health and social service jobs which are considered to be "women's jobs". McElroy further argues that Inuit men do not enjoy working under supervision and that they seek to maintain the autonomy of the Inuit male role in the subsistence economy. Inuit women, on the other hand, are accustomed to being subordinate in the subsistence economy and to having their work supervised by men and are, therefore, more prepared to work in service jobs or "public liaison occupations" (Briggs 1974; McElroy 1975:679). These jobs include clinic aid, welfare assistant, interpreter, vocational advisor, ticket agent and post office or store clerk where they must use English, work with non-Inuit and work under supervision.

The ambivalence of Inuit males toward wage employment and their preference for subsistence activities is reflected in their lack of interest in secondary education. The enthusiasm with which many young Inuit women seek permanent employment and the greater rewards Inuit women find in settlement life are reflected in their greater academic orientation and achievement.

CONCLUSION

Increasing numbers of young Inuit are leaving the settlements for vocational training in the Clerical Secretary and Settlement Maintenance programs and increasing numbers are graduating from these programs. Many teenagers are happy to have the opportunity to live away from home for awhile, to meet new people and to enjoy the teenage life of hostel students.

The secondary education offered young Canadian Inuit appears to meet their needs. The curriculum is tailor-made for them, and the pre-vocational programs both complement and become extensions of settlement life and values. The school prepares young Inuit for the mixed subsistence and wage activities of Arctic settlements. By establishing these goals in Inuit secondary education, the school is assured a high success rate. At the same time, however, young Inuit continue to be limited to the narrow range of options currently available to them in the settlements and their mobility in Canadian society is also limited. Young Inuit continue to be trained to hold casual and secondary positions in Canadian Arctic settlements. These positions, on the one hand, limit Inuit participation in the industrial development of the Canadian North and, on the other hand, enable young Inuit to maintain the kinship ties and subsistence activities which are an important part of contemporary settlement life.

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REFLECTIONS, SHADES AND SHADOWS

Norman E. Hallendy

FOREWORD

I, like many others who have travelled and lived in the North, have been deeply impressed with the land and its people. No photographic" record, no written words can adequately illustrate the Arctic experience. What appears to be a barren and hostile world is in fact filled with living things. The persistence of life is as awesone as the forces which shaped the land and move the oceans.

One of the most intr guing things I discovered was meeting people who once lived off the land as did their ancestors for over 4,000 years. In a matter of a few years, many of the old Inuit who were born and grew up in hunting camps will be gone. Unlike many other cultures, they have no enduring artifacts to bury with them. While some of their legends, songs and stories will persist, the way they thought and felt about things and the way they viewed their world will perish.

Letia Parr has tried to help me gain an insight into some of the thoughts and experiences of the old people in Cape Dorset. I could never have gathered the stories which follow without her help.

It was important for Letia to understand not only what I was trying to learn from the older people, but also why I was interested in such things. I told her that I never use a tape recorder or write notes while listening to what is being said. The old adage, ask the right question and you will get the right answer, is not necessarily true. Quite often the answer that is given can be in response to the questions in the story-teller's mind -- for example, what is it that he would like to hear? I explained that we must be sure that we understand what is being said.

Another very important point was that Letia was socially acceptable to the various people with whom I wanted to speak. I cannot stress the importance of this strongly enough. The best interpreter in the community would be severely handicapped if, for example, the person with whom you were talking disliked some member of the interpreter's family. In one case, I almost blundered into a situation where I was about to have a conversation with an old man who as a youth was a camp-slave to the father of the interpreter who was with me at the time.

It is also very important to know or have feeling for when it is time to back off from a line of inquiry. The person with whom you are speaking may not know what is being sought or, privately, consider the conversation drifting into personal matters which are none of your business.

I believe that the approach to having conversations is critical to what transpires during them. I begin by explaining what it is that I am seeking and why I am interested in the subject. There are times when I say to the person that I have heard such-and-such from so-and-so and would like to know more about the subject and ask the person if they could help me. A question that is often asked of me is "What will you do with what I tell you?"

To this, I reply that I will never repeat the things you want me to keep to myself. The things which can be repeated to others will be written down as I understand them, and that is why I ask you to be patient with me during our conversation.

I begin by explaining to my interpreter and the person with whom we are about to speak that we will not interrupt each other's thoughts by translation. I will say whatever I have to say, and the interpreter will then speak to me, saying "That is what I understand you to mean." Any further articulation can be made at that time, before the question or thoughts are transmitted to the listener. The same holds true for the person who is speaking to me. We have often spoken for long periods without breaks in conversation for translation. The thing we often say to one another is "I understand you to mean . . . . Is that so?" The reply

is either yes, that is so, or no, you don't really understand what I have said, and I will try to explain it in a different way, but the meaning will remain the same.

Reflections, Shades and Shadows is a collection of conversations with some of the elders of Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung, Holman Island and Pelly Bay.

DEDICATION

I dedicate these few stories to you, Etidlooie. You and your family took me to your camp, fed me, taught me things I never knew and treated me like one of your own. I remember when I tried to pretend that I wasn't cold, and your wife gave me a caribou skin to wrap around my legs.

I must have been a funny sight, trying to figure out what parts of the seal to eat, and your son Udjualik came over and gave me the best piece. I remember the day when we came into the camp, wet, cold and tired. Minnie, your daughter-in-law, greeted me with fresh warm bannock, hot tea and dry socks.

Your son Itulu is one of the kindest people I know. I will never forget the time when he, Udjualik, Joe, Minnie and I stopped at a small island to celebrate the appearance of the sun after many cold grey days. We sat up on the hill eating raw arctic char and fresh muktuk. I believe that I was the happiest man in the world.

REFLECTIONS

Needle, Thimble and Ulu

"I grew up in a very small camp. We didn't travel to other camps and so the things I have to tell you have been learned from only a few women and from the things I found out by myself. Remember that the

things that happened to me happened in my life and in our camp, and do not think that it was the same with all women.

"It was important in our camp for each person to behave well. People who misbehaved -- including children -- were severely punished. I remember the time when a little boy had stolen some meat from another family. He was taken into the tent, tied up by his parents and not released until he was painfully hungry. You may think this was cruel, but it was so important for everyone to know that they could not do as they pleased.

"The two worst things that could happen to a woman in the camp was for other people to say that she was a gossip or that she was a woman that could be had by any man. Gossips cannot be trusted, and loose women not only are resented but also can be the cause of serious trouble between men.

"I think that many young women like me had their marriages arranged by their parents. Whether or not you loved the man didn't matter. Sometimes the parents of little children would agree that the two kids would marry when they were old enough, and other times a man known to the family would convince the parents that they should allow their daughter to be his wife. Such a thing happened to me.

"A man who was old enough to be my father came to our camp to speak to my parents. They told me to leave the tent and stay in his boat until I was given permission to return. I was in the boat all day and all night, and I knew what was happening. My parents told him that he could have me as his wife, and I was sick with anger and sadness but could say or do nothing.

"There were many times when he would go out on the land or to the floe edge to hunt and in my heart I wished that he would never come back alive, such was my feeling for that man.

"You see, a husband can do no wrong. He can be very hard on his wife and she has nothing to say. She must continue to serve him. If he complains to her parents that she is lazy or not good to him, they are angry with her and will even beat her.

"The most important thing for a woman to know was how to make clothing. Life depended on two things -- food and clothing. The man got the food and the woman made the clothes to keep him alive to get that food . A woman's reputation was determined by how well she handled a needle.

"I know of one instance of a man who could not keep his wife. Another hunter came into our camp with his young sister and when he saw my (uncle's) wife he said that he wanted her. He was a powerful man who had much influence throughout the camps along the coast and so his wish could not be denied. He gave his young sister in trade for my (uncle's) wife. Both women were not happy and could say nothing about the wish of that one man. I was told that in later years he felt sorry for having demanded the other woman and was kind to our family until he died.

"I told you that the status of a woman was determined by how well she did things, especially in the making of clothing. She also had a different kind of status as she grew up. The word that was used to describe her before she had her first period was niviaqsiaq. After her first period she was uvikkaq. If she went through life without having slept with a man she was ooigasuk. It was important for a woman to have her first child when she was young because her hip-bones could spread and delivering her baby would be easier.

"I was told that pregnant girls must get to their feet as soon as they opened their eyes in the morning or they would have a hard labour. We were told never to braid things or make a loop with any cord or thread for fear that the baby would be strangled in the womb. We had to be careful when eating seal meat because the seal has a very small knee-cap that can easily be swallowed, and if you swallowed it your child would be born with a small unpleasant face. We also believed that cleaning a bone when eating, so that there wasn't one speck of meat on it, would ensure the birth of a sweet child.

"There were two medicines I knew that were used. One was pujualuk, which is the powder inside a small round mushroom. It was very good in stopping bleeding. The other was qingmingivak (the hairy mantle

of arctic willow), which was put on the baby's belly-button so that it would heal quickly. Sometimes a mother had no milk in her breast, and then she had to feed her baby on soups made from blood and meat until it was old enough to eat food that she first chewed for it. The mother fed the baby from her own mouth. When the baby was older, it could be given a piece of meat to suck and chew. In order to prevent the baby from swallowing the meat whole and choking on it, we stuck a piece of wood or bone through the end of it. It worked like those nipples you buy in the store to keep kids quiet.

"A good medicine to stop (the "runs") in kids was to give them a mixture of udjuk (square flipper seal) fat and rabbit droppings. We had no soap in the early days, and in the spring we used the yoke from duck eggs to really clean the skin.

"I remember the first time that I was a midwife. I was trembling with fear because I had never seen it done before. I also remember the feeling of joy when it was over. We say Angusiaq -- "I brought forth the boy" -- or Arngnaliaq -- "I brought forth the girl" -- when we have made a good delivery.

"That little boy who was in the house when you came in, was delivered by me. He came by to give me the first duck eggs he found, for bringing him into the world. I love him for that.

"Women not only prepared the way for life but looked after the dying and the dead. We made clean the dead person. We closed their mouths and their eyes. We dressed them in clean underwear. We were the last to touch them.

"You asked me what is a beautiful woman. I think that the sign of beauty is in the eyes. We did no special things to our hair and faces. I have heard that in other place women had themselves tattooed, but it was not the custom where we lived. I know of two women who were tattooed a long time ago by whalers who hunted in this area. But this was an unusual thing."

At this point I asked how she would describe the virtues of her favourite daughter to me so as to entice me to take her as a wife. The

room was filled with other women who looked on with amused anticipation. She began by telling me how good her daughter is, how clean she keeps her hair and, above all, how well she can make things. I replied that this was not sufficient to take her as a wife because I didn't know all the things that the girl could not do. "Never mind," the mother said. "What she can't do I will show her or do myself. It will be a good match." Then the mother looked at me with a smile spreading over her face and asked, "What kind of boat do you have?" I replied that I didn't have even a small canoe, and she shot back, "Then who needs you for a son-in-law?" The room was filled with gales of laughter.

"You were told by another lady that a gossip or a loose woman was resented by other women. A selfish woman was not just resented, she was detested by everyone. Selfishness was the worst kind of behaviour in any camp.

"It is true in many ways that the life of a woman was hard. She was the first to rise and the last to sleep. Her husband was always right -- she could be punished by her parents for not pleasing her husband. She could do nothing if he slept with another woman. But all of this did not mean that she was without feelings. It hurt to know that your man was in bed with someone else and even if he was a demanding old man, you felt jealous of that other person.

"I remember being so hurt one time that I was determined to smash my husband's rifle in half, then go over to his girlfriend's tent during the night and slash it to ribbons. My friend remembers the time that her husband decided to take a young woman along on a hunting trip. My friend was so angry that she attempted to turn over the canoe and didn't care if she drowned along with the younger woman.

"I remember the time that my husband crawled into bed and wanted to get on top of me. I told the old fool (politely) to go and undo his pants in his girlfriend's tent. I guess I was a pretty independent woman. Once when I was young, a man from another camp kept chasing me. I heaved stones at him, and after a while he gave up. When men get the

idea in their heads, they can become pests. Once a pest got me onto his sleeping platform but finally gave up when he knew I wouldn't take off my parka, pants and boots. We used to dress very well." (Laughter)

"Though sometimes a man forced a woman to lay with him, this was a most unusual occurence. Forcing a woman (rape) was not known to happen in an established camp.

"People who camped together behaved very well. It was necessary to do so. Young girls who were growing up were forbidden to talk or ask questions about what it was like to lay with a man. We didn't even talk among ourselves about the kind of man that we would like to have as a husband when we grew up.

"I can add a few things to the conversation that you had last night when you were listening to my friend talking about pregnancy. The pregnant woman could eat only the lower parts of an animal. She could not eat the meat from the head of a caribou nor its fat or marrow. She was to eat only cooked meat; she could never eat raw meat or fish while she was pregnant. In the old days she had to eat separately from other people and she ate her cooked food from a separate pot.

"It was common for a woman (midwife) to help the mother deliver a child, and even some men knew how to do this. I remember the time when I assisted a friend who was in great pain and discovered that the baby was dead inside her. I had no choice but to take out the baby in pieces, to save the mother's life. Sometimes the baby was in the wrong position with its head high up in the belly, and then the midwife had to very carefully try to turn the baby around by making movements on the mother's belly. You asked if we ever took a baby out of the mother's belly; the answer is no, we never did such a thing. You must remember that a mother's life came first. If things went badly, our first concern was the life of the mother -- another baby could be born but not another mother.

"You told me that you spoke with a woman who said that there were no tattooed women in her camp. I knew of a woman who was tattooed all over her body. Being tattooed was painful, especially when done on the

face. Tattooing in this area was done by mixing soot with grease, and rubbing it on thread. The thread was then attached to a small needle and the needle was pushed through the upper part of the skin. When it, along with the thread, was pulled out, the soot remained in the skin; and that's how tattoos were made. One girl who was about to be tattooed protested and was threatened to be put into the pot below the kudlik (oil lamp). That frightened her even more, and so she gave in and was made beautiful. Women with pale skins were especially good looking when their faces were tattooed. I know that some women were tattooed long before the whalers came into our area -- it was a very old custom. I have seen a few men who had a tattoo across the bridge of their nose. This was not a mark of beauty but a sign to let everyone know that he had killed a fearsome person."

We decided to take a break and have some tea. I took out my tobacco and began to roll a cigarette. "Oh," she said, "I haven't seen those cigarette papers (Vogue) for a long time." I gave her the packet of papers with the picture of the lady on its cover.

As the hunter is associated with the harpoon, the woman is associated with the needle, thimble and UIU. These three things were her most precious tools, for with them she made everything for man, woman and child to wear. Their clothing was bigly specialized, superbly designed and modified for the seasons. Animal skins and sinew were created into garments which allowed them to survive in a climate where death by exposure was a constant possibility.

"We were always making and repairing clothing. Our needle case, thimble and ulu were the things of the greatest importance. Yes, we had other women's things in the camp and, though not as important, they were necessary. Some of these women's things were: a skinning board, a big ulu for skinning, a sharpening stone, a stone scraper (there were other kinds of scrapers too), cooking pots, cups, drying racks for clothing, thread made from caribou sinew (it was very strong) and, most importantly, the kudlik (stone oil lamp). We burned seal oil in the

kudlik. The flame was tended with a takhut (tamper made from wood or stone) and the wick for the lamp was made from a very fine moss mixed with the fuzzy part of the arctic willow.

"Another important thing was our teeth, yes, our teeth. We had to chew skins before we made them into things, and when some things were made -- like kamiks (skin boots) -- we continued to chew them every night until they wore out and we had to make another pair. See my teeth. They are only half worn down. My mother's teeth were almost flat to her gums.

"You said that when you were in the Western Arctic they made underwear from rabbit skins. Well, we didn't make underwear where we lived. We were naked inside our parkas. We made clothes for babies from rabbit fur with the hair facing inward, which was very soft and warm. The making of clothing was a lifelong thing and, even so, a woman took pride in what she made.

"Earlier this evening, you asked if some women slept with other women. I never knew of such a thing; besides, they've got nothing to 'do it' with anyway." (Explosion of laughter) "I don't know how other people behaved in other parts of" the Arctic, but let me tell you that we had to behave well where we lived. Men did not freely exchange wives. Swapping wives never happened in our camp.

"Life was often hard and there were times of loneliness and sadness, but there was also love. How can I tell you about love? Perhaps I will try to talk to you as if you were my own child and so you will understand the simple things I have to say. Try to love those around you equally; it's better than hiding it. If you love a certain woman more than you love me, I cannot love you less than when you were my child. Talk to this woman about your love for her, but do it with the feeling and in that simple manner of when you try to share an idea with a child. She may be afraid of you. Remember that she has lived her life so far in her parents' tent. Make your intentions and feelings known to them. If they like you, you will be allowed to come again and again. It takes time for a girl who has never slept with a man to overcome her fear of leaving her family to begin a new and uncertain life with a stranger.

You presence with her family will help overcome her fear, and the time will come when her parents tell her that she should leave their tent and begin living with you. Even though you have a good wife, you may be tempted by the appearance of another woman. Try not to sleep with another woman; your pleasure will be your wife's pain. If you do it once, tell her then, even though it is painful -- forgiveness lies in her love for you. If you are often in another woman's bed, then keep it to yourself, even if it is no longer a secret.

"It's getting late and I have to go home now, but before I leave there is one final thing to say. I will always remember my mother. She was a woman who served every member of the family. There were times when she was hurt and disappointed and times when she was happy. For all the years she gave of herself, she received very few rewards and made no complaint. You may think that this is being submissive. It is not, it is the expression of strength. Her strength is known to all of us and, now, to you."

How We Took a Great Whale

You had to stoop to enter into the old man's house. It was a replica of a Hudson's Bay house but scaled down to one little room with small sleeping quarters that were reached by climbing a ladder.

The place was filled with pieces of this, bits of that and parts of things all lodged in their proper places. There was the sweet smell of wood-smoke from the stove and the sound of the kettle as the water for our tea came to a boil. The chairs upon which we sat were covered with the skins of Canada geese. We drank tea, ate biscuits and felt very good in each other's company. For a moment he was lost in thought as he gazed out the window towards the sea. Then he looked towards me, lit a cigarette and said, "I will tell you how we hunted great whales in the old days."

"I am an old man, I think I am eighty-five years old, and what I am about to tell you was told to me by my father when I was a very young boy. In the old days we hunted not only belugas and narwhals but the big

whales as well. Some Inuit may have hunted whales from umiaks, but we hunted them from kayaks. A man in a kayak in the water is no threat to a whale. She thinks that the kayak is nothing more than a peaceful little animal seeking her company. The kayak is silent, moves quickly and is much better to handle than any umiak. Umiaks are for women, children and dogs, not for hunting.

"When the hunters saw the spout from a whale (sometimes there was more than one whale), they came together. They took their panar (bone knife) and lashed it to their kayak paddle, so as to make a spear. In the old days it took a long time to make our weapons and tools because we had no saws or metal tools. We cut bone and ivory with pieces of 'glass'. We found that special glass that looked like icicles growing from certain rocks. We would take a sliver of that glass and set it into a piece of caribou bone so as to give it a handle. That was our saw. We would then scratch a line over and over again on both sides of the bone or ivory until we could break the piece exactly in the right way. We could do other things with that glass, like make holes, grooves and decorations.

"Now that I have told you how we made the panar I come back to how we killed great whales. You must understand that the great whale is a peaceful animal. It doesn't kill other animals, nor is it afraid of any animal except Arluk (killer whale). When we saw whales, we could move among them and they were not afraid of our little kayaks. They moved slowly, feeding on things that lived on the top of the ocean. There was no fear of trying to kill a great whale if you knew how to do it. My father was such a man. He was the one who knew the right place to stick in the spear.

"He would paddle beside the whale, carefully looking at her body. There is a place below her spine where you can see a movement." At this point the old man put his left thumb under the flap of skin between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand and began to make a pulsing motion. "You see, there is a place on the whale that moves just the way I am showing you. That's where the kidney is, and that's the only place

where it is safe to stick in the spear.

"This was done carefully and quietly, and you may be surprised to know that the whale did not even know that she was being killed. There was no fight. She kept swimming on and began to bleed to death. We would follow her sometimes for a very long time until she died. As soon as she was dead, we would come to her side and fasten lines to her body. Our lines were made from walrus hide, and the hooks on the end of the line that were stuck into the whale were made from polar bear claws.

"Each hunter fastened a line to the whale and together we paddled towards the shore. There was much hard work and much rejoicing because she gave us food and oil and everything else that we needed in the making of things -- even a new panar."

The old man looked into his empty teacup and quietly said, "They were such peaceful things, such beautiful and peaceful things."

Witches and Mermaids

"Surely you don't believe in stories of shaman, spirits and magical powers," he said with a smile. I replied that I was not sure if I believed in them or not, but I do know that stories of such things persist in the villages that I have visited. He looked into my eyes and said, "You say that you have been told that there is a woman shaman living here. I don't know of any such person. Perhaps the only one who told you such a thing is the only one who knows if it is really true."

I asked him how he knew the difference between what he believed to be true and what he knew to be true. He replied, "That's easy. I will explain the difference. A long time ago some whalers were shipwrecked and were found by hunters from a camp a long way from here. They were afraid of these white men yet wanted the things that they had. The hunters' desires became more powerful than their fears, and they killed the whalers and took their things back to the village. I have been told this story by different people at different times in different places and I believe it to be true.

"Now I will tell you a second story. My grandmother once told me

that there was an evil old witch who lived in a cave on the other side of our island. This witch would gather beautiful bright stones fom a special place in the hills and arrange them into a trail leading to the entrance of her cave. In those days people lived on the other side of the island, and some of their children found the trail of beautiful stones and disappeared forever. It was said that the evil old woman killed them and ate them. Every one of us believed this story. When I was much older I went with my friends to the other side of the island. Do you know the place I mean?" I told him that I knew it well but that I have never heard of caves, witches or bright coloured stones being there. He continued, "We searched around and found the cave and found the place where the stones came from. They were the colour of blood. But the most frightening thing of all, even though she is no longer there, is that you can see the shadow of her footprints in the stone at the entrance of the cave. This I know to be true."

I asked him if he knew of anyone who has seen Sedna, the mythical sea-goddess, and he replied, "Yes, I know of people who say they have seen Sedna, but I have never seen her. Twice in my life, many years ago, I have seen Aivioyarq. She is a sea-creature so rare that few hunters have ever seen her. I saw her during a long trip to Nuvujuak. She was beautiful. She had the shape and size of a beluga whale. Her skin was dark like that of a walrus; but unlike walrus skin, it was smooth. She had flippers like a seal, but her tail was shaped like the tail of a beluga. She had a head that was like the head of a young walrus without tusks. We knew that we must not harm her and that it was a gift just to see such a wonderful creature of the sea."

"Do you have a pencil?" He then drew Aivioyarq on a scrap of paper. "Here, a little present to remind you of our afternoon together."

A short time later I met two young ornithologists, one of whom had done considerable study of arctic marine animal life. I recounted the story of Aivioyarq and showed them the drawing. The young man looked at the drawing and then at me, slowly shaking his head and said, "It can't be. That's a Stellar Sea-Cow. It's supposed to have become extinct around the turn of the century."

SHADES

Dreams, Dreaming and Dreamers

"If I come to your house tonight, will you tell me the meaning of dreams?"

"I will tell you what you want to know," he said. "Come along, and bring some things to eat. I will make the tea. We have some fresh seal meat if you like, but don't be afraid to refuse. Most Hudlunaat don't like it, but they try to be polite and eat a bit anyway."

I arrived at his house to find it filled with children -- his children, his children's children and his neighbour's children. A Coleman stove hissed amidst the kids, boiling up tea as black as the pot that held it. It seemed strange to enter into a private conversation, surrounded by laughter, pleas for biscuits and gentle reprimands.

"What is it you want to know?" "I want to know about dreams and dreamers," I replied. He sighed, looked at a religious picture hanging on the wall and then quietly said, "I will tell you what I know, nothing more.

"All things that breathe have dreams. I do not know what dogs and ravens dream, but they do dream. Dreaming is a state of mind we call See-nuk-tu-myuk. It is a time when we see things that come from a place beyond our normal vision. There are many kinds of dreams, and I will tell you about some of them. Irkah-li-yuk is when you dream of things which you know to be real. They are not special dreams and are close to, but not the same as, what you call daydreams. A daydream that allows you to see something that is about to happen or has happened is more impressive because it is certain. That very moment in the daydream when you see what is happening is called Iss-oh-rho.

"There is another kind of dreaming called Nir-eu-zak-tuk. These are dreams of things seen that have yet to happen. Most people have little dreams like those and some people have the power to dream often about things which are sure to happen in the future."

I asked him what he thought was the difference between a shaman's

state of dreaming and our own, but he claimed not to know. I came back to that question in a different manner from time to time, and the answer was always the same.

He asked me if I had ever dreamed of someone coming back after a long absence and it had happened (Tikki-tu-siak-tuk), or if I had ever dreamed of horrible demons and terrible creatures (Oh-human-niak-tuk). I said, of course, and he laughed, "So why do you ask me what a shaman dreams?

"There is another kind of dream and, though I have forgotten its name, it is important because it has come from time to time to all of us. It is the dream of a special person who appears in your mind when you are troubled. You know that this is the only person who can help you.

"There are two more kinds of dreams which are opposites to one another. The fearful dream is called Hunu-yak. It is the dream of death, and it will surely come to the person the dreamer dreams of and to the dreamer, in the end."

At this point, he turned to the two kids sitting next to us on the battered old sofa and good naturedly told them to scram. He lowered his voice and raised his eyebrows, and asked, "Do you know the word Ah-nay-ow-tuk?" I said no. He said, "It means you, that boy who was seduced by a beautiful woman in your dreams a long time ago." (Laughter from all in the room)

Pointing to one of the girls in the room, he said, "Ahngu-syrizuk. She has probably had the same kind of dream. It comes to all of us as we leave our childhood."

I asked him if that woman or man who comes in our dreams and makes love to us has a name. "Ah-choo," he replied. I don't know. I asked him if there was anyone in the settlement who was especially known for his ability to have important dreams. Again he replied, "Ah-choo." The thread was broken, the bannock was cooked, the tea was made and it was time to play with the kids.

The next day I went to see a very old man who was said to be a dreamer. I was told by a few white people that in earlier days, he had

such powerful dreams that he was often consulted because of them. We sat in the little kitchen and, as we picked at the cheese and luncheon meat I had brought, he began to remember the time we spoke about his old friend Qiatsuk two years ago. I remembered that time as well. He had told me more things, given me more insight than any Inuk I have known. He asked what it was I now wanted to know.

I told him that I had been told that he was a dreamer and had been consulted on many occasions, and that I wanted to know more of such things. He took a piece of cheese and, chewing it slowly, looked into my eyes. Yes, he had had three powerful dreams in his life, but he was no special person. He was amused to discover that a misunderstanding of what actually had taken place was contributing to his stature.

He said that he would tell me about the three dreams and how they were interpreted by two of the village elders and the local missionary. The dreams were vivid, rich in symbols and filled with minute details. The first dream was a dream of death. The second dream was a dream of great fear, and the third a dream of escape. The dreams were interwoven with actual people, places and events.

The dreams not only involved him but also embraced other people in the community. This particular combination of images that could have meaning, that could affect others, had to be interpreted and so put to rest. And they were. The symbols had their roots in Christian teaching, the fearsome events in past experience, and what appeared to be an ominous triptych was explained away, leaving the dreamer with his private dreams. Perhaps there was more to be said. I will never know.

There was one more person to visit before I abandoned the trail of questions about dreaming. The next morning I stuck my head into his tent and, through a cloud of stone dust, saw him carving a magnificent hunter. After each stroke he formed a bellows with his cheeks, lips and tongue and blew away the stone dust. He looked up, downed his file and said, “Let’s have a cup of tea.” His daughter joined us and created that important bridge between us.

I told him that this summer I was collecting two things, pictures

of the people in the settlement and thoughts about such things as dreams. "Can you help me," I asked. Then came the inevitable Ah-choo. "Tomorrow night," he said, "tomorrow night we'll talk. Now I have a carving to finish."

I met Letia, my interpreter, before we were to have conversations with the final person on our list of "Dream-talkers". I explained that I was somewhat disappointed in what we had learned so far. I thought that we were pursuing something that didn't exist and that there were no such things as "Dreamers" or much credence put in such a common occurrence as dreaming. I asked Letia to tell me honestly when we reached the end of this line of questioning in the conversation which was about to take place.

Letia had brought her baby and young son. I brought the biscuits, tea, cheese, cold meats and other things to nibble on during the evening. Our guest brought his memories and thoughts. We drank tea, chitchatted about a few inconsequential things and finally he said, "Now, what shall we talk about? You are always asking questions." And so we began.

I pursued with him the line of questions that I had asked the other two men. Nothing seemed to be forthcoming that would add to previous conversations, yet instinctively I knew that he had some important things to say. I didn't even have to ask Letia, because I knew that our conversation was drawing to a close, when I quietly said, "It's too bad that even that beautiful woman who comes in our dreams is nameless." His eyes lit up. "No, she is Nuliak-saq, and she is very real ." It was as if a mist had evaporated and one could see the horizon once more. "Tell me about Nuliak-saq," I asked. He said that there was not only her, but also Uiqsaq, that handsome man who appeared in the dreams of young girls and was the first man to make love to them.

"To most people, Nuliak-saq and Uiqsaq come from time to time and do things which give pleasure that has never been experienced with a living person. This is both exciting and dangerous. It may be hard to

understand, but it is possible to abandon oneself to desire and so depend on them more than on the love of a husband or wife.

"This is a very frightening thing. **Nuliak-saq,** the beautiful woman that carried you on your bed of dreams, becomes everpresent in your mind. You beg her to come each night. You desire to sleep so that she will take you away from earthly things, and you are terrified because you know that your dream-lover **Nuliak-saq** or **Uiqsaq** cannot last forever. Some nights they will not come, and you are tormented. It is a terrible thing to allow yourself to become possessed by either of them. It has been known that some people in such a state of mind have starved to death."

He asked me if I knew a certain man, and I said that I had known of him for several years. He asked if I knew that the man had been possessed during his life, and I replied that I had been told that he had gone mad for a time. He said, "It is true. Madness comes in different ways and the most frightening thing is knowing that it is moving towards you . People don't talk about such things because they want to appear to be strong.

"There is a state of mind that is dream-like -- either you go one way or the other. One way is good and the other is terrible. To escape from a terrible situation in that dream-like state is called **Oqumag-iisia-vak.** It happens in different ways, like a woman who is in great pain during childbirth and thinks she will go crazy with the pain. Yet she remembers slipping away in a dream more real than when she was awake, and the pain goes and the fear of going crazy is melted away by a dream."

The three of us were tired. It was late and we could hear the rain upon the roof. It was time for the last cup of tea. We sat silent for a while and then he said, "You seem disappointed. Haven't I told you enough?" I replied that he had told me more about dreams, dreamers and dreaming than anyone else, but that perhaps we had missed something along the way. I said casually, "Perhaps there is a state of mind that goes beyond dreaming that is so difficult to express that we seldom talk about

it. Perhaps all these questions that I have been asking you are really childish." His eyes lit up and he sat on the edge of the sofa. Leaning towards me, he lowered his voice as if to begin unfolding a secret.

"Yes, there is a state of mind beyond dreaming. It is called Quiinui-naq-tuk. It is like a window through which one can see into things as never before. It's as if you have moved out of the tiny space you occupy in this world and can see the world whole and can see past its shadows. There are five shades in this state of mind, each one different, each one lighting the fire of powerful thought.

"There is Qiin-ui-tuk. This is when you are alone, the only living thing far away from earthly things and filled with peace. This sense of peace fills every corner of your mind. It is more satisfying than any joy you have experienced in your conscious life because it runs deeper than happiness. It can mend broken thoughts and feelings, and having experienced it gives you the knowledge that it can come again when you feel there is nowhere to go.

"There is Ang-nat-siaq. Because you and I are men, I will describe it to you as a man. This is the state of mind when you think deeply of a woman. No, it is not thinking about making love to her or her earthly charms. It is thinking about her as a beautiful and totally necessary part of your life. Her smell, touch, voice, movement and presence are as important to you as breathing. She is ageless. The both of you ensure each other's survival and in the bottom of your hearts you know that you will travel together forever. She is that one missing part of you that has made you a whole person. Every sunrise begins in her eyes.

"Then there is Angut-iisiaq. How can I describe this to you? There are certain people who are known by all others as special people because they do everything well. They make the best things. They are the best hunters because they know the behaviour of animals, weather, seasons, tides and other things better than anyone else. It is not that they strive to be better than their neighbors. It is that they have a state of mind that does not allow them to do things in an ordinary way.

They are compelled to do the simplest things as perfectly as can be done by a human being. Sometimes when you come across an ancient campsite you may find a cooking pot or harpoon tip that is the most beautiful thing you have ever seen. Yes, even an old cooking pot can be a special thing if made by a special person. The important thing to remember is that this state of mind doesn't mean that you can do just one thing -- it is a way of living.

"Now I come to Ishuma-tu-yuk. This is a state of mind that allows you to think deeply of many things. Our minds move from thought to thought, hardly stopping to turn one over to see what the underside looks like. Ah-choo, we say because it is easier to leave behind the things that are hard to understand. There are riddles, puzzles and secrets everywhere. Some things which appear to be simple are complicated things in disguise, and it is so the other way too. To think deeply of things is not daydreaming. It is moving through shadows and never staying in one place forever.

"The last state of mind is called Siila-tu-yuk. I find this the hardest to describe because it happens to me. It is that state of mind that allows me to see a large world which is my very own place. Here, I am not subject to unnatural forces. Here, I can create things which are beautiful and can give me great pleasure. It is a very strange place because you know that it can never be, yet when you leave it and come back to the world we know, you discover that you have created a beautiful thing which you have brought back with you. I am a carver, so I bring forth carvings -- but there are songs, stories and magical things that have been brought back by others from their own worlds."

I thought of what he was saying and remembered an incident many years ago, when I asked a well-known artist the definition of art. She replied simply, "The ability to take that which is real and make it unreal in such a way as to make it more real than ever before."

I heard him say, "Remember the five shades. The words themselves, Qiin-ui-tuk, Ang-nat-siaq, Angut-ii siaq, Ishuma-tu-yuk and Siila-tu-yuk, are seldom spoken and have a beauty as spoken words which

is as powerful as their meaning." As I was walking Letia home, she said, "I have lived here all my life and I never knew that such words existed. Those words are in my mind forever."

Magic and Power

I fished around in my pocket, searching for a lighter. Finally, I dumped the contents on the table, hoping to find the lighter in the assortment of junk that somehow finds its way into every pocket I have.

The old man asked, "Why do you carry that walrus tooth in your pocket?" I told him that I had found it amongst the bones that littered a very old camp and that as silly as it may seem, I carried with me as a good-luck charm. He asked to hold it and I gave it to him. "Do yOU really believe in such things?" "Ah-choo (I don't know). I guess I do, if I carry such things in my pocket." We both laughed. I asked him if he had a good-luck charm, but he didn't answer.

"You know," he began, "in the old days we were very superstitious and we had many charms. We believed in magic (Satqwa) and we had many different kinds of charms which were made from many different things.

"A human cannot simply make a charm. A real charm possesses power. You can try to make charms and hope that they will protect you, but they never can protect you unless they have power. A shaman can invite certain spirits to enter into objects, and when they do, a charm is made. Spirits can enter into objects without being invited and that object becomes charmed. There are evil charms and there are good charms. Old charms have more power than new ones, and charms which have passed from hand to hand are the most powerful ones to have.

"There are different kinds of charms, and each kind gives you a different kind of power. There are charms which attract good luck, Ah-teh-tat. There are super charms, those which are very powerful and can allow you to do things that no ordinary human can do, At-te-tawk. There are other charms. Those are ones which protect you from harm -- they drive off danger and so are most important -- Swee-nak-min Pikta-kitit. Then there are charms which allow you to look into the

future, Tunek-tat. There is a special bag that is made to hold the different charms. I have seen one made from the skins taken from the heads of two wolverines. This bag which holds magical things is called **Anu-hra-wak**.

"There is one more thing that I will tell you before we turn out the lamp. It is a thing that happened to me when I was a very young boy. My uncle was an old man. He respected the shaman who lived in our camp but never lived in fear of the shaman's powers. He had the power to protect himself not with a charm but with a song. I know what you're thinking, but just listen. My mother told me that he had the power of song, I think she called it **Atudluk**.

"I asked my uncle one day if he had the power of a song, because I had never heard of such a thing. I suppose being a child protected me from his anger. He didn't speak to me all day, and I knew I had offended him and was afraid. The next day was windy and the men could not go out to sea. My uncle came to our tent and told me to come out. He told me to follow him, and we walked over the hills without speaking. We came to a shallow river and he stopped. He turned around, looked straight at me and said, 'Listen to me very carefully. You will stand behind me. You will look at only the big rock in the middle of the river. You must never look at my face, no matter what happens, until I tell you. If you don't obey me, a terrible thing will possess you.' I was a young boy and very frightened.

"He turned away from me so that only his back showed. He began to sing a slow song, using words I had never heard. Slowly, his voice began to change, it became lower and lower. What sounded like words, began to change. What started out as a song began to change into sounds coming out from the centre of something that was not a human being (**Inuk**).

"I was so terrified I thought I would die. I wanted to scream at him, to tell him to stop this thing, but fear froze me solid. The only thing that was still living in my whole body was fear itself. I can't remember how long these sounds went on. I can remember that they began

to change and slowly became like the sounds and words that I heard at the beginning.

"He stopped singing and slowly turned around to face me. He looked very, very old. He looked like a person who had suffered a terrible pain. He reached out and took my hand and held it very tight. 'Look at the rock that was in the middle of the river.' It was no longer there."

Conversation With a Special Person

"All living things have spirits. Yes, even plants have spirits. Do not be fooled into thinking that the spirit of a polar bear is greater than the spirit of a lemming because the polar bear in life is stronger. The strength of a spirit is measured by what it can do and not where it resides.

"There are good spirits as there are evil spirits, and there are spirits which are neither good nor bad. It is these neither good nor bad spirits which cause those things to happen for which there is never any answer. They are above men and above all other spirits. Together, they are the condition in which everything will happen, happens and has happened. When, because of the condition a woman dies while having a child and the child dies or lives, there is nothing more to say than 'it cannot be helped.'

"I have told you that all living things have spirits. All living things are also houses for spirits. Spirits can come and go like you and I when we choose to enter and to leave places. Spirits also may choose to live in real houses, air, the sea and even in small stones.

"Spirits are respected in different ways. The greatest respect is given to those which are feared the most, and that is why they are the most powerful. That is why, when we see a thing which we never knew about, we are respectful, because the spirit which lives within it is also unknown, and could be evil. Even things that at first look harmless can be the house of a terrible spirit. It is not the man, animal or thing which is terrible but the spirit which lives within it.

"A shaman has a special spirit that comes to him and gives him strength. The spirit will make it possible for the shaman to see and do things that other people cannot do. You asked me, 'When does an ordinary person become a shaman?' A person becomes a shaman when a spirit enters and allows that person to do things which other people cannot do, as I have told you. Even a child can become a shaman if the spirit wishes it to happen.

"The power of the shaman is the power of the spirit. A powerful shaman can become invisible, can visit distant places without moving and can see through things to their centre. A powerful shaman can see forward and backward at the same time, and can speak with the dead. A powerful shaman can kill living things with his thoughts.

"There was a shaman here, whose name I've told you, who was a friend of Qiatsuk. He wondered if he had the power to kill a man with his thoughts. The spirit that came to him was not an evil one, and through it he killed a caribou. When the caribou was opened, its insides were found to be smashed as if something had crushed its bowels with a rock. There are people who can still remember the event.

"This shaman knew he had a great power because it's harder to kill a caribou with a thought than it is to kill a man.

Spirits in the Stone

"You asked me if there were inukshuit that had magical powers. I have never heard of such a thing nor do I know anyone who knows such a thing. There are many things that happened a long time ago. There are many things that have been forgotten -- even the words to describe them have been forgotten. These things are not just lost, they will never be found again.

"Though I don't know if inukshuit ever had magical powers, I will tell you a few things. I was born in an igloo and lived in small camps most of my life. Our families travelled from camp to camp during the seasons. The camp boss and the shaman were the two most important people in our camp; everyone was very respectful of the shaman. Our shaman was

an old man when I was a young boy. He had many spirit helpers and could call on them when he needed their power to help him see and do special things. He could call the spirits of the dog, caribou, lemming, wolf and many other creatures to help him. But even with all his powers, even though he could do things that were magical, he knew that he would soon join the adlerparmiut, the dead people. He knew that he would die when we would set up our spring camp. He told his son that he had a vision of dying, and he spent much more time with him describing all the spirit helpers and each one's special powers. His son was never a shaman, but he knew that there was a reason for his father carefully explaining many things before his death.

"The old shaman died at our spring camp, just as he had seen in his vision. None of the old people go back to that place anymore, not because they are fearful, but because it would be disrespectful. If you were to go to that spring camp you would see strange inukshuit. Those inukshuit are different from any others. The last thing that the son did to show respect for his father was to build an inukshuk for each spirit that helped his father. Each inukshuk is in the likeness of a spirit, and the hill behind the spring camp is where they live.

"Now, I will tell you another thing, because you asked if shaman ever used inukshuit to do magical things. First, you should know that inukshuk is not the same as inunguak. Many people call a thing 'inukshuk' when they see stones put one on top of the other. Inukshuk is a thing made by a man to help him in various ways. From a distance, inukshuit can even look like a man, but that is not why they were made.

"Inunguak is different. Inunguak means 'in the likeness of a man.' Inunguak looks like a person. There are not many real inunguak to be seen. I have heard that your children make their own inunguak in the wintertime. You call it 'snowman' (laughter from the other two old men who were with us).

"There is a special kind of inunguak -- I have forgotten its name -- but it too was made of snow. This was a fearsome snowman because it was made by a shaman. It was made to capture the spirit of the person

that the shaman wished to harm. Secret words were spoken to it until it possessed the person's spirit. Then the shaman would take either a knife or a harpoon and kill the snowman. I have been told that the person, even if he was far away, would surely die."

Inurluk

"What I am about to tell you happened a long time ago. There lived in a small camp a young girl who was very beautiful. Her face, voice, behaviour and the way she could make clothing made her very desirable.

"Young men often visited this camp, bringing food to the girl's father, hoping that some day he would say, 'Take my daughter, you are a good provider. She will make you a good wife.' But the father was not able to part with his daughter. He loved her and she looked after the old man as if he were her child.

"As I have told you, she was able to do many things well. Her father once gave her a special stone which is called inurluk. This stone is most valuable because you can make fire with it. You make a small bed of dried moss and take the fire-stone in your hand and hit it against a rock next to the moss. Bright sparks jump up and fall into the moss, there is smoke and then the moss catches fire. The fire that jumps out of the stone lights our kudlik, which gives us heat and light during the darkest time of the year. The old man's daughter could make the fire-stone give out sparks better than anyone else and could start a fire faster than any man using a pitikserak (bow-drill).

"She must have been 15 years old, when a stranger came to their camp. He had the best kayak they had ever seen. His harpoon and all the other things that were in his kayak were made in such a way that you knew he was a special person.

"He spoke softly, but he could be clearly heard. He moved quietly, but you could feel great strength in his every movement. He did not speak like the people in the camp, and they asked him where his home was. He gave the name of a place that no one knew, and said that it was

a very long way from their camp. This stranger stayed with the people for many weeks and everyone was happy because he was a good hunter. He could find food when others failed.

"One night the old man said to his daughter, 'The stranger is a man who will always provide us with food, for he is a great hunter. You must become his wife; he will look after us when I can no longer hunt.' The beautiful young girl had strange feelings about the visitor. She knew that the stranger had often watched her, especially when she made fire. But her father told her that every young girl who has never slept with a man (ooigasuk) has the same feelings.

"The summer was passing. The weather was becoming dangerous at sea, and the stranger told the people in the camp that he would have to leave before the days became dark. He came to the tent of the old man and said that he must go. He asked the old man if he could take his daughter as his wife, and promised to return with her when the geese came back to the land. He gave the old man much seal, caribou and dried fish so that he would not be hungry through the winter.

"And so the beautiful young girl was promised to the stranger. You must realize that, in those days, it was the parents who made the final decision. Before anyone was awake in the camp, the stranger took the girl to his kayak, saying that they must leave now because he could smell a change in the weather and they must get past the dangerous narrows further down the coast.

"The girl said, 'But I can't leave without saying good-bye to my family,' and was about to cry when the stranger told her that he made this arrangement with her father.

"'Come,' he said, 'Get into the kayak. Hurry, the tide is going out.' He grabbed her hand, and as he pulled her towards him, she screamed. She had looked into the centre of his eyes -- they were not black. They were filled with fire.

"She screamed once more, 'You are inurluk,' and with all her strength, pulled away from him. He shouted a warning, but she fell onto the rocks by the shore. The stone she fell upon was the stone which

makes fire.

"Even though this happened a very long time ago, the beautiful young girl is still there where she fell. I am not sure whether Inurluk felt a great anger or a deep love, but one thing is known -- and that is, he changed her into an inunguak. That inunguak will stand forever by the sea looking towards the sunrise.

Silent Messengers

"I will tell you one more thing before I am finished. Besides, my partner looks ready to say something to you.

"My partner told you that your people call any pile of stones made by a person an inukshuk. That is so -- even the young Inuit who don't know much about the past, call them inukshuit. Let me tell you a few things before we go. Some inukshuit are very old. They were made by the Tunit long before we (Inuit) were on this land. I know of inukshuit that were made to fool the caribou.

"The inukshuit were made at places where caribou passed when they travel led together. They were placed in long lines on each side of the caribou trail. Our people would prepare themselves when the caribou were coming. The women and kids would hide on the ground between each inukshuk and the hunters would hide behind a wall of stones in the middle, at the end of the lines.

"The caribou would come between the two lines of inukshuit. When many of them were between the lines, the women and kids who were at the beginning of the lines would jump up, yelling and waving things.

"This would frighten the caribou and they would start running towards the small wall of stones. They ran in a straight line because they saw people on each side of them. The inukshuit made it look as if there were many people. The caribou ran right up to the low rock wall and were killed by the hunters with bows and arrows.

"These inukshuit helped us to hunt caribou. I have been told that there are places which deserve much respect. They are places where the inukshuit have helped our people for a very long time.

"Now I will tell you about some other inukshuit which have different names and are used for different things. When you go out on the land, I will tell you what to look for. If you see two or three stones one on top of the other beside a lake, they are tukipkota. They are telling you that they mark a place where there is lots of fish.

"Sometimes when you come to an old camp beside a lake or at the month of a river, you see many little inukshuit. They tell you that this was a summer fishing camp and that many fish were taken at that place. They are called napariat, and are about as high as your hips. The people used to string lines made from seal skin between these napariat and hang fish on the lines to dry for the winter.

"There are places which are marked by inukshuit as tall as a man. These are places which must be seen from a great distance and in winter, because they mean that an important thing like food, has been left there. These inukshuit are called hakamuktak, and you can see them along the coast and inland where caribou are taken.

"Sometimes you see two stones side-by-side with another stone on top. They look like a little doorway or window. These are called ikahimaluk, which means 'attached to one another.' Some of these are like windows which you look through to a distant place so that you will know the right direction to take on the next part of your travels.

"There are times when it is necessary for a hunter to set out on a trip over land without his wife and children. He will explain when it is safe to follow and describe the landmarks to help his wife find her way. If the trip is a long one of several days, the hunter will make a tikotit, which means 'pointer'. This is a tall rock leaning in the right direction or a small rock on top of another which points in the direction of his camp. The tikotit was the helper that not only showed the way but also was sometimes used to tell the family to change their direction because either there was danger ahead, or the hunter had decided to set up the camp in another location.

"You asked if there were any strange inukshuit, and my partner told you about the man who made inukshuit in the likeness of the spirits

which possessed his father.

"Yes, there are some strange inukshuit in the nearby hills of old camps. They are very small and in the shapes of birds and animals. No, they have not been made by an inugaruvligak (dwarf); they were made by children. They are the children of a child's imagination." ("Umm", a lovely sound of agreement followed by a smile came from all who were listening.)

A Lament for the Ancient Ones

"What I will tell you is what I know. It's too bad you did not speak with Etidlouie about stars and to old Kingwatsiuk about hunting whales. Most of the old people are dead and the things they knew have been lost. You can still find bits of things made by people who lived a long time ago, but you cannot find memories -- they have to be given to you. I cannot tell you much about inukshuit, but maybe the things I tell you will be a fair exchange for the things you have *given* me.

"Atsiak, who was Kingwatsiuk's father, is still remembered though he died a long time ago He was a respected hunter and a man who travel led great distances He was respectful of strange places and very careful in everything he did. It is said by the old people that Atsiak's footsteps are everywhere. He was an Inuk who was driven by something that made him look for places where no other person has been.

"He could read the signs that told of a change about to happen in the weather. He could travel by the stars and understood the behaviour of living creatures. He was an Inummarik, a real Eskimo, and he was curious about new and different things.

"In the old days, white men came here to hunt the big whales. It was at that time that Atsiak, his son Kingwatsiuk and Anigmiuk went on a whaling ship to Sadlerk (Southampton Island). The whalers were pretty good people and we learned new things from them. It was not unusual for even a whole family to travel with them for the summer. It was at Sadlerk that they saw the Tunit, yes, they saw Tunit.

"They were not Inuit, they were a different people. They didn't

speak our language. They spoke a language which was like baby talk to us. We could understand some of the things they said, but it was difficult. They were smelly people. They had long hair that was tied up into a big knot on the top of their head. They were very, very strong. You could see their strength by looking at the size of the stones that they moved to make their homes and their inukshuit. We could never move stones that big. Their clothing was different from ours; it was made in a different way. I have heard it said that the men had parkas that were long enough to touch the ground. They used to spread out the bottom of their parkas around them like a tupik (tent) and light a small kudlik (oil lamp) inside their parkas to keep themselves warm when waiting for a seal.

"These people made everything from stone, bone, wood and ivory. They had no iron tools. We feared them because they were strangers living in our land and living in stories told to frighten us when we were children. We envied them because we were told that they possessed strength greater than our own and, more important, they were great hunters who could make weapons from anything. If you both fear and envy a person it makes you want to harm or even kill them. This has happened so many times. These people, the Tunit, were killed and some who were lucky enough to escape, fled to Greenland. I am sorry to tell you this, but some were even tortured, so great was the fear and envy of the Inuit. Holes were drilled into their heads by using a pitikserak (bow-drill). You asked if this was to let out the spirits. I don't think so--it was to inflict pain. Only people know how to do that.

"All this is so sad because there are no Tunit living here now. The few families that Atsiak saw died of disease they got from the whalers.

"I almost forgot to tell you about a family of Tunit who escaped from being killed. A long time ago some Inuit hunters came upon a camp of Tunit who were living on the east side of Baffin Island. The hunters were surprised and frightened at seeing this small camp and hid themselves behind rocks. They asked each other what they should do.

Some wanted to leave the place unseen, while a few of the others wanted to attack the camp and kill the Tunit. To kill a formidable enemy was to gain prestige in your own camp. In those days you could wear your pride on your nose." (It was a custom to have a single line tatooed across the bridge of the nose upon the killing of a powerful adversary.)

"The hunters who wanted to kill talked the hunters who didn't into joining them, and they attacked the camp. One family in the camp was preparing to go down the coast to hunt and so, by accident, were able to flee while others were being killed. The hunters were like drunk men after they killed the remaining people in the camp. They did not want a single Tunit to be alive, and so they decided to chase that poor family and kill them too.

"The hunters chased the family for days and days, going northward along the coast. Their hunger to kill was greater than the hunger in their bellies. Then a strange thing happened.

"The family turned their dogs away from the coast and drove their komatik (sled) towards the sea. It was during the coldest time of the year and the sea was frozen for many miles. But the hunters kept chasing them because they knew that the family could not turn back now, and eventually they would come to the open water between Baffin Island and Greenland. The hunters got closer and closer to the family. Even the dogs now got excited. It would be very soon when the final killing would take place.

"Then another strange thing happened. The family stopped fleeing. The old man who protected them turned to face the hunters with only his dog whip in his hand. He drew the whip back, and with all his strength whipped it towards the sky. There was a very loud crack. Then, like an echo, there were was an even louder crack that grew into a terrifying sound. The ice between the family and the hunters split with a great noise and water rushed upwards.

"The old man with the whip shouted words to the hunters which, though they could not understand, they knew the tone to be a powerful curse. Those who know of this thing say that the family did get to

Greenland. As for the hunters, they were despised. They still are, even as they now live only in story."

SHADOWS

A Spectre of Death

I was anxious to talk with the old man because he had experienced a great deal. He was considered to be a very good hunter and the kind of man to whom you would entrust your life, knowing that he knew how to survive under the most severe conditions. I have heard people talk of him and praise his abilities. I knew that he had been a companion of Lord Tweedsmuir when he spent a short time in the Arctic. He was a hunting companion of a friend of mine and knew many stories of the older hunters who were now dead.

The old man sat quietly in a chair and finally said, "I cannot tell you very much, so little has happened in my life and so many things have gone from my memory. You ask me questions and I will try to answer them, but I fear there is nothing much to say."

I asked him about Lord Tweedsmuir, but there was nothing that he could remember. I asked him about my friend, and a small glimmer came into his eyes. "Oh yes, I remember him. He was a good hunter. He was a **Hudluna** who knew how to live in the North. We called him Aupuktoh (red face), but there is nothing much that I can remember about him." The old man thought for a moment. "I can remember the first time that I saw a ship. It was the ship called 'Arctic'. I saw the ship when I was still a boy. It had a mast on it that was so tall I was sure that the ship would tip over when the first wave came against it. I was frightened, knowing that I would have to go on that ship because some of our people would leave **Ivujivik** (Arctic Quebec) and go to **Baffin** Island. There was much hunger in **Ivujivik** when I was young. We did not go into the ship but set up our tent on top. Yes, . ..we stayed in our tent on top of that ship that took us to **Baffin** Island."

I asked him if he knew Aleriak the shaman. "Oh yes, there are many people who knew Aleriak -- he was a powerful shaman. I was with other people who heard a spirit devouring Aleriak. You could hear animal sounds, you could hear the tearing of flesh and the crunching of bones coming from Aleriak's body. I know that you know other stories about Aleriak, so I will not repeat them to you.

"I knew another shaman, but I have forgotten his name, it was so long ago. This shaman came into a big tent after we had gathered there at his command. He put several things into the hood of his parka and walked out with them. He said he was going out to chase a spirit, but some of us thought that he was making an excuse to leave with some of our possessions. He stepped out of the tent, closed the tent flap and told us to wait. We could hear his footsteps and those of another as well. He soon returned to the tent, demanded a knife and then quickly left the tent again. This time he was gone for a long time. When he came back he was very strange. His knife was covered with blood, and there was blood all over his hands and blood frozen to his arms. He was possessed with spirits, and it took a long time for them to leave him. He became quiet and said, 'All of you may leave this tent now.'

"One of the hunters picked up the knife and smelled it. 'It smells like the blood of an udjuk (square flipper seal).' Everyone was surprised because no udjuk had been taken in that area for a long time. The shaman looked at my father and said, 'Go. Tomorrow there will be an udjuk in the bay and you will kill it.' And my father did see an udjuk and killed it, and we had food for our hungry bellies."

I asked other questions, but the old man seemed tired. I had the feeling that it was an effort for him to remember things and that it was politeness that kept him in his chair. I was both disappointed and frustrated, because I knew that beneath the overburden of time lay a wealth of stories and experiences to be told. I asked him one final question. "Is there anything in your life that can never be forgotten?" "Oh yes," he said, "hunger, starvation and dying.

"I am an old man who forgets things. Sometimes I remember pieces

of things, but now I need my wife to remind me of what has happened. The one thing I do not have to be reminded of is starvation. Dying of hunger still haunts me and it will until I die. You will never know what it's like to be starving. There were times when there were no caribou, no seals and no other food. People did starve in some of the camps. I remember my father telling of a time when he and some other hunters came across an old igloo and found the dead starved bodies of a family inside. There were pieces of meat missing from some of the bodies. He was never sure if they had been eaten by foxes or by the last person to die.

"Starving is something I have known more than once. I can still remember the burning pain in my stomach. You become so weak that there is no outward sign of suffering. You know that you are dying and you are helpless to even try to find food. Finally, you say to yourself, it's too bad but nothing can be done, it's too late. And you accept the coming of death. All you can do is wait and you know that death is about to swallow you.

"The first time I felt the burning pain of starvation was when I was a child. My father, mother, grandfather, grandmother and two aunts were together in a small camp in winter. We had run out of food and the weather was so bad that no one could go anywhere to find food. Though the grown-ups had nothing to eat, my mother kept me alive by feeding me small pieces of an old, sticky seal skin. We had eaten our dogs a long time ago and all that was left were bits of seal skin. My father became so weak that he could not get up even when the storm had passed.

"It was my grandparents who left the igloo. I don't know how they had the strength, but my grandfather took his gun and we were sure that we would never see them again. The next day, my father dragged himself to the entrance of the igloo, hoping to see a sign of his father and mother, and could not believe what he saw.

"A small herd of caribou were passing only a short distance from the igloo, and he called to my mother to bring the gun. She could not believe that there were caribou out there, but she managed to bring my father his gun and, with his last bit of strength, he shot a caribou. My

mother's feeling of joy turned to one of fear because she thought my father had died when he shot the caribou, but it was not so. He had passed out from weakness, even though there was food to save our lives just a short distance away.

"My mother managed to get us something to eat, and that same day, three more caribou could be seen in the distance. My father got his gun and crawled along the snow to try to kill another one. Then he saw them. He couldn't believe his eyes. His mother and father were returning -- they were alive.

"Later, my grandfather told us what had happened. He and his wife had found a sheltered place and lay huddled together to try and keep warm. They don't know how long they were there when a single bull caribou came very close to where they lay. My old grandfather shot the caribou and he and my grandmother cut pieces of it and put them into their parkas to carry back to us. They did not stay but turned around and came back to save us from dying. We survived.

"That spring a small group of hunters came by our camp to see if we were still alive. Oh yes, I remember starvation. I can remember being in camps with other families when the only food left to eat was so rotten that you could cut it by pinching it with your fingers.

"You asked me if it was true that, during the period of great hardship, the oldest people would leave the camp to die so that the younger ones might have a better chance to live. It is not true, at least not in my experience. From the youngest to the oldest we shared everything. We shared food and we shared suffering.

"If you were my son, I would say to you, always behave yourself. Understand kindness and never be a threat to others. The greatest hurt that you can ever throw at me is not obeying these things I asked of you. The greatest gift that you can ever give to me is food for our family."

Mi'kut and the Shaman

"Sometimes we hear stories that are the children of someone's imagination, and sometimes we hear stories that are real and very hard to

understand. I will tell you two such stories, told to me by my father. He had not heard of these stories. He saw the events with his own eyes. They only became stories when other people began to talk about them.

"There was an old man who once lived here called Mirkut. He had no children, no wife and no skills that can make one a special person. No one paid much attention to Mirkut, who lived in a little tent across the bay within sight of the village. He did a little seal-hunting in and around the bay, but he was too old to go on long trips or out to sea. Somehow he managed to get just enough food to keep living. Each time the hunters left the village they would pass by his camp. Each time they saw signs of life, and some would wonder if old Mirkut would live forever.

"One night, when some of the hunters were unloading their boats down by the shore, flames could be seen burning from Mirkut's camp. We knew that there was nothing that we could do to save the old man and that he must have been burned in that horrible fire.

"The next day, some of the older men paddled across the bay to put stones over Mirkut's burned body, so that the foxes could not eat his remains. As they came around the point of land, they were surprised and frightened, because the camp was still there. They called out, 'Mirkut, Mirkut,' but the old man was nowhere to be seen.

"The men cautiously landed and walked with a feeling of fear to his camp, calling out his name. Nothing in the camp had been touched by the fire. They looked everywhere around the camp and there was no sign of a fire anywhere. The most frightening thing of all was when they went into his tent and saw the impression of his body, as if he were still laying in his bed. Only then did they smell the smell that lives in an old fire-pit. Mirkut had vanished forever.

"Now I will tell you my second story. This too was witnessed by my father and not only the Inuit know of it, but there was a Hudluna who was a part of the strange thing that happened.

"As you know, there are good and there are evil shaman. There was an old woman whose name I have forgotten who was an evil shaman. She was so feared by everyone that no one would dare to cross her path. We were told by the young minister who came to our village that there were

no such things as real shaman and that what we thought were magical powers was nothing more than our own fear of things we didn't understand -- yet the book from which he read was full of magic.

"No matter what he said, we continued to fear the old woman and secretly wished her dead. That same winter, when the four stars called Kutujuo (collar bone) were in their night-time position, the shaman died. None of us wanted to go into her house, but we knew that we couldn't leave her body there and that we would have to bury her behind the village. We asked the Hudluna minister if he would go to the house and see if the old woman was truly dead.

"He said that he would go and pray for her soul, and that if she had died last night he would help us bury her. We followed him to the house, and he went in alone. He stayed in there for a long time, and when he came out, he looked terrible. He spoke to some of the old men and after much urging, together they went into the house and brought out the old woman wrapped in her bedcovers and buried her behind the village.

"That Hudluna is gone from our village, but what happened will remain for many lifetimes. He had entered a house so cold that the tea was frozen in the mug, and his breath came out in clouds. He looked at the body of the old woman lying dead in her bed. There was frost on her face, but when he touched her body, it felt like fire. The minister never wanted to talk about what happened, ever again."

A Silent Song

Reflections, shades and shadows may also be used to describe the spirits of a remarkable man. One such man was Qiatsuk. He lived most of his life on the land and spent his last five or six years documenting in drawings everything that he had experienced. It was by examining his drawings and talking with his family and friends that I learned things about him and the spaces in which he lived.

Qiatsuk was a fine hunter. He was a person so intimate with his environment that he was often consulted by others before they would go out on long hunting trips. He was a singer of old songs. It was said that when he was carving one of his exquisite bears, he could be heard

singing softly to the creature emerging from the stone. Qiatsuk was an historian renowned for his remarkable memory of events long passed. He was highly repected, for he had the ability to see and do things beyond the powers of ordinary people. Qiatsuk was a shaman.

Hunter, historian, singer, artist, weatherman and shaman, what was it that intrigued me when I studied his drawings? Perhaps two things stand out clearly: there are many gentle, even humorous, themes and there are violent and terrible depictions in his work. As I began to learn more about him, the content of a shadow was revealed.

Certain events occur in each person's life that are so powerful that they remain as a kind of "cut-out" which gives a particular shape to things seen by the person throughout his or her life. I wanted to know what were the most beautiful thing and the most frightening thing that entered into Qiatsuk's life.

The most beautiful thing he had experienced was having a place where the land, sea and sky were inhabited with game, where hunger was infrequent and where a man had time to think of what moved the forces around him. The most frightening thing was a terrible event that occurred during his childhood.

A fear greater than the fear of dying is the dread of being eaten. A man driven to hunger because he is a poor hunter is not only hungry but also ashamed before other men who can find food. Such a man came to the camp where Qiatsuk lived when he was a child.

There was very little food in the camp, and the stranger began to kill people for what little food they had. The survivors found out that he was eating the bodies of those he had killed, and Qiatsuk's family fled for their lives along with the others. Fleeing from the man-eater did not save them from death; some were to die later of starvation. I asked why they didn't kill the man-eater and was told, "because they were afraid of killing him."

Some time after the killings, the man-eater returned to being a normal man and was cared for by a family from another camp. As winter approached, he again became strange. The family who cared for him was afraid that he would once more turn into a man-eater, and so they killed

him. They were not afraid of the man because he had not yet returned to being a man-eater.

This experience remained in the back of Qiatsuk's mind throughtout his life; he was also afraid of storms and many other things. The words “fear”, “frightening” and “frightful” are often used. Perhaps it was because they had a real understanding of those perils which a man should fear, that Qiatsuk and his ancestors survived in one of the harshest environments on earth.

Being continuously alert to danger caused a state of mind explained to me by an old hunter: “It makes you always prepared to take advantage of whatever is about to happen. Being a great hunter doesn’t make you less afraid of storms at sea or of storms when the land disappears into whiteness.

"In the old days we were afraid of offending spirits, because everything in the world that we knew was governed by them. This fear caused us to respect all things.

“When you respect things, you know about them, and it is very important to know about many things. The old hunters not only knew the signs of what was about to happen, but as well could read the shapes of every rock and island all along this coast. Some of us today still know them. Some of us today still know where the Tunit once lived and where the inukshuit stand. I can show you places where the Tunit hunted whales so big that they made houses with their bones. There are many places where they lived all along this coast. You will see them when Qiatsuk's son takes you to the camp his father loved most. There is no one living there now -- it is very quiet at Igalalik. Tiama."

Igalakik means “the imagined window”, and "Tiama" can mean, “I am finished speaking.”

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