AN ESKIMO COMMUNITY

by

William E. Willmott

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
McGill University,
Montréal

April 1959

ᓴᓪᓕᐊᓂᒃ ᓴᓇᔨᓪᓗ ᓯᓚᑦᓪᓗ
ᓄᓇᕗᑦᑐᖅ ᑲᑎᕐᕕᖏᓪᓗ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᓂᖅ
ᐊᒥᐊᓕᒃᑐᓂ

PREFACE

Not long after my arrival at Port Harrison, I participated in a joyous evening of Eskimo dance. I was struck by the athletic vigour of the dance, for example, the pressure with which the young women grasped my hand in the "grand right-and-left" that forms the chorus of every dance. Since I was enjoying myself immensely, I returned the squeeze to the girls with equal pressure. Late that night I wrote in my notes: "Eskimos dance with great vigour."

It was only after I had returned south that I discovered from Mr. Asen Balikçi of the National Museum in Ottawa that one function of the dance is to allow lovers to select their partners for the remainder of the night after the dance. The invitation is offered by a strong grasp in the grand right-and-left, and the acceptance of the invitation is an equally healthy grip the next time around. I have mixed feelings when I think of the number of attractive young women whose invitations I so unwittingly and enthusiastically accepted, and who were subsequently disappointed by the inhuman ethnographer.

There is a lesson in this story or I would not have told it. It indicates that what is observed, while perfectly true, may differ significantly

from what is meant by any behaviour pattern. That Eskimo women "dance with great vigour" is entirely true, but it is a pitifully superficial explanation of what is actually happening at the dance.

This thesis is based almost entirely on observational data. I believe that it does not represent in every aspect as naive and superficial a description of the Eskimo way of life as does my description of the dance. Nevertheless, let the dance stand as a warning to the reader that I am fully aware of the fact that my work represents nothing more than a small beginning of our understanding of the Port Harrison Eskimos.

Nor does it even represent a beginning, for anyone working among the Eskimo soon discovers the wealth of material that has been written throughout the history of contact. My first acknowledgment must be, therefore, to the many writers — adventurers and explorers as well as anthropologists — to whom I am indebted for my interest and the beginnings of my knowledge of the Eskimos of Québec.

I would like to express my thanks to my many friends at Port Harrison who so patiently suffered my immature lack of Eskimo language and manners. Lukasi and Iva Naujakulluk, Miaji Inukpak, Kalai Ipuk, and especially Siaja and Simiuni to whom this thesis is dedicated — all these spent long hours correcting and teaching me, offering their friendship, cooking and washing for me. To these delightful new friends go very special thanks.

My thanks also go to the "whites" at Port Harrison for their hospitality and help throughout the summer to this inscrutable person who might have been considered as threatening to narrower people.

The field work for this study was done under the auspices of the

Northern Research Coordination Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, whose chief research officer, Mr. Vic Valentine, and director, Mr. Graham Rowley, deserve much more thanks than I can publicly give for their work in assuring my visit to Port Harrison.

A grant from the McGill-Carnegie Arctic Scholarship Committee has made possible the academic year during which the analytic work and writing was completed.

My debt to Dr. Jacob Fried and Dr. Toshio Yatsushiro, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at McGill, cannot be measured, since my entire education in anthropology has been their concern. Dr. Yatsushiro has served as adviser at all stages of this work.

Mrs. Helen Morrison deserves great credit, not only for doing the tremendous mechanical job of typing this thesis, but also for constantly having taken the time to check spelling and syntax in a manuscript no ordinary human could have deciphered.

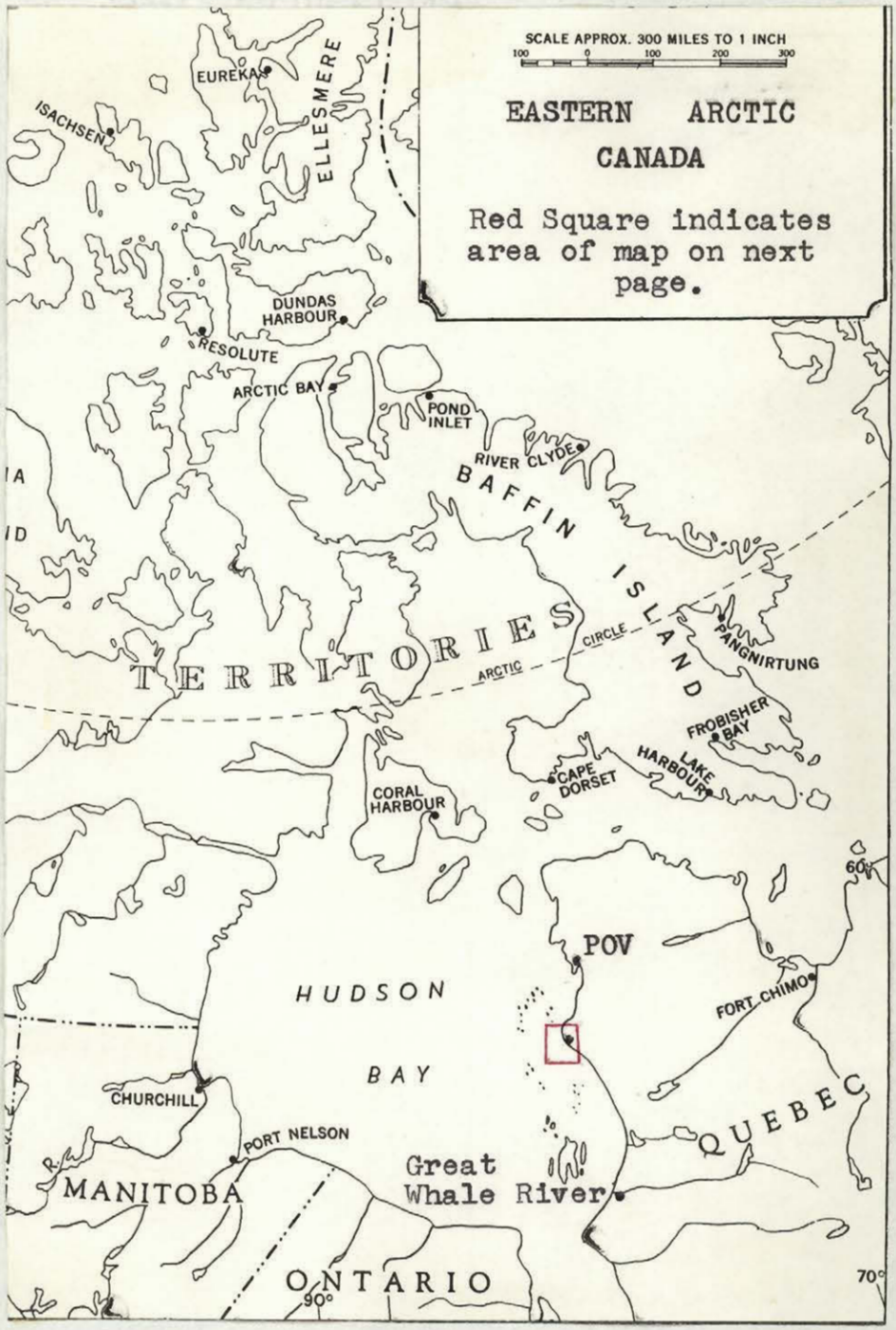
Finally, I express my constant and increasing indebtedness to my wife, Patricia, whose help, patience, and wit have made it possible to complete this work in relative sanity.

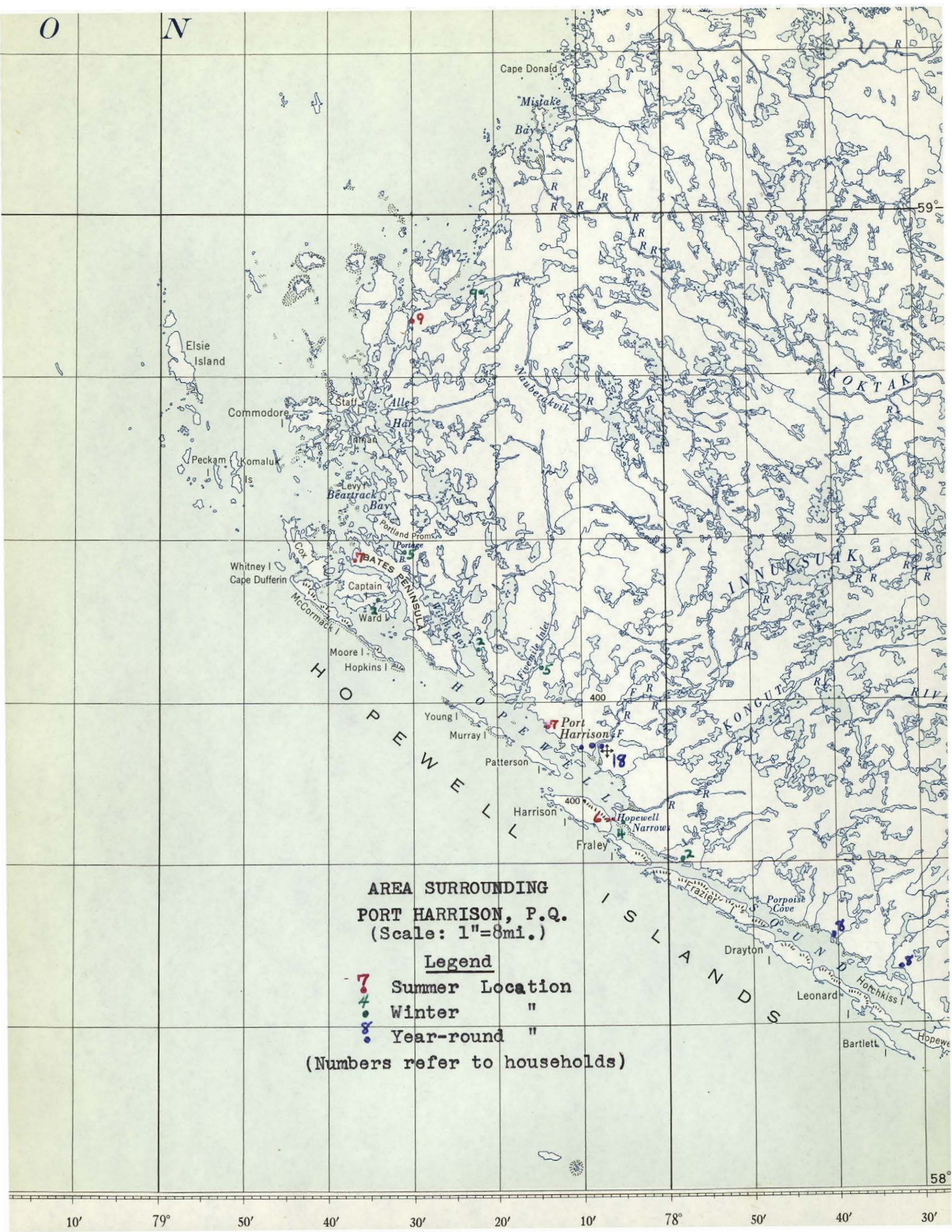
W.E.W.
McGill University
April, 1959

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

FIGURES


SCALE APPROX. 300 MILES TO 1 INCH
100 0 100 200 300
EASTERN ARCTIC
CANADA
Red Square indicates area of map on next page.
EUREKA
ISACHSEN
ELLESMERE
DUNDAS HARBOUR
RESOLUTE
ARCTIC BAY
POND INLET
RIVER CLYDE
BAFFIN ISLAND
TERRITORIES
ARCTIC CIRCLE
PANGNIRTUNG
FROBISHER BAY
LAKE HARBOUR
CAPE DORSET
CORAL HARBOUR
60°
POV
FORT CHIMO
HUDSON BAY
CHURCHILL
PORT NELSON
MANITOBA
Great Whale River
QUEBEC
ONTARIO
90°
70°



AREA SURROUNDING
PORT HARRISON, P.Q.
(Scale: 1"=8mi.)

Legend

7 Summer Location
4 Winter "
8 Year-round "

(Numbers refer to households)

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

At a point on the Québec side of Hudson Bay, directly across from Churchill, Manitoba, lies Port Harrison, a community of three hundred and forty Eskimos and thirty whites.[1] The Eskimo name for this settlement is Inukjuak,[2] which, according to an Eskimo informant, means "many people." It was evidently a large settlement of Eskimos for hundreds of years before the Hudson's Bay Company began to trade there and gave it its English name. Ruins of stone houses nearby indicate that even in Dorset times Eskimos inhabited this point in great numbers.[3]

Port Harrison has never been an important centre of Canadian activity in the Arctic. Too far north for the Mid-Canada Line of radar stations, and too far south for the Distant Early Warning Line, too poor in minerals or too poorly explored, the only interest that Canadian society has in the area is as the centre of Eskimo life on the east coast of Hudson Bay. With the sudden growth in the last decade of Great Whale River to the south, even this distinction no longer belongs to Inukjuak, and it remains a conservative pocket in the quickly changing Canadian Arctic.

Historically, contact with Inukjuak has come from the south.

The Hudson's Bay Company established its factory at Moose River at the bottom of James Bay as early as 1730.[4] From there, outposts spread up the east coast of James Bay and finally of Hudson Bay itself. An outpost was maintained at Little Whale River, two hundred miles south of Inukjuak, from 1749 to 1754,[5] when it was evacuated because of a massacre. In 1759 a permanent trading post was established at Great Whale River.

Prior to the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the east main, its yearly supply ships, as well as other explorers, had moved up the eastern coast of Hudson Bay. Captain Coates describes the entire coastline in detail in his Geography of Hudson's Bay, based on voyages between 1727 and 1751.[6]

Much interest was aroused in the area of Harrison around 1744 because of the erroneous belief that there was "...a great inland lake...within the East Main from Hudson's Bay, betwixt Sleeper's Isle and Cape Smith in Latitude 59° which is two or three hundred Leagues in Circumferance."[7] In 1786, Davison sailed to Mistake Bay (see map) to examine this "inland lake" as a possible alternative route to the Atlantic. He reported bartering with the Eskimos, who were extremely desirous of any metal.[8] This indicates that even at this late date the Hudson's Bay Company was not in regular trade with these Eskimos.

During the nineteenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company undoubtedly carried on trade with the Eskimos at Inukjuak, possibly even establishing an outpost there. "Unfortunately, not having post status, records were not always kept of these outposts,"[9] so it is not possible to say for certain whether or not this was the case.

Even as late as 1900, bow and arrow were still being used to the south of Harrison at Great Whale River.[10] Guns gradually replaced the bow in

Harrison between 1860 and 1910, so that by 1925, the bow had been completely supplanted by the gun.[11]

A white population was not established at Harrison until 1909, when Révillon Frères opened a trading post there. They were followed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920, and the two companies competed for trappers throughout the peak fox years 1927-31.

The Port Harrison Eskimos first came into contact with Christianity through Rev. E. J. Peck, "the Apostle of the Eskimos." He established a mission at Great Whale River around 1880, from which he journeyed up the coast and inland as far as Ungava Bay. Through his work, the Eskimos also learned to read "Eskimo syllabics," a system of writing worked out by the missionaries for the Cree Indians and adapted to Eskimoan. His work was carried on by the Rev. W. G. Walton from 1892.[12]

It is altogether likely that all the Eskimos in the area had been converted to Anglican Christianity before the establishment of St. Thomas' Anglican Mission at Port Harrison in 1927. Since that time, the mission has been tended more or less regularly by missionaries who count the total adult Eskimo population on their church roll.

In 1935 both RCMP and the Department of Transport moved into Port Harrison. The D.O.T. established a radio transmitter to aid the growing marine traffic in the area. The RCMP detachment represented the Canadian government in the area. It closed down three years later, but re-opened in 1945. It is manned by two men.

A radiosonde station was opened at Harrison by the D.O.T. in 1943 to study stratospheric weather. It was converted in 1954 to rawinsonde in order to measure stratospheric wind velocity as well. This station is manned by four men.

In 1947 the settlement was augmented by the addition of a nursing station run by the Indian and Eskimo Health Service, Department of Indian Affairs. Its nursing staff is responsible to Moose Factory Indian Hospital at Moose Factory, Ont.

The Department of Northern Affairs organized a school in January, 1950, with Miss E. M. Hinds the first teacher. Buildings were built in 1951 to house the school and the teacher.

In 1936, Hudson's Bay Company bought out Révillon Frères, but another competitor, Baffin Trading Company, built a post at Harrison which operated from 1939 until the end of that company in 1949. The Baffin Trading Company was located about a mile from the settlement in what has since become Baffin Bay.

From this brief historical note, it is apparent that although the Eskimos have been in contact with whites for over two hundred years, the period of continuous contact and white settlement began about fifty years ago, and the principal influx of white population into the area has been in the last two decades.

Situated at the mouth of the Innuksuak River (kuuk inukjuak), Port Harrison is about two hundred miles north of the tree line, built on solid rock slopes covered with lichens, moss, and grass. The long line of Hopewell Islands stretches for fifty miles in each direction, providing a sheltered waterway used by the Eskimos for most of their summer travel. Port Harrison is in a well-protected sound, with a deep harbour entrance.

At the settlement today live all the whites and seventy-five Eskimos. Each Eskimo family has one or more members working for one of the various establishments: The Federal Day School, Hudson's Bay Company, St. Thomas'

Anglican Mission, Indian and Eskimo Health Service nursing station, Department of Transport radio station VAL, R.C.M.P., and D.O.T. rawinsonde station.

The remaining 263 Eskimos live in seven camps scattered along a hundred miles of coast line. These camps are from one to fifty miles travel distance from Harrison, and range from three to ten households in size during the summer. Three of these camps exhibit a high degree of organization, three others are loose conglomerates that split up at various times of the year. The remaining camp, comprising three households, is only one mile from the settlement, and may be considered part of it for the purposes of this study.

Plan of Thesis

This thesis is concerned with the examination of the social organization in Eskimo society around Port Harrison. It is primarily descriptive, based on the conviction that such a study can provide useful material both for anthropologists and for all those whose interest or responsibility lies in the Canadian Arctic.

But before beginning this description, it is necessary to do two things. First, it will be useful to outline the theoretical basis that underlies the selection and organization of the data. This will be done in the second chapter of this introductory Part One.

Secondly, the background facts of geography and demography must be presented. Without this material, which forms part of the environment of Eskimo social organization, the analysis would be incomplete. Part Two will deal with this background material.

The main body of descriptive material will constitute Part Three, organized into chapters on the different aspects of society.

The thesis will be completed in a brief closing part that will include analysis and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The purpose of this chapter is to make explicit the theoretical assumptions that underlie the organization and presentation of data in the following descriptive chapters. The nature of the material does not lend itself to facile inclusion in any existing model. On the one hand, the data being primarily observed patterns of social organization, a structural-functional analysis appears most fruitful. On the other, since the situation is one of social change, a strictly functional approach is inadequate to describe the process.

I have attempted to overcome this problem by defining two distinct categories[1] within the society that are differentially acculturated toward dominant Canadian patterns. These categories are the settlement and the camp. The data indicates differences between these categories, and these differences may be used to formulate a view of social change in the area.

In order to make this model explicit, it is necessary to discuss the use of functionalism in describing social change in a situation of contact between cultures. This chapter will therefore deal in turn with: 1) the definition of the contact situation, 2) the functional approach, or functionalism, and 3) the use of the functional approach to describe social change. This discussion will develop a model for the analysis of social change that is specific

to the problem at hand: the description of Port Harrison Eskimo society.

The Contact Situation

The discipline of anthropology has shifted emphasis in recent years from the study of monadic, independent, stable societies to the analysis of the contact situation. A few decades ago, the ethnographer in the field was primarily concerned with reconstructing a dying culture, usually by interviewing the oldest members of the society and asking them for their recollections of how the society functioned before the "white man" disturbed the equilibrium. In part, this was based on the concept that societies were somehow only genuine, pure, or integrated, if they were free from the "destructive" influence of another society with more advanced technology.[2] According to this view, society in contact somehow lacked "integrity", including the implication of moral soundness as well as the more legitimate concept of integration.

But now ethnographers in the field usually study society as it exists. Reconstruction is still attempted, of course, but in order to gain historical perspective on extant social relations, the emphasis has shifted from past to present — and present implies the contact situation. For it has become increasingly difficult to discover societies, even by reconstruction that are free from Western influence.[3] Furthermore, as anthropology became an accepted field of scientific study, the services of anthropologists were demanded for solving practical problems of colonial administration or technological aid. These tasks moved the anthropologist to study the problems of acculturation, the influence on a technologically backward society of various agents of Western culture from industrialized countries.[4]

Another reason for this shift of emphasis has been the gradual realization that there has never been such a thing as a "static society", nor an "isolated society." Historical and anthropological research have destroyed the ethnocentric concept that Western man brought change and contact to backward peoples, who were in a state of perpetual stability, isolated not only from the West, but from each other and from other civilizations.[5] That concept has been replaced by a more dynamic model of societies changing at different rates and constantly influenced to a greater or lesser degree by interdependent relations with their neighbours — and even with distant complex civilizations with which they traded. Such a model has given added importance to the study of the modern contact situation, for it places it in proper perspective as the acute example of a normal process.

The original model of stable monadic societies produced what could be called a Newtonian conception of contact. Strictly defined and well-integrated societies collided with each other, always causing friction proportional to the total velocity at the collision and the relative inertias of the two societies. It was assumed that societies resist change, as any object resists acceleration in the Newtonian universe. Further, it was assumed that cultures, systems of value orientations[6], even more vigorously resisted change.

A more dynamic view of societies has allowed anthropologists to refine the contact model. Societies and cultures may be selective in their resistance to change, certain areas accepting change more readily than others. Acceptance of traits may be selective in terms of the nature of the trait — or more exactly, the nature of the relationship between the borrowed trait and the rest of the culture.[7] Even more important, it is impossible to distinguish absolutely between change within a society — invention — and change

from without — diffusion. As Malinowski says:

> Every cultural achievement is due to a process or growth in which diffusion and invention have equal shares. As independent entities, neither invention nor diffusion ever takes place in the sense that you could either spontaneously generate an idea or pour it out from one head into another. Diffusion and invention are always mixed, always inseparable.[8]

Whatever is invented is influenced by what is borrowed, and what is borrowed is inventively modified by the existing patterns of behaviour.

The Wilsons, in a book entitled The Analysis of Social Change, have made a further useful refinement of the contact model by introducing the concept of scale. Neither societies nor local groups can be conceived of as objects with definite boundaries separating them from adjoining societies, as the Newtonian model would suggest. They define society as "the extent of conscious relations, contemporary and historical," recognizing that "societies overlap and shade into one another," depending on the point of reference of the analysis.[9] The obvious advantage of this model is that it can be used to describe change in terms of the increase of scale of any society — the enlarging of the area of relations recognized by the members of the society. The process of enlarging scale universally accompanies contact.[10]

Recently, Spicer has suggested that it is more realistic to consider societies as normally accepting change than to consider them as resisting it. What is resisted by a society is loss of autonomy over the various aspects of culture. Acceptance of change is normal, provided there is understanding and independence.[11] All these ideas have contributed to the evolving of this more dynamic concept of contract that has begun to dispel the myth that contact inevitably results in conflict and cultural disintegration. What was considered a necessary concomitant of contact appears

rather to be a result of loss of cultural autonomy.

It is not surprising that such confusions occurred, however, since a large number of contact situations in the age of growing imperialism resulted in loss of local autonomy and considerable conflict. This was true both of government action and of action by economic interest.

Military expansion by governments of industrialized countries brought many aspects of indigenous culture under the jurisdiction of colonial administrators, causing conflict. At times peoples that resisted subjugation were destroyed. For instance, John Collier has written of the "planned and implemented destruction of the Indian societies" by the United States Government.[12] The genocide practised by the Nazis is an even more terrifying example, if only that it involved many more people and more industrial methods.[13]

In many cases, large companies have been the first or principal agents of culture from industrialized countries. At home these companies were already coming under the limitation of minimal measures to protect the welfare of the public. Abroad, however, these companies could introduce measures seeking to maximize profits without concern for their effect on the well-being of indigenous populations. Such measures ranged from slavery to unscrupulous trading of trinkets for furs. Speaking of the practices of the Hudson's Bay Company in the eighteenth century, a Mr. Fitzgerald says, -

> Civilization has been to them (American Indians), not the sun that warms, but the lightning that scorches; and under its influence, instead of growing and advancing in the scale of humanity, the North American Indian seems to have shrivelled still farther into the very decrepitude of barbarism.[14]

One important contributor to the destruction of the Newtonian model of culture contact has been Bronislaw Malinowski. He suggested that the contact situation itself could be studied as a functioning society.[15]

Malinowski opposed those who used the method of historical reconstruction to the exclusion of comparative sociology.[16] Very often ethnographers study peoples whose history is not recorded — except in books of travel written by European adventurers who were more concerned with story than with veracity.[17] The result was that much of the historical research being done by ethnographers of his day was what Radcliffe-Brown calls "conjectural history"[18] — that is, reconstruction of history by logical inference based on dubious premises.

Gluckman criticized Malinowski for rejecting the historical method in toto when he rejected conjecture.[19] It may be true that Malinowski was somewhat one-sided in discounting this valid and necessary area of anthropological research. But in the very one-sidedness of his emphasis, he has greatly helped in directing fieldworkers away from the past, as we described above, and focusing their attention on the more important area of present contact.

Malinowski viewed the contact situation as an entity distinguishable from both the traditional society and the invading European culture:

> The task of the fieldworker cannot consist in disengaging and reassorting the black and white elements of the imaginary conglomerate, for the reality of culture change is not a conglomerate, nor a mixture, nor yet a juxtaposition of partially fused elements.[20]

or again:

> When we come to institutions which are the result of contact and change, we find again that they are neither completely moved by European influences nor yet by African, but obey a specific determinism of their own.[21]

It is not possible to look at the situation in terms of sorting the elements that came from tribal society from those that were European in origin, for it is a functioning society that can be studied with structural-functional methodology.

Such an approach has obvious drawbacks. Gluckman has pointed out that historical study need not detract from a functional analysis of the contact situation. Furthermore, Malinowski's concept of how change comes about, through the effect on institutions of functionally equivalent institutions, is not useful, nor is it entirely consistent with even his own concept of functionalism, for it neglects cultural integration.

But whatever the criticism, it is now accepted by most fieldworkers that the functional approach to the contact situation is highly useful. The contact situation represents a society that is "working", and as such may be examined to see how its various parts contribute to its maintenance.

The Functional Approach

But having fulfilled an important role in turning attention to the contact situation, Malinowski did not succeed in describing how that situation could be studied. Although he put forward a theory of functionalism, and even professed to founding the "school of functionalism",[22] his functional theory was of questionable use to the comparative sociologist, because it involved several levels of scientific analysis.[23] Malinowski makes this explicit in the following passage:

> Functionalism would not be functional after all unless it could define the concept of function ... by a ... definite and concrete reference to what actually occurs and what can be observed ... such a definition is provided by showing that human

> institutions ... are related to primary, that is biological, or derived, that is cultural needs. Function means, therefore, always the satisfaction of a need.[24]

Function is thus described not at the sociological level, but in relation to a psycho-biological level and a cultural level where "primary" and "derived needs" can be located.[25] As Malinowski says, "The theory of needs and their derivation gives us a more definitely functional analysis of the relation between biological, physiological and cultural determinism.[26]

Although there can be no objection in principle to a scientist attempting to construct models that explain relations between levels of scientific enquiry, the use of these models at one particular level may prove to be difficult. Malinowski, in deriving institutions from physio-psychological needs, ended with the incorrect view that institutions in the contact situation change under the impact of functionally equivalent institutions from another society.[27] It has been demonstrated repeatedly that whatever the function of an institution in Western society, its effect on another society is diffused throughout various institutions. A good example of this is the excellent case-study done by Lauriston Sharp on the introduction of the steel axe to the Yir Yoront.[28] What is essentially an economic trait affects not only economic institutions among the Yir Yoront, but also status, family, totemic clan, and even religious idea systems — aspects of culture whose functions have little or nothing to do with the function of the steel axe in Western culture.

Aside from these incorrect consequences, the theory of institutions that relates each to a biological or derived "need" is a dubious functionalism at best. For a function is not determined by a non-social need, but rather the result of the social system itself. As Bredemeier says, "It is

the organization of the larger system which generates the need for the sub-system to perform its function."[29]

The explanation of sociological and culturological phenomena by relating them to other levels of analysis, as Malinowski has attempted to do, may prove misleading. If it is attempted before we have adequately developed concepts within the sociological level itself, it may result in the type of error mentioned above. Or it may result in the meaningless inclusion of infinite causation for every social fact. As Leslie White says, it is not necessary to "embrace the cosmos every time a sparrow falls."[30] Furthermore, such multi-level conceptualization necessitates a wealth of material unavailable in the present study — personality patterns, values, and normative culture patterns. Since the data here relate primarily to social organizations, the conceptualization is more fruitfully limited to the social level.

The identification of the social level and its examination in terms of concepts specific to itself has been the constant plea of many social scientists besides Leslie White, who was, after all, more concerned with the identification and definition of the cultural rather than the social level.[31] Among these social scientists, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown ranks high for his contribution to the understanding of a sociological functional theory.

Like Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown rejected what he called conjectural history, which seemed to be the principal occupation of the earlier ethnologists. Instead, he posed the problem for comparative sociology, in which he included social anthropology, "as a theoretical or nomothetic study of which the aim is to provide acceptable generalizations."[32] This is

achieved by studying the process of social life in terms of regularities, which he described as "forms of social life."[33] These forms can be viewed either in terms of structure — their relation to one another — or in terms of function, their contribution to the maintenance of that structure.

> The function of any recurrent activity ... is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity. The concept of function as here defined thus involves the notion of a structure, consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities, the continuity of the structure being maintained by a life-process made up of the activities of the constituent units."[34]

That this functional theory is derived by analogy from physiology is admitted by Radcliffe-Brown.[35] But he makes it clear that this analogy breaks down, since in sociology it is impossible to view the structure except as an abstraction from the process, and since changes in structural type may and do occur during the life of any society.[36]

Function is thus the relationship between process and structure, since it views process in terms of its contribution to the maintenance of the structure.

No attempt will be made to argue the case for functionalism from the empirical data presented in this thesis. Rather, it will be a hypothesis in the sense of an assumption about the relationship between items and the total Eskimo social system. If the arrangement of the data in terms of this assumption provides a meaningful picture of the society, this work will have provided another small contribution to the testing of the assumption.

On the other hand, it is not naively assumed that every item of Eskimo society necessarily has a function. There may indeed be forms of process

that persist without making any apparent contribution to the structure. All the functional approach to society can say is that it is valid to search for the function of any existing form. As Merton says, "that all culture items fulfill vital functions ... is a problem for investigation, not a conclusion in advance of investigation."[37] Or to put it another way, Radcliffe-Brown states:-

> The idea of functional unity of a social system is, of course, a hypothesis. But it is one which, to the functionalist, it seems worth while to test by systematic examination of the facts.[38]

Before going on to the problem of social change, there is one matter that must be discussed. It might well be argued that the white establishments at Port Harrison are an integral part of the society if it is viewed from the functional approach. And yet this study has little to say about them. The fact is that the whites constitute a social group almost entirely separated from the Eskimos, and one that impinges upon Eskimo society only at those points where each establishment comes into contact with the Eskimos in order to fulfill its specific manifest function.[39] In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, the radio station, and the rawinsonde, such contact is primarily in terms of dependence on Eskimo labour. In the case of the school, mission, nursing station, and RCMP, the contact is primarily in terms of ministering to what they have defined as "needs" of the Eskimo population: education, Christianity, health, and legality. In discussing the Port Harrison Eskimo society, therefore, it will be necessary to mention the white establishments only as they separately affect it, without dealing with their inter-relations as a social group. Aside from these instrumental

contacts, relations between the two cultural groups correspond to the caste pattern so often evident in similar contact situations.[40]

Functionalism and Social Change

A serious problem arises with the functional model in attempting to discuss social change. Although Radcliffe-Brown lists "the problem of development" as an area for sociological research,[41] he does not treat it at length as he does the problems of structure and function. The bias of the functional approach is toward viewing society as equilibrium, and one sees this bias in all the functionalists from Durkheim to Parsons,[42] Radcliffe-Brown included. All see society as differentiating along functional lines and consequently all treat status quo as reality.[43]

Merton has tried to overcome this bias by introducing the concept of dysfunction:

> The concept of dysfunction, which implies the concept of strain, stress and tension on the structural level, provides an analytic approach to the study of dynamics and change.[44]

The concept of dysfunctional differentiation in society provides the sociologist with the tool to examine social disequilibrium and social change.

That dysfunctional differentiation exists even in simple societies, cannot be disputed, for the very divisions that are functional produce dysfunctions as well. An obvious example is the blood-feud resulting from clan and family divisions that are fundamental to social organization.[45]

In describing social change at Port Harrison, this study defines a nonfunctional[46] rather than dysfunctional division — the division that

exists between camp and settlement. The differentiation between camp and settlement results directly from the intrusion of the white establishments into Eskimo society, has nothing to do with functional differentiation within Eskimo society itself. In almost every area of social life, differences are apparent between these two groups. We shall refer to those who live in the settlement as settlement Eskimos, those in the camp as camp Eskimos.

Although the differentiation between camp and settlement has been defined as nonfunctional, such a division may become dysfunctional in the sense that it weakens the more traditional forces of solidarity operative in kinship, family, exchange, and recreation. Should the social order move into the entrepreneurial stage of economic development, this division might well be the basis for a class division in the Marxist sense of an exploiting and an exploited class.[47]

Since the differences between camp and settlement are unilaterally in the direction of dominant Canadian culture patterns, these two groups can be viewed as representing different levels in the acculturation process.[48] Viewed in this light, we might isolate a third level, intermediary between camp and settlement, represented by those camps that do not have a leader or strong community organization. Unfortunately, these leaderless camps, of which there are three in the area, were not studied as extensively as the settlement and the more highly organized camps.

In the comparison of camp and settlement we see the historical shift from community-centred organization, with well-defined leadership, to a situation where there is little indigenous community organization and each household is an independent unit, interrelated in a complex economic system

that embraces a large portion of the world. We thus are using a synchronic difference to examine dischronic change.

The study of social change through comparison of synchronic communities is not new, Robert Redfield having outlined and used a similar approach in Mexico and Guatamala.[49] His "folk-urban continuum" is used as a hypothesis to analyze both social change and observable differences between communities existing at the same point in time. The continuum has therefore both historical and geographic relevance, is both diachronic and synchronic.

Redfield's folk-urban continuum is a construct made of two ideal types. One of these, the folk society, he describes at length in an article in the American Journal of Sociology.[50] He makes it clear that this is an ideal type in the Weberian sense, rather than an abstracted concept, that is, a methodological tool rather than a conclusion from empirical findings.

As an ideal type, the "folk society" cannot be criticized for its lack of correspondence to social facts, for the ideal type by definition does not correspond to social facts, as Oscar Lewis admits in his criticism of Redfield's hypothesis.[51] Nevertheless, the usefulness of an ideal type, which can be the only criterion for judging it, is related to whether or not it points up the crucial areas of research. The "folk society" described by Redfield outlines a series of factors and proposes a high correlation between them, a correlation that Lewis claims is not always the case.[52] A good example of this from the present study is found in the area of kinship. From the point of view of changing community organization, we have postulated a direction of change from the camp to the settlement through an intermediary stage of leaderless camp. But from the point of view of kinship, the leaderless camp is the local group in which kinship ties are the most important;

they are less important in an organized camp, least important in the settlement.

I do not, therefore, consider the ideal type presented by Redfield as a useful hypothesis for this study. Nevertheless, his attempt to examine different local groups as differentially acculturated can provide insight into the process, and is therefore a useful approach. It will be used here as an aid in the construction of a classificatory scheme for the data, rather than to examine the material in the light of an ideal type. The generalizations of this study are therefore specific to the problem at hand.

In the present study, the basic change is not essentially one of urbanization. Rather, it is the shift from subsistence production to wage-labour which appears to be fundamental to all the social changes that are seen in comparing camp and settlement. This shift not only implies a change in patterns of daily life. It also represents the total entrance into a money economy which was begun when the Eskimos began trapping. The result is profound change in every aspect of culture, including social organization, which is the subject of this study.

But whereas the shift from subsistence production to wage-labour may be considered typical of the process of acculturation throughout the world, it must be pointed out that the nature of that shift in this case is not typical. It is not the entrance of the Eskimo into industry as a worker which is often the case in other parts of the Canadian Arctic as well as elsewhere in the world.[53] Rather, it is merely their being hired as domestics, as handy-men, and as store-clerks. The essential difference between this and the industrial situation is that the men are not subjected to the order of mine or mill, in terms of either regimentation, of behaviour or standardization of time. This study cannot therefore be thought of as typical of

the acculturation process.

Nor, we must add, can we state categorically that the settlement situation represents a stage through which the present camp Eskimos must necessarily pass. It is altogether likely that the movement of Canadian industry into the arctic will provide industrial jobs for Eskimos. Our use of the word "stage of acculturation" is merely to indicate that the settlement patterns more closely approximate Canadian patterns, and does not imply that it is a necessary step in the acculturation process for all Eskimo local groups.

Summary

This thesis will describe the changing Eskimo social order at Port Harrison. It will treat it as a social system, using a functional approach. At the same time, it will describe the existence and consequences of a non-function differentiation that exists between settlement and camp as a result of whites moving into the area. Camp and settlement will be treated as levels of acculturation in the sense that the settlement social order more closely resembles dominant Canadian patterns.

PART TWO

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

CHAPTER THREE: GEOGRAPHY

Climate

Although Port Harrison is six hundred miles from the Arctic Circle, geographers include it as Arctic because of its climate and biology. In only four months of the year does the average temperature rise above freezing, and summer daytime temperatures range around 45-55°F.[1] Snow covers the ground eight months of the year, and the lakes and coastal waters are frozen for the same length of time.

During the periods October—November and May-June, travel is difficult, since the ice is too thin for sleds and too thick for boats, and there is not enough snow to go over-land.

The average annual precipitation is 13.60 inches, with a measurable amount on 122 days in the year or just about every third day. The wettest month is August, when an average of 2.77 inches falls, and on just half the days is precipitation measurable (15). Both August and July have many foggy days, and those days without fog are usually extremely windy.

Flora

Although there are many varieties of plants in this region of the Arctic few of them are of much use to the Eskimo. There are three kinds of berries

that are eaten (blueberries, bake-apples, and another small bluish berry). Moss and willow twigs are burned for heat. Willow twigs are also used to provide a flooring under the caribou hides that form the Eskimo's mattress.

The primary source of wood is packing cases from ships and freight. This is supplemented with driftwood and some scrap lumber from construction at Harrison.

Fauna

Fauna is plentiful in summer and constitutes a major item of Eskimo nutrition. In the spring and summer, seal are taken, mainly jar, a few square flippers (bearded seal) and a very occasional harp seal. During the summer many Canada and blue geese are taken, as well as three varieties of ducks and some sea pigeons, gulls, and terns. An occasional great loon is shot, its skin and feathers being highly prized by the Eskimos.

The three main fishes netted are whitefish, Arctic char, and trout (mainly lake or grey). Some ouananiche are taken on lines in the lakes, as well as speckled, brown and rainbow trout in the streams and lakes. Sculpins and other primitive fish are used as dog-food during the summer when food is plentiful.

During the summer, expeditions down the coast get white whales, both in nets and by rifle. The H.B.C. and R.C.M.P. organize walrus hunts in the fall to the Sleeper, King George or Ottawa Islands.

Throughout the winter almost every adult Eskimo male runs a trapline from which he gets primarily white fox. Some other fox, and an occasional wolverine, otter, mink, or muskrat are also trapped. These are traded at the H.B.C. store at Harrison.

Caribou, previously an important source of winter clothing and sinew for sewing boots and qajaqs, is no longer taken around Harrison. As recently as 1956, 100 caribou a year were taken on trips going south-east into the interior of Ungava.[2] But in 1956, the R.C.M.P. enforced a protection on caribou and according to the constable at Harrison, none have been hunted by Eskimos or whites since then.

During the winter of 1957-58 only 415 fox pelts were traded, an all-time low for the post. The winter of 1955-56 saw 1500 fox traded, nearer the usual figure, (see appendix), but 1956-57 only 600 were traded. According to the Wildlife Division of N.A.N.R., the lemming cycle, which lasts four years, began to rise and this year there should have been a corresponding rise in fox population. The last peak, 1953-54, saw 4920 foxes traded. The next two winters should be better, say Wildlife, provided trapping patterns do not change drastically in the meantime.

Parasites are not a serious problem for the Harrison Eskimo. Mosquitoes are very numerous on still days in July and early August, and black flies become unbearable if one moves inland from the coast. But usually there is enough wind blowing so that one is not bothered by flies or mosquitoes unless walking with the wind. On only two days during the summer were mosquitoes so bad it was difficult to leave the tent.

Aside from mosquitoes, the only other parasites that are of concern are tapeworms contracted from eating raw fish. I was informed by the nurse, however, that the fish around Harrison are relatively free from tapeworm, compared to those further south around Great Whale River and James Bay. I did not myself contract a tapeworm, although I ate raw fish all summer.

Trichinosis is not a problem, since so few walrus or polar bear are taken. Walrus is used primarily for dog food.

CHAPTER FOUR: DEMOGRAPHY

Description

The physical characteristics of the Port Harrison Eskimo range from Mongoloid to Caucasoid. They are about the same height as other Canadians, though with no very tall men. Generally, their faces and hands are dark brown, but since the rest of their bodies are relatively light coloured, this appears to be largely due to the sun. Most of them have basic Mongoloid features, short limbs, high cheek bones, the Mongolian fold in the eyelid, dark eyes, and black, straight hair. Their noses vary widely from high, aquiline to broad and flat.

There are several Eskimos at Harrison who, because of admixture with Caucasians, have markedly non-Mongoloid features. One child born in 1958 to part-Eskimo parents, for instance, has blue eyes, light blond hair, very fair skin, and lacks the Mongoloid spot that most Eskimo babies have at the base of the spine. About a dozen Eskimos look quite Caucasian. Because of this, it is not possible to differentiate the Eskimo solely in terms of racial characteristics: the real difference is cultural. The term "white" is therefore an inaccurate way of describing non-Eskimo inhabitants of the Arctic. It is used in this paper solely because of its convenience and its currency in the Arctic. A more satisfactory term would be the Eskimo qallunak, which means "non-Eskimo".

Population Statistics

At present[1], the Eskimo population trading at Port Harrison is 337 persons, including ten who are in hospital elsewhere. Prior to 1953, the population was around five hundred, but in that year seven families -- about 65 people -- were moved to Dundas Harbour on Devon Island in the Arctic Archipelago. Two years later, in 1955, fourteen families moved to Great Whale River, P.Q., reducing the population by another seventy. Three more families followed their relatives to Devon in the summer of 1955. Since that time, the population of Harrison has remained relatively stable.

Population statistics have often been unreliable, probably due to the uncertainty as to which Eskimos to include in the census. In 1956, for instance, estimates of Harrison Eskimo population varied from 299 to 403. The population list made this summer was based on the list in the nursing station at Port Harrison. It was subsequently revised and verified in the field during a tour of all the Eskimo camps.

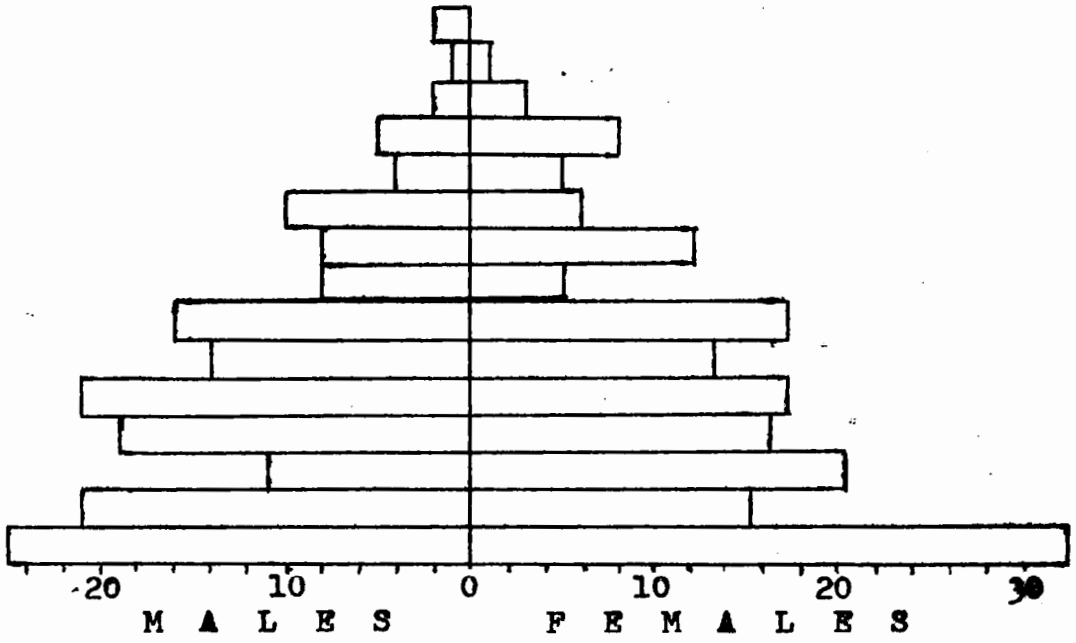
The Eskimo population is divided between the camps as follows (from south to north):

TABLE I

ESKIMO POPULATION OF PORT HARRISON AREA

Camp	Population	Location from Harrison
Apjaqa's (Abraham) Camp	33	35 miles south
Sajuli's Camp	52	25 miles south
Hopewell Narrows Camp	31	6 miles south
SETTLEMENT	75	
Baffin Bay Camp	10	1 mile west
Five Mile Bay Camp	41	5 miles north
Bates Peninsula Camp	48	25 miles north
Inukpak Camp	47	50 miles north

FIGURE I
POPULATION OF PORT HARRISON BY AGE AND SEX
August 1, 1958



Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	% Total Pop.	No.	% Total Pop.	No.	%
0-4	25	7.42	32	9.50	57	16.92
4-9	21	6.23	15	4.45	36	10.68
10-14	11	3.24	20	5.94	31	9.18
15-19	19	5.64	16	4.75	35	10.39
20-24	21	6.23	17	5.04	38	11.27
25-29	14	4.15	13	3.84	27	7.99
30-34	16	4.75	17	5.04	33	9.79
35-39	8	2.48	5	1.48	13	3.96
40-44	8	2.48	12	3.56	20	6.04
45-49	10	2.97	6	1.78	16	4.75
50-54	4	1.19	5	1.48	9	2.67
55-59	5	1.48	8	2.48	13	3.96
60-64	2	0.59	3	0.89	5	1.48
65-69	1	0.30	1	0.30	2	0.60
70-	2	0.59	0	0.0	2	0.59
TOTAL	167	49.80	170	50.20	337	100.00

Life Expectancy: The accompanying population pyramid indicates that almost half the Eskimo population is under twenty years of age (48.2%). This suggests that life is rigorous and life expectancy low, and the figures for the past fifteen years bear this out.[2] At birth, a baby can expect to live 20.47 years, and even after the first year life expectancy rises to only 31.66 years.

Infant Mortality: As would be expected from the great discrepancy between life expectancies at zero and one year, infant mortality is very high in comparison with the rest of Canada. Table II shows the infant mortality rates for Port Harrison over the last dozen years. It is altogether likely that the figures are less reliable the further back we go, for Eskimos were only beginning to learn to report infant deaths to the R.C.M.P. ten years ago. Where there is any error, the actual rate will therefore be higher than those recorded.

TABLE II

INFANT MORTALITY AT PORT HARRISON[3]

Year	Total live births[4]	Infant deaths	Deaths per M live births
1958	21	4	190.[5]
1957	12	4	333
1956	11	2	181
1955	14	3	214
1954	19	4	210
1953	13	4	307
1952	19	3	157
1951	21	8	381
1950	17	8	470
1949	17	5	294
1948	24	7	291
1947	21	5	238
1946	19	6	315
1945	14	4	284

TABLE III

ESTIMATED BIRTH RATE AT PORT HARRISON

Year	Estimated Population	Total Births[4]	Births per Thousand
1958	337	21	62.80
1957	350	12	34.28
1956	350	11	31.41
1955	400	14	35.00
1954	425	19	44.70
1953	500	13	26.00
1952	500	19	38.00
1951	500	21	42.00
1950	500	17	34.00
1949	500	17	34.00
1948	500	24	48.00
1947	500	21	42.00
1946	500	19	38.00
1945	500	14	28.00

Birth Rate: The average birth rate at Harrison over the past four years is 42.28 per thousand population (see Table III). The rate per thousand women of the ages 15-44 inclusive is 176.12. This means that the average woman gives birth to five children during her fruitful years, or one child every six years. Since about half the women in this group are married[6], and 90% of the children are born to married women (see below), we can say that the average married woman bears a child every three years of her fruitful period.

Illegitimacy: Although illegitimacy is not a social problem among the Eskimos, and therefore cannot be described correctly by that term, we can say that 9.6% of the babies, almost one baby in ten, are born to mothers who are single.[7] Most of these babies have white fathers. Since babies are always at a premium, these babies are easily absorbed into households and do not become burdens on the state. This subject will be dealt with more fully in describing Eskimo family life.

Natural Increase: Deaths from all causes in the past four years averaged 16.31 per thousand population per year. Thus the natural increase in population at Port Harrison is now 25.97 per thousand per year. At this rate, the population can be expected to double in about 35 years.

It is not likely that immigration is a significant factor in population increase, although this is difficult to state for certain because Eskimo movements have not been registered until recently. Many Harrison families have relatives at POV, the next trading post to the north, so that population figures and genealogies might be more accurate in treating these two settlements together. But there is no indication that movement between the settlements is not equally balanced in each direction, so we can say that probably immigration from POV is not a significant factor in population increase.

Immigration from further than POV accounts for very little of the Harrison Eskimo population. Only the H.B.C interpreter's family from Labrador, several individuals from Belcher Islands, and one young boy from Dorset (Jimmy Pouta E-7-1337, who was left ashore by the Eastern Arctic Patrol two years ago) have immigrated to Harrison as far as could be determined.

Death Rate: As stated above, the death rate 1955-58 is 16.31 per thousand population. However, the fact that the death rate is falling is indicated by Table IV. Thus the average death rate for the period 1951-54 is 23.91, and for 1947-50 it is 37.50 per thousand population.

TABLE IV

DEATH RATE AT PORT HARRISON

Year	Estimated Population	Total Deaths	Deaths per Thousand
1958	337	11[8]	32.64
1957	350	5	14.38
1956	350	2	5.72
1955	400	5	12.50
1954	425	16	37.65
1953	500	6	12.00
1952	500	13	26.00
1951	500	10	20.00
1950	500	26	52.00
1949	500	11	22.00
1948	500	18	36.00
1947	500	20	40.00
1946	500	27	54.00
1945	500	14	28.00

Causes of Deaths: Causes of death are primarily upper respiratory, as indicated in Table V. Of the sixty-five deaths of known cause between 1948 and 1952, forty-five (69.2%) were either T.B. or other respiratory ailment. Nine (13.8%) were digestive and eleven (16.9%) were other causes.

In the period 1953-47, there were no deaths from T.B., but other respiratory ailments caused five of the eleven deaths of known origin.

In 1958, a pneumonia-influenza epidemic in the spring killed five people, mostly very young babies, and there was one death by T.B. However, it is generally true to say that since 1953 T.B. has been drastically reduced and has been almost wiped out as a killer.

TABLE V

CAUSES OF DEATH AT PORT HARRISON

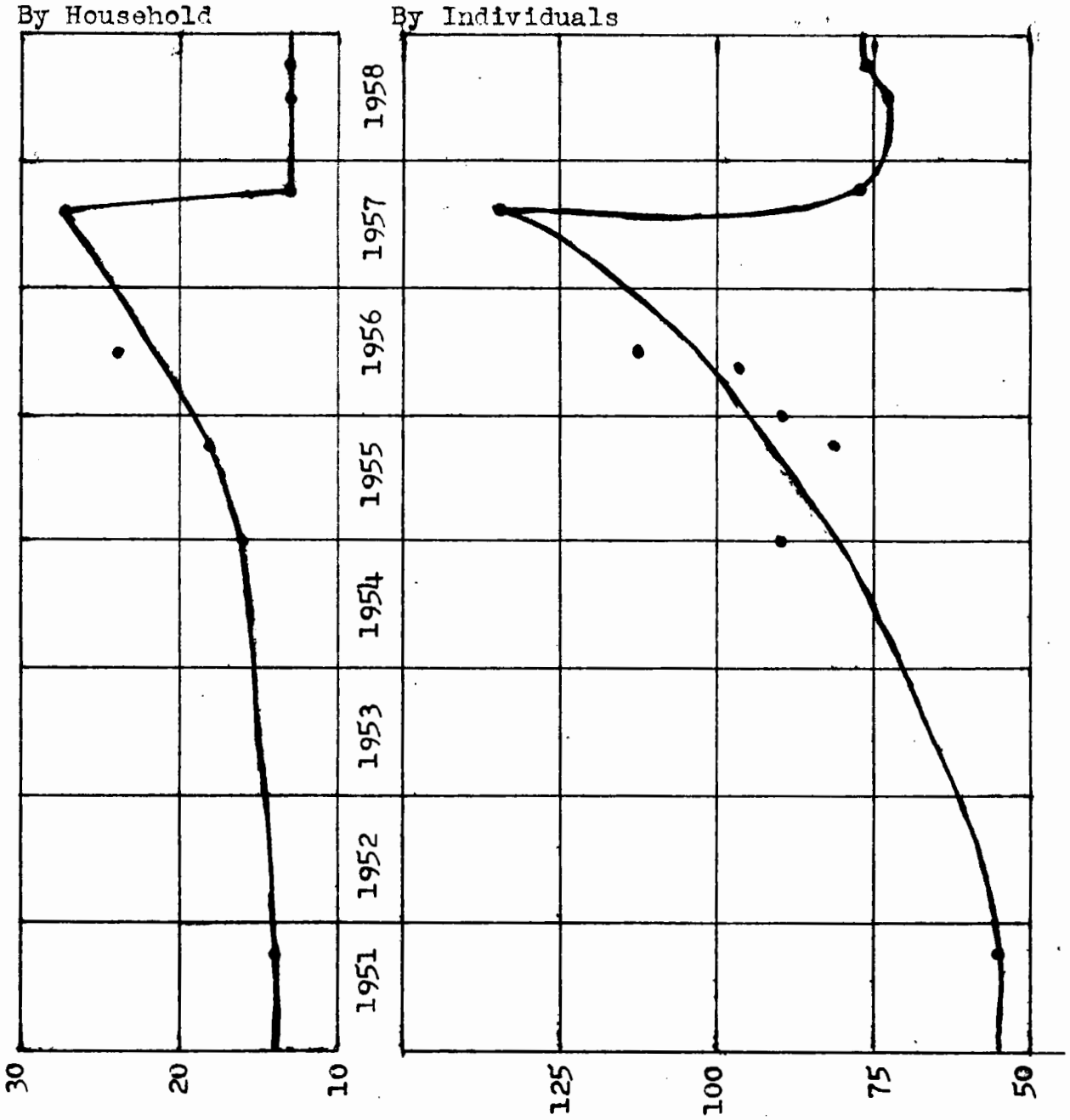
Year	Total Deaths	T. B.	Resp.	Digest.	Other	Unknown
1958	8	1	5	0	2	0
1957	5	0	1	0	1	3
1956	2	0	0	1	0	1
1955	5	0	1	0	1	3
1954	16	0	1	0	2	13
1953	6	0	2	0	1	3
1952	13	4	6	0	3	0
1951	10	1	4	1	1	3
1950	28	8	10	0	3	5
1949	11	4	0	3	1	3
1948	18	5	3	5	3	2
1947	20	7	1	3	7	2
1946	27	6	10	1	5	5
1945	14	0	2	0	0	12
Total	181	36	46	14	30	55
1953-7:	34	0	5	1	5	23
1948-52:	78	22	23	9	11	13

* 1958 figures up to August 31.

Settlement Patterns

During the summer of 1957, the R.C.M.P. constable at Port Harrison ordered all Eskimo who were not employed by white establishments to leave the settlement. Before this time, Harrison had followed the centripedal trend that is common to many other settlements in the Arctic. The Eskimos moved closer to the trading centre as they became more dependent on trade, less on subsistence hunting off the land. Therefore the population of the settlement had gradually risen. The accompanying graph roughly indicates the beginnings of this accelerating shift to the centre that was beginning at Harrison. At the time of the R.C.M.P. order, there were 135 Eskimos living in the settlement

FIGURE II
PERMANENT ESKIMO POPULATION OF SETTLEMENT,
PORT HARRISON, P.Q.



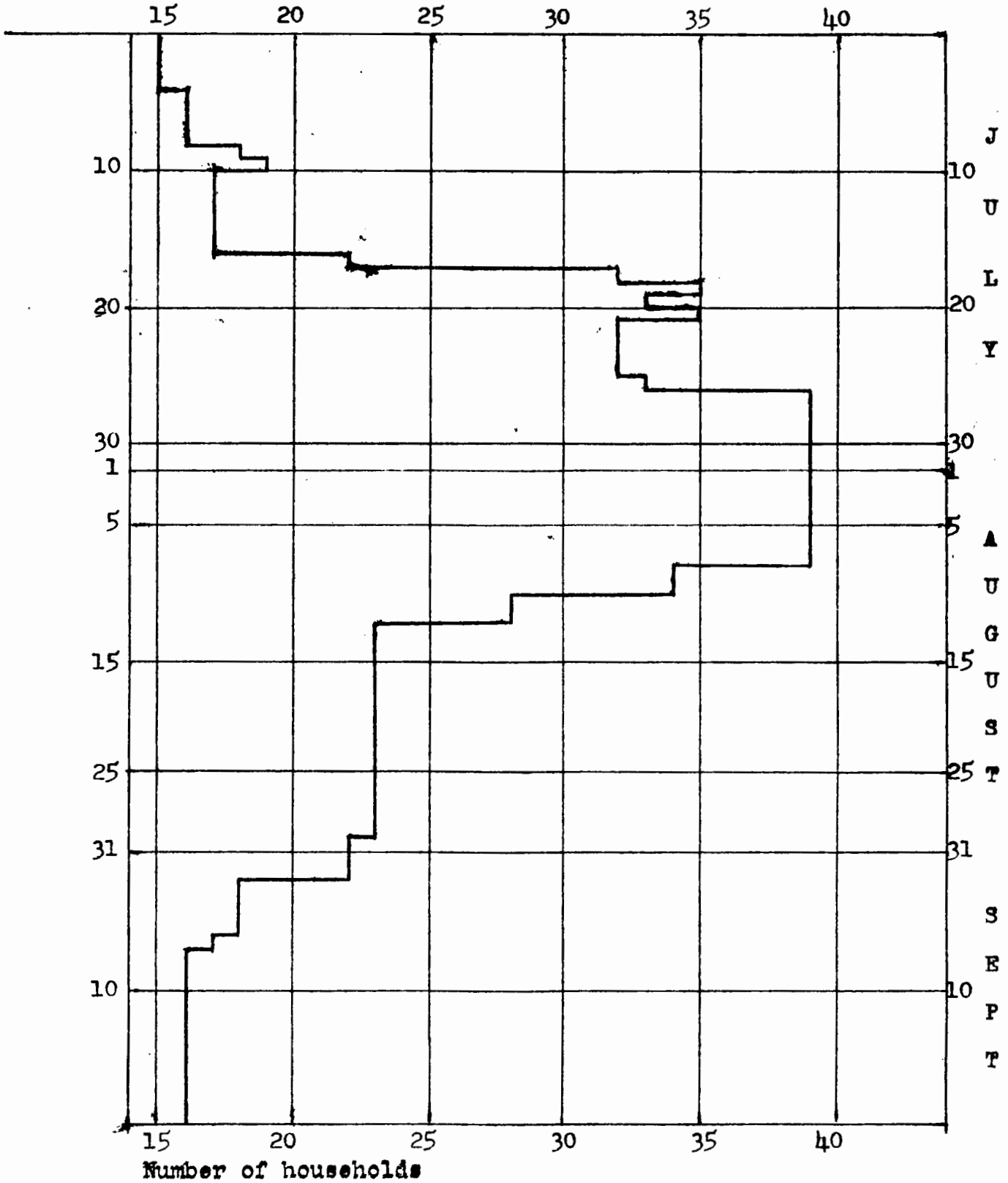
in 27 households. When the order had been accomplished, about seventy-five remained in the settlement, living in thirteen households. The rest moved from one to twenty miles away and established camps.

During the summer of 1958 there were seven camps within a radius of forty miles of Harrison. The accompanying map indicates their location. Those camps closest to the settlement included many of the families that had been moved from the settlement, while those further away were mainly composed of families that had always camped together, had never resided in the settlement. The small camp at Baffin Bay is included in the settlement for most considerations in this study.

Seasonal population shifts: During the early summer, camps ranged in size from five to nine households,[9] comprising from thirty to fifty individuals. However, there is much variation in the size of some camps at different times of the year. Those most highly organized remain relatively stable throughout the seasons, two even maintaining their locations the year around. The others split up for the winter into smaller units, reassembling in May or June, just before or just after the break-up.

As the summer progresses, there is a centripedal movement into the settlement. Both the possibility of wage employment on construction or stevedoring and the desire to visit friends and relatives function as motives to move whole families and many individuals into the settlement. The accompanying graph shows the increase in population (by households) of the settlement during the summer of 1958. The fifteen households that lived there throughout the winter were doubled by the middle of July and reached a peak of thirty-seven for the two week period between July 26 and August 8. This coincided with the arrival of the H.B.C. supply boat and the government supply boat for

FIGURE III
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS IN PORT HARRISON SETTLEMENT, SUMMER, 1958



the D.O.T. stations, the unloading of which provides employment for all available men. During this period over half the total population was living in the settlement itself (54.65%). After the ships had gone and as fall approached, the population again dispersed to their various camps, and by September 9, the settlement population was almost back to the previous spring's level.

It is possible to reconstruct a yearly round of settlement patterns from observations supplemented by information from Eskimo informants:

June-July: Camps are large for seal and fowl hunting, fish are plentiful.

August: Many families from the less stable camps move into the settlement for employment. Stable camps visit the settlement weekly to trade.

September: Families move out of settlement. Some stable camps move location but remain together. Less stable camps break up and move to winter locations.

November-December: Some stable camps move to winter location where the snow is suitable for building snow houses and where it is possible to fish through lake ice.

December-May: Winter locations, all living in snow houses, weekly visits to Harrison to trade. During the winter of 1957-58 there were nine separate camps ranging from two to eight households.

June: Regrouping of camps into larger units again.

It is obvious from this brief description of the yearly round that there is a considerable movement among the camp Eskimos. In fact, only two camps, comprising fifteen households, winter and summer in the same locations, while thirty-five households move at least twice a year, often three or more times.

Such nomadism will naturally have its effects on the social organization of the communities.

PART THREE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER FIVE: ECONOMICS

Marshall defined economics as "those aspects of men's attitudes and activities that are subject to measurement in terms of money."[1] Anthropologically speaking, the economy of any society must include much more than this, for many societies do not include a concept of money. In the society under study here, although money is used and can be used as a measure, nevertheless, there is much production that cannot be measured in terms of money, which by Marshall's definition, should not be included in a discussion of their economy.

Anthropologists have traditionally included all production as economies. Herscovitz suggests that the economy should be defined as the "economizing process."[2] That is, assuming the universal situation of scarcity and choice, economics is the production and distribution of goods and services to meet the needs of the community. In this case, the economy can be conveniently divided between subsistence production and commodity production: production for use and production for sale.[3]

It should not be imagined that commodity production is a new phenomenon among these Eskimos. The economy of the Harrison Eskimos has relied on the outside world for over two centuries. Ever since the early whalers first introduced matches, cloth, and then guns to the Eskimo, part of his time has

been spent producing for the world market in order to buy what have become necessities.

Since Révillon Frères first established a post at Port Harrison in 1909, the Eskimos have relied on trapping white fox to trade for most of the manufactured goods they needed. In very recent years, the proportion of income from trapping has declined with the fall of the fox price, but total cash income has probably not changed substantially because fox has been replaced, first by relief, and in the last five years by soapstone carving. One might say, therefore, that there has been no fundamental change in the economy of the camp Eskimos at Harrison for decades — since the heyday of fox trading.

The big change appears in the economy of those Eskimos now employed in the settlement itself. These families originally lived by the same mixed economy now characteristic of the camps, partly dependent on subsistence production and partly on commodity production. But now these households are almost exclusively dependent on a money economy, trading their work for room and board and for wages which they turn into manufactured goods at the Hudson's Bay Company store. In other words, the settlement Eskimos are involved almost exclusively in commodity production.[4]

The camp economy, still involving three-quarters of Harrison households (48 of 63), is a mixed economy divided between subsistence and commodity production. In a very real sense, this division represents the division between traditional economic patterns and those patterns that have been adopted from the dominant Canadian economy. Culture patterns are not learned in the abstract, but are seen by the Eskimo in specific social action and institutions. They are assimilated as these institutions are assimilated into the Eskimo way of life, and for a considerable time they will be accepted only in relation

to the specific actions and institutions in which they appear.[5] Thus, the Canadian ideals of private property, of family solidarity, of competition within the community, do not slowly permeate all areas of Eskimo culture at an equal rate. Rather, they are pertinent only in those areas of Eskimo life that are already Canadian in content: e.g., commodity production. And their acceptance increases as these areas increase in importance.

We will show how traditional patterns of sharing appear stronger in the camp than among the settlement Eskimos. This varies directly with the proportion of commodity production. The shift from communalism to householdism can be viewed as a result of the shift from subsistence to commodity production.

Subsistence Production

While many items, both food and durable goods, are bought at the store, the camp Eskimo still depends to a large extent on what he can produce from the land, both for food and capital goods.

The seal hunt: The basis of subsistence production is the seal hunt, since the seal is the most important item of country food and the source of oil for heat and light, skins for clothing, qajaqs, and traces. A detailed account of a seal hunt, written by Mr. Adrian Tanner, appears in the appendix.

Essential to our understanding of the Harrison Eskimo economy is that the seal hunt is a co-operative enterprise. Because it involves a canoe or larger boat, and because most of these are not privately owned, it demands

the agreement of several people even before it begins. In the hunt itself, the co-operation of everyone in the boat is necessary for success.

During the summer, seal hunting is only undertaken on calm days when it is possible to see seals as they break the surface. Either a canoe or larger boat is used with from four to a dozen men aboard. As soon as a seal is sighted, those who have .22 calibre rifles fire at it to force a dive; then the boat is steered to the place where the seal dived and all keep a sharp look-out for it to re-surface. When it surfaces, the .22s fire again, making it dive before it has caught its breath. Thus the seal is gradually tired out, each dive shorter than the last, until the boat is finally close enough to risk a shot with a larger rifle. When it has been mortally wounded, it ceases to dive, and is shot to death, then harpooned before it can sink, and dragged into the boat.

Different men assume specific functions during the seal hunt, one man always steering, one using the harpoon, others shooting whatever rifles they own. There is thus the co-operation of an organized division of labour.

Fowl hunt: Although there is not as elaborate a division of labour in the hunt for fowl, it usually involves the co-operation of several men. The hunt is undertaken in a canoe. During the short period when the Canada geese have moulted their wing feathers, the hunt is usually conducted on land after sighting a flock from the boat. At other times, the boat is used to chase families of ducklings or goslings that cannot fly and whose mothers stay with them, often until they, too, are shot.

Fishing: Fishing, on the other hand, is an individual enterprise, undertaken by the household. The nets are set from a qajaq and are visited once or twice a day in the qajaq by some male member of the household.

Distribution: The products of the seal hunt are individually owned by the killer of the seal, but the meat is shared throughout the camp. The skin of the jar seal goes to the killer's household, but the skin of a square flipper (bearded seal) is shared by the camp because of its relative scarcity and importance for boot soles and qamutik (sled) traces.

Similarly, the products of a fowl hunt are shared throughout the camp. On one hunting trip, all the birds were divided as soon as we returned to camp, so that each household received an equal share of each variety of bird. The geese were separated into eight piles, then the ducks were added, then the sea-pigeons, and finally the terns. Only the loon was not included in the division, but was taken by the man who shot it. The loon is especially prized by the Eskimo for its fine plumage.

Fish, on the other hand, are not divided, but go directly to the household whose nets caught them. However, whoever is in the tent when the fisherman returns can share in the meal, and if any household does not have fish in its nets, it will be provided with fish from other nets.

In general summary of subsistence production, we can say that products of the hunt are owned by the hunter, but are shared around the camp to assure adequate supply for all. This is most true of game, less of fish.

The Money Economy

It was stated above that ideals of private ownership did not permeate the entire Eskimo culture, but only those areas that were closely tied to the Canadian way of life, notably commodity production. Perhaps an example will illustrate this point:

Eight men from the Inukpak Camp went on a two-day trip to their soapstone mine to gather new stone to carve. On the way there and back, many geese, ducks, and pigeons were shot. As soon as they arrived at the camp, the fowl were equally divided between all the households in camp, regardless of who shot them and including those households that had no representative on the hunt. The soapstone, on the other hand, was individually marked with the owner's name as soon as it was mined, and each piece was claimed by a single individual. Soapstone belongs to the area of commodity production, fowl to subsistence production.

The area of commodity production can best be analysed by examining the place and use of money in the lives of the Eskimos.

FIGURE IV
SOURCE OF INCOME AT PORT HARRISON, P.Q.

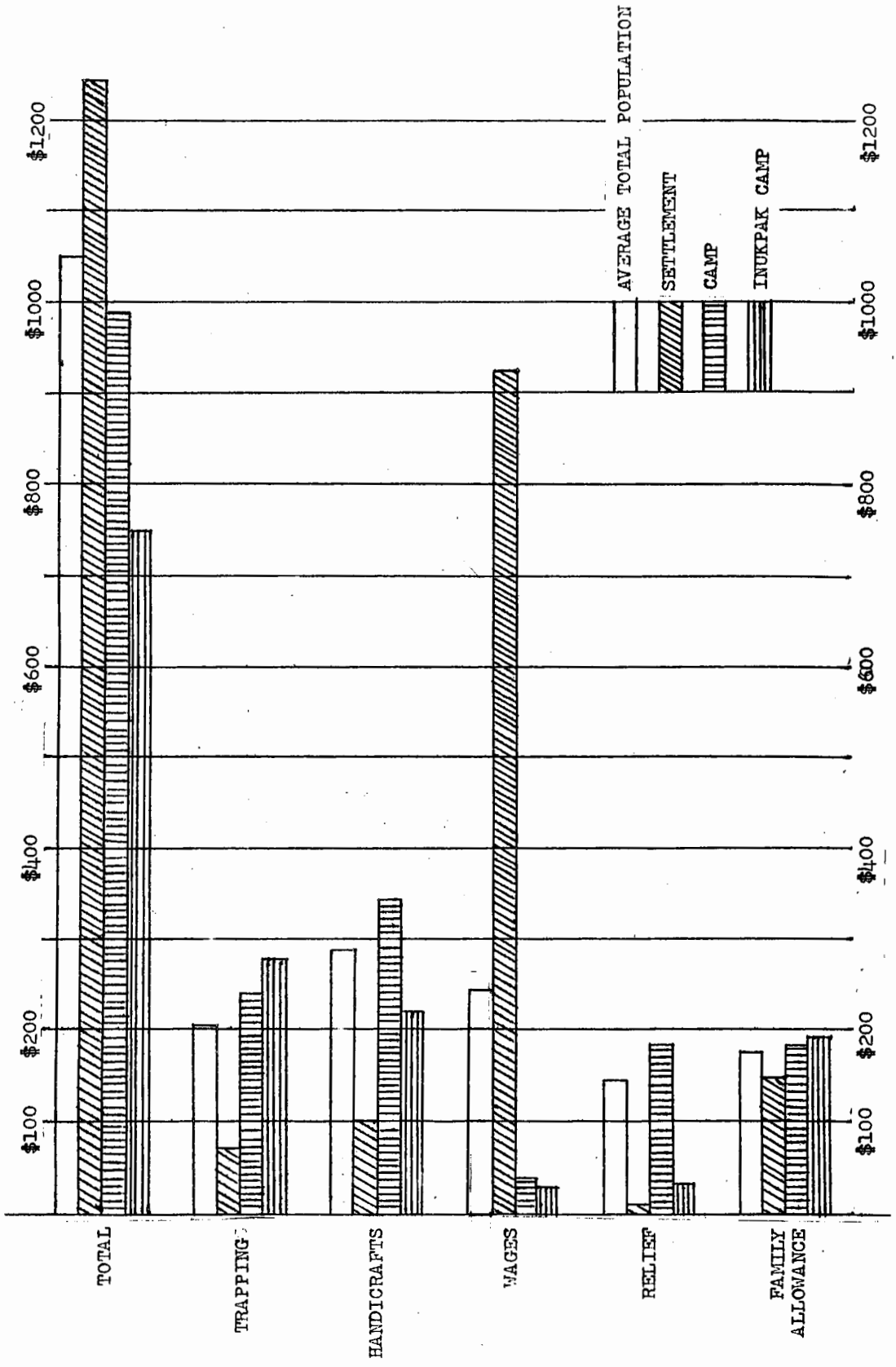


TABLE VI

SOURCE OF INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD AT PORT HARRISON

	Settlement		Camp		Inukpak Camp		Total	
Source	Cash	%	Cash	%	Cash	%	Cash	%
Furs	72.00	5.7	240.40	24.4	276.22	36.8	201.54	19.2
Handicrafts	99.60	7.9	342.12	34.7	220.11	29.3	286.15	27.3
Wages	924.27	73.1	41.12	4.2	32.11	4.3	244.92	23.3
Relief	20.26	1.6	179.92	18.3	33.78	4.5	143.08	13.6
Fam. Allow.	148.53	11.7	181.44	18.4	188.00	25.1	173.85	16.6
TOTALS	1264.66	100.0	985.00	100.0	750.22	100.0	1049.54	100.0

The Place of Money in the Economy

The average household in Port Harrison earns $1,050 per year. But while the average is $1,265 in the settlement, it is only $985 in the camps, and only $750 in the Inukpak Camp, the only one for which detailed figures were obtained. The settlement household earns about 28% more than the camp household and 69% more than does the Inukpak Camp household.[6]

This contrast between settlement and camp is even more important than it would appear from the arithmetic difference, as is evident when we examine the difference in the acquisition of capital goods. In the camp, some capital goods are bought, some are manufactured. Those bought include: string for nets, carving tools, traps, rifles, ammunition, large boats, and motors. Those manufactured: qajaqs, qamutiks, harpoons. Dogs for qamutiks are bred, not bought.

Since the settlement household does not depend primarily on country food, very few qajaqs and harpoons are made.[7] Almost all capital goods -- goods for production rather than consumption -- are therefore bought with

the exception of the gamutik and dogs. And as in the camp, nets are made from string that is bought.

Aside from capital goods, settlement Eskimos buy much more than camp Eskimos. About three-quarters of their food is store food, while camp Eskimos buy roughly half of their food (by weight). Camp Eskimos produce more items of their clothing, notably seal-skin boots (kamit, singular kamik); they buy fewer luxury goods at the store. This will be examined in more detail below.

It should be pointed out that one-third of the cash income of the settlement Eskimos represents estimated cash value for rations received as partial payment for wages. Although it might be argued that this is not money, nevertheless it represents gain from trading work for wages and is therefore in the same category as the actual cash received.

On the other hand, family allowance and relief, although included in cash income, do not in fact represent money. The Eskimo receives an order from the R.C.M.P. detachment which he gets filled at the H.B.C. store. This does not represent an exchange relationship for the Eskimo either in receiving the chit from the R.C.M.P. or in having it filled at the H.B.C. store. From the point of view of comparing commodity and subsistence production, it would therefore be legitimate to ignore both relief and family allowance. If this is done, then the discrepancy between settlement and camp is even greater: $1,096 from exchange in the settlement, $624 in the camp, or a difference of over 75%. This is probably a better indication of the different place of money, and hence a better monetary symbol of the difference in economy between settlement and camp.

Source of Income

Wages: As can be seen from TABLE VI, the most important difference in source of income between camp and settlement is the preponderant position of wages in the settlement. However, there are other differences that merit discussion as well.

In absolute value, the camp Eskimo earns over three times as much as the settlement Eskimo from trapping and sealing.[8] Throughout the winter, the camp Eskimos run traplines inland that are visited regularly. Although most settlement Eskimos also run traplines, they are usually shorter and cannot be visited as frequently, due to the demands of their jobs. They of course have less economic need to trap, since most of their wants are met by wages.

The same is the case with handicrafts. Because of his job, the settlement Eskimo has neither the economic need nor the time to carve soapstone. Some of the women do sewing for whites, and a few baskets are made, but together these total less than one-third the average value of camp handicraft production.

What few wages are paid to camp Eskimos are almost entirely earned by stevedoring during shiptime each summer. Both last year's total wages paid for freight-handling ($3,600 in 1957) and this year's ($2,454 in 1958) are larger than the total paid to camp Eskimos in wages during the period our figures cover (estimated $2,056 1956-57). The discrepancy is due primarily to the fact that some freight is handled by the settlement Eskimos, partly to inaccuracies in the figures used.

Relief: Relief plays a very small part in the economy of the settlement Eskimo. This summer there were only two recipients of relief in the

settlement: a polio cripple and an elderly spinster with an adopted child. In neither household was relief the primary source of income.

In the camps, on the other hand, relief is a substantial source of income, 18.3% in 1956-57. But relief in the Inukpak Camp at the time of the study accounted for only 4.5 % of the total cash income. This fact, along with the fact that by May 1958, the total relief paid was only one-third of the monthly average for the fiscal year 1956-57, indicates that total relief is declining at Harrison. Examination of the records bears this out. TABLE VII indicates relief figures since 1950 and approximate percentages of the population who were recipients. These figures include only actual recipients registered. The percentage of the population depending on relief was actually even greater. In 1951 over a third of those registered for relief received more than one ration, while in 1958 all twelve registered received single rations only. Today the list includes only widows, cripples, and old men, while in 1950 it included many able-bodied young men classified as "inefficient trappers."

TABLE VII

RELIEF RECIPIENTS AT PORT HARRISON

Year	Number Recipients	Estimated Population	Percentage on Relief
1950	100	500	20 %
1951	75	500	15 %
1952	24	500	5 %
1953	16	500	3.2%
1954	30	350	11.7%
1958	12	330	3.8%

The drastic drop in relief figures for Port Harrison in recent years can be explained by three factors, each of which served to ameliorate the situation.

First, the introduction of family allowance for the Eskimos in 1948 guaranteed every family a basic income, the importance of which varied not only with the number of children, but also with the other available sources of income. Thus, it is still an important source for the camp Eskimo, and relatively unimportant for settlement Eskimos who earn wages.

Secondly, the phenomenal rise of the soapstone industry over the past decade, due to the efforts of the Canadian Government and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, has provided an income to all Eskimos in Harrison. Today there are only five heads of families that do not carve — all working full time in the settlement.

Thirdly, the Canadian Government's policy of reducing the population of Harrison through migration to the high Arctic has increased the land resources available to each household, allowing them to depend more on country food.

Besides actual relief, some Eskimos receive what is called the T.B. Ration. This is distributed to all returning T.B. patients for a period of up to six months. During the most recent years, when the health department was transporting T.B. victims out of the Arctic by the hundreds, the T.B. Ration was a significant source of income because of the number of returning patients each year. Now, however, the problem of T.B. appears to be relatively minor in Harrison, and there are very few Eskimos on T.B. Rations — only three in May, five or six in August, 1958.

Handicrafts: TABLE VI indicates that handicrafts provide an important source of income for the camp Eskimo. During the summer, when it is impossible to trap, soapstone carving is the primary source of income and takes up most of the working time of the camp men. Although the women do some basket-weaving and sewing for trade, carving is by far the most important handicraft of the Port Harrison Eskimo.

The Eskimo word for soapstone is kullisaraq, or "lamp-stone." Until recently, it was used almost exclusively to carve seal-oil lamps, the only source of heat in winter igloos. Now lamps are more frequently beaten out of scrap metal, and the stone is used primarily for carving various figures to sell at the H.B.C. store.

Each camp has one or two soapstone mines which they visit every time their stock gets low. The Inukpak mine, for example, is located a day's journey from the camp. Here the men dig pieces of soapstone from under the gravel as well as gathering a few good pieces scattered on the beach. Each piece is tested with a hatchet to assure smoothness and softness, then it is marked with the owner's name before being loaded into the canoe. Back at camp, some pieces are stored under water to assure continued softness if they are not to be carved for a long time.

During the days following mining, the men carve several hours a day, usually spending most of their time on one large piece, then working on smaller pieces until the camp leader decides it is time to go to Harrison to trade. At the end of a week, the better carvers have three or four pieces completed which they take to the store. The good carvers earn five or ten dollars per trip this way. This amounts to less than twenty-five cents an hour ignoring time spent collecting stone and travelling to Harrison.

Carving is obviously affected by the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company manager at each post. At Harrison, the manager has started the policy of accepting carvings only from trappers. Since this policy essentially limits it to heads of families, it limits the number of pieces traded. It also acts to keep up the quality of the carvings, since a man may still trade a piece carved by his son, but will only do so if it is good enough to avoid embarrassment in trading it as his own. In fact, some women and children do carve, but their pieces are traded by their husbands or fathers and do not bear their own names.

A further Hudson's Bay Company policy affecting carving is the emphasis the manager places on hunting above carving. Through actions and talk in the store the staff of the store try to convey to the Eskimos the idea that hunting should be their main activity, carving only subsidiary. Sealskins are asked for before carvings, and sometimes the manager will give a little talk to a camp that is trading too much stone, not enough skins. He explains that they must maintain quality and avoid flooding the market with numerous and poor pieces.

Trapping: The figure in TABLE VI for "Furs" includes both fox and seal furs. However, those few examples where the figures were further broken down indicate that seal skins and furs account for a very small portion of the figure -- 5.2% -- while fox makes up almost 95% of it. We can safely say that sealing is primarily for subsistence, while trapping is commodity production.

Since this study was made in the summer, little information was gathered on trapping. It has already been demonstrated that the take is very low at present. In order to encourage trapping, the store manager at Harrison last

winter offered prizes of rifles for the two best trappers. But little excitement was aroused by the competition, and it did not seem to have much effect on the total number of pelts traded, probably because the scarcity of fox made trapping very inefficient. The general concensus of opinion seems to be that next year will be much better.

The Use of Money

The records of the Hudson's Bay Company store indicate that over half the money spent in the store goes towards food, gasoline, and tobacco. Unfortunately for our purposes, these are all included in one category in their inventories. The manager estimates that in this category 75 % of the sales are to Eskimo customers, the remainder being primarily gasoline to transportation concerns. Together with the fact that settlement Eskimos receive rations directly from their employers, this would indicate that just about half the Eskimo dollar goes toward food, including non-nutritive items like tea and tobacco. The other half is divided about equally between yard goods, clothing, arms and ammunition, and all other items combined. Table VIII summarizes these figures.

TABLE VIII

PURCHASES AT PORT HARRISON, 1956-57

HBC Section	Items	% of Total Sales
B	Food, gasoline, tobacco	63.6
L	Yard goods	10.6
M	Notions	2.3
Q	Drugs	.2
R	Women's clothing	3.6
T	Children's clothing	1.0
U	Men's clothing	3.8
V	Footwear	.8
W	Cooking utensils, lanterns, etc.	1.2
X	Tools, paints, hardware	1.8
Y	Arms & ammunition, traps, Coleman	9.5
Z		.8
		100.1

This table in itself tells us little about the economy unless we can break down the figures between settlement and camp. To do this adequately, it would be necessary to go through each sale of the year, clearly impossible in this study. But in order to give some indication of the differances, purcheses observed during the summer are compared in TABLE IX. It can do little more than suggest differences, however, due to the statistical inadequacy of the figures collected. The camp expenditures were based on an analysis of 27 observed transactions totalling $173.28, while those for the settlement came from five transactions totalling $64.20.

A further limitation of this comparison is the fact that large items, such as rifles, coats, duck for tents, are bought only at moments of large income gain by the camp Eskimos, and do not therefore appear in the week by week transactions from trading carvings. TABLE IX is therefore skewed in

the direction of non-durable goods.

TABLE IX

SUMMER EXPENDITURES AT PORT HARRISON, 1958

Item	% of camp dollar	% of settlement dollar
Food	12	11
Tobacco, tea, coffee, gum	38	14
Clothes and yard goods	33	64
Dry goods	17	11
	100	100

It can be seen from the table that neither group pays a large percentage on food. This is because both have other sources of food. The settlement Eskimo receives rations from his employer, which he supplements with primarily luxury items from the store: jam, biscuits, candy, etc. The camp Eskimo hunts for a portion of his food and receives another portion from family allowance. The main items he buys from the store are flour, lard, sugar, and baking powder. So although the percentage spent on food is about equal, the actual purchases differ widely between settlement and camp.

The average amount spent on tobacco, tea, coffee, and gum is probably equal for both settlement and camp household. Some tea is included in the rations received by settlement Eskimos, but it is heavily supplemented from the store. These items are not considered luxuries that can be dispensed with, but are almost always the first items demanded when Eskimos trade at the store. Aside from capital goods, they are items most identified with money in the mind of all Eskimos. The great discrepancy shown in TABLE IX

between camp and settlement in percentage paid for these items results from the big difference in available spending money between the two, as well as the inaccuracy of the figures.

The most significant difference between camp and settlement is the amount spent on clothing. In general, settlement Eskimos dress better and more expensively, buy more of their clothes ready-made. Camp Eskimos rely slightly more on clothes produced from the hunt, notably sealskin boots. Both groups get a portion of their clothing from the Anglican Mission, which distributes second-hand clothing collected in the south.

In dry goods, the items purchased differ considerably. Camp Eskimos spend a higher portion on tools, while settlement Eskimos often buy such luxuries as suitcases, mouth organs, etc.

Aside from the money spent at the Hudson's Bay Company store, a large amount is spend in COD orders from department stores in the south, made with the aid of their catalogues. The manager of the Harrison store estimates that between five and ten thousand dollars is spent on COD orders each year, most of which are luxury items such as costume jewellery, perfume, and fancy clothes. Some Eskimos also buy guns by mail, preferring the selection pictured in the catalogue to those available at the Harrison store. Since the catalogue price includes neither the COD charges nor the money-order charge for a non-accounting post-office, the prices, too, appear deceptively more attractive.

COD orders are made by both camp and settlement Eskimos. However, settlement Eskimos spend more money on the average on COD orders than do the camp Eskimos. This is due to a combination of factors, among which are the facts that the settlement Eskimos - 1) are richer, 2) often have

actual cash from sales of soapstone on ships, and 3) understand the COD process because they see whites getting parcels, have translators available in the settlement.

CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND AUTHORITY

In Port Harrison and the six surrounding camps, there are definite feelings of community solidarity that help to hold each local group together. The Eskimos in the settlement look on themselves as different from the Eskimos in the camps, and in some respects superior to them. For instance, camp Eskimos are discouraged from attending dances in the settlement, and few of them learn how to dance. Also, as recipients of many luxury food items and trinkets from white establishments, the settlement Eskimos are often in the position of being able to give prized and rare items to camp Eskimos. The feeling between camp and settlement is akin to the mutual antagonism between town and country in our own society.

When my host learned from my broken Eskimo that I was thinking of moving to a camp, he tried to dissuade me, saying that I would not be comfortable there, that their food was not as good, their tents leaked and mosquitoes would be worse. On the final evening, when I told him I was unhappy to leave his family, he interpreted this to mean that I recognized I would be less comfortable in a camp. In pidgin Eskimo he said to me: "Tavani piungituk, mani piujuq (There it is bad, here it is good)".

Although the settlement Eskimo's sense of difference from camp Eskimo

obviously includes an invidious comparison between them, the same invidiousness is found in the camp Eskimo's opinion of the settlement. Thus, when one camp Eskimo informant was asked why he did not move to Harrison, he replied (through an interpreter) that he did not like to go to Harrison, even to trade, for there was no meat or fish at Harrison, and "Eskimos like meat." And another Eskimo in Inukpak's camp, who was writing English words one evening to impress me with his knowledge, wrote: "Hamilton Good. Moose Factory no good. Port Harrison no good."

While it is perhaps true to say that the primary cleavage is between camp and settlement, it is also true that there is feeling of identity in each camp that separates it from other camps as well. For instance, one Eskimo in the Bates Peninsula Camp said that people in Apjaqa's camp (1706) did not get enough to eat. And again, an Eskimo in Sajuli's camp (1745) told me that their peterhead boat was kept in better condition than the one belonging to Jani (904).

The difference between settlement and camp are not only in the minds of the inhabitants. There are observable differences in social structure, both between camp and settlement, and between the camps themselves. From one point of view, these differences can be seen as related to the authority of the camp leader. Those camps with strong leaders are more highly organized, those camps without leaders are less organized, and the settlement which has no leader, has very little community organization among the Eskimo population.

But we get a clearer understanding of the differences in community organization if we see them not just in terms of the leader, but in terms of the breakdown of a traditional community pattern as the Eskimo shifts to dependence on wage labour. Thus, the solidarity of the community at Port

Harrison depends on the organization of the white community, with its structure based on relations between the different establishments rather than between Eskimo households. Since each household is closely tied with one establishment or another, interaction between households is largely structured by the relations between the establishments rather than by any kinship or solidarity ties between the Eskimos themselves. The white man thus becomes the cement of the community: without him, the Harrison Eskimo community would disintegrate.

In contrast, the solidarity of the most highly organized camps depends on kinship, property and authority relations within the camp community. The leader owns the most important capital equipment — the large powered boat -- and regulates the lives of the Eskimos in his camp both through manipulation of the boat as well as through direct authority over them as leader and senior kinsman.

A third situation, which is intermediary between those camps with leaders and the settlement, is found in the camps without single leaders. Here what community solidarity that exists is largely based on kinship ties.

A description of examples of these three situations will provide a clearer picture of the differences.

The Settlement

Because all the Eskimos in the settlement work at one of the white establishments, their lives are organized by the extent and nature of their duties. There is therefore little over-all organization of Eskimo life in the settlement. Although one finds considerable sharing of country food, this appears to be a matter of courtesy and etiquette rather than necessity,

since most of the families get rations and all are close to food supplies. Few projects are undertaken by all the Eskimos working together, and there is little genuine economic interdependence. This is true particularly because wages, which form a large proportion of income, are not shared in the traditional manner that food is passed from one family to another.

As would be expected in this loosely organized community, there is no Eskimo recognized as leader. One Eskimo informant said, "There is no boss (angaju'kak) in the settlement."[1] The HBC interpreter does have a leading position in the sense that he acts as middle-man between Eskimo and white and that he is economically both more secure and far better off than any other Eskimo. But since he has no authority over other households than his own and his sons',[2] he can hardly be described as a political leader.

This summer, however, almost all the Eskimo households in the settlement joined together to buy a large trap-boat costing about $4,000. This project was organized and led by the HBC interpreter who consequently became the "boss" (angaju'kak) of the boat. It is used for sealing trips, moving families, and twice during the summer it went south on extended whaling trips. The interpreter can be expected to wield more power in the future over those families who have a share in the boat, but this is by no means comparable to the power in the hands of a strong camp leader.

Five-Mile Bay Camp

In the summer of 1958 there were seven tents located on a point five miles north of the settlement, housing nine family units.[3] These families had moved together from two or three winter camps. They were primarily Eskimos who had lived in the settlement itself for a few years prior to

August 1957, when the RCMP ordered all unemployed Eskimos out of the settlement. They had therefore no tradition of camp organization binding them together.

Although living together, the camp exhibited little organization. The tents were scattered along both sides of the point, widely separated from each other, two being a quarter of a mile from the rest.[4] Since there were several boats and an overland path to the settlement, there was little interdependence for transportation. All the families moved into the settlement for part of the summer, moving back again at their individual will.

This camp broke down into three units, largely drawn along kinship lines, each unit operating somewhat co-operatively and without regard to the other units. Large boats were owned by these units. Each unit had a relatively strong individual who assumed some leadership at times. In one case, this was a widow whose mother, sons, sister, and nephews filled two tents. In another case, it was an older man who led his married son, brother-in-law, and an unrelated household. The third unit was only one family.

Sajuli's Camp

Probably the most highly organized and centrally controlled camp in the area is that led by Sajuli (1745), located about twenty-five miles south of Port Harrison.

This camp maintained the same site winter and summer — a sheltered bay on the mainland which provided excellent anchorage for their peterhead and whaleboat as well as good fishing near the mouth of a creek in early summer.

Sajuli owns the peterhead with his two brothers, Ilai (1758) and

Simiuni (1752). As the eldest of these brothers, he rules his camp as well as captaining the peterhead. He decides when they will go to Harrison to trade, how long they will stay there, when they will go seal-hunting, and when they will move into tents.[5]

The eight tents in this camp are closely crowded side by side — all within twenty yards of Sajuli's tent in the centre.[4] In no other camp are the tents nearly so close.

Sajuli's camp also exhibits the only example of community labour observed all summer: the marshy meadow behind the tents is drained by a small ditch that runs for about fifty yards. Such trenches have been dug at Port Harrison on the suggestion of whites, but this is the only one in a camp. It indicates that this camp has a high community consciousness that sanctions work on projects not directly beneficial to the worker but contributing to the general welfare of the community.

Although this camp was not studied extensively, it is possible to generalize from experience in other camps to suggest that this camp exhibits a high degree of food sharing between households. The fact that the camp collects and stores dogfood centrally for all the dogs of the camp tends to support such an assumption. Sajuli's camp is the only one where dogs are considered a joint community responsibility, all other dogs being the responsibility of a particular household, often of a particular person.

From comparing these three examples, we see that the amount and nature of community organization differs widely between the various communities in the Harrison area. It is therefore not possible to make generalizations that are altogether accurate. There are several generalizations that do

appear valid, however, in comparing camp and settlement communities.

1. In general, camp life exhibits more interdependence between households than does settlement life, and as a corollary, camp life is more community-directed than is settlement life. Even in the most weakly organized camps, several households act together in most things, while in the settlement each household is an independent unit.

2. Half of the camps exhibit a clear community organization, with a specific leader who directs the movements of the camp, whether for hunting, trading, or seasonal migration. This leader owns and controls the powered boats of the camp.

3. Camps generally feel more solidarity than does the settlement, partly resulting from closer kinship ties.

Camp Leaders

There are three strong camp leaders around Harrison: Apjaqa (1706), Sajuli (1745) and Jani (904).

Traditionally, leaders did not play a large part in the Eskimo community, since there were few decisions to be made.[6] With the advent of the fur-trader, however, leaders arose because the trading companies found it convenient to deal with one spokesman for a group.

In the period of competition between Révillon Frères and Hudson's Bay Company at Port Harrison, each company tried to ensure trappers' loyalty by offering inducement gifts. Most of these were rifles, traps, cloth, etc.; but several large boats, including peterheads, were given to leading men in different camps to ensure the whole camp's trading at one store as

well as to improve the efficiency of the trapping. It is not clear how important a rôle the camp leader had before owning these boats, but it is certain that the ownership of a peterhead enhanced the position of authority of the leader and continues to do so today.

Two of the leaders inherited the position — along with the boat — from their fathers. The third organized his own camp over the years. Evidently the idea of hereditary leadership is accepted, although a man must be strong to assume leadership. As one Eskimo informant put it:

> The son of a leader usually becomes the leader if he's good. Inukpak and Sajuli's fathers were leaders before them. Yes, the son generally always does. If the Old Man gets too old to work, then he passes it on to his son, if he isn't a bum — you can't make a leader out of a bum (laughs). Abraham (Apjaqa) has no sons capable of being leaders.

The significance of the boat in leadership is examplified by the following remark by the same informant. When I asked him who was leader of the Bates Peninsula Camp, he replied, "Oh, well, there's no real leader there. Everyone owns the boat, and it's not the same man steers it every time." The large power boat in a camp is used for seal hunting, soapstone expeditions, trading trips, moving camp in spring and fall, and also provides some cash income to the camp through transport and charter. To control the movements of the boat is therefore to make a very large portion of the camp's decisions.

Aside from authority, the leader is also the wealthiest man in his camp. Jani's household (904), for instance, had a cash income of $1,478 in 1956-57, while the average for all other households in his camp was only $662 in the same period. The leader has a larger <u>qamutik</u> (sled), more dogs, nets, and guns, than any other household in the camp.[7] Furthermore,

the leader's prestige is indicated in the fact that his daughters often marry men considerably younger than themselves, and always live in their father's camp rather than the camp of their husband's family.

Whatever the situation traditionally, then, it is clear that during the height of the fur-trading at Port Harrison, the leader was a man of authority and prestige in his camp and passed this status on to his heirs. With the coming of wage employment, this authority is diminishing as the camp breaks up.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

The basic unit of Eskimo social organization is the household, comprising all those that live under the same roof.[1] The household closely approximates the family as defined by Burgess and Locke:

> ... a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, or adoption; constituting a single household; interacting and communicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister; and creating and maintaining a common culture.[2]

If one takes a flexible view of the social roles included in this definition, it would fit the Eskimo household. Unfortunately, other writers have variously used the term family to refer to anything from the nuclear family to the extended kin group. The term is therefore ambiguous unless modifiers are added, such as "biological," "nuclear," or "extended." The term household is therefore considered preferable for this study because it is less ambiguous and stresses the fact that the primary characteristic of the unit is that all members live together, rather than emphasizing the nature of the relationships between the various members.

Because the household is the basic social unit in Eskimo society, daily life can best be described in terms of this unit. For this reason, this chapter will deal with the daily round and the division of labour

between the sexes as well as housing, marriage, child-raising and adoption.

Housing

Because the field research for this thesis was limited to the summer months, no winter accommodations were observed. Most of the households in the settlement live in small wooden houses during the winter provided by their employers. All camp Eskimos spend seven months of the year in snow houses, illut (singular illuq). Of the 65 Eskimo households in the area, only one lives in his house the year around: the HBC interpreter. All others move into tents, tupit (singular tupiq) for the summer, both in settlement and camp.

From descriptions offered by whites at Port Harrison, we may infer that the illuq is organized very much like the tent, with the exceptions that it is smaller and that the seal-oil lamp, kulliq, replaces the stove in the centre.

Eskimo tents in the area of Port Harrison are usually oval, although several are rectangular. They vary in size from twelve to almost thirty feet in length, depending on the wealth and size of the household. Made of eight-ounce white canvas, these tents have a short ridge-pole, qimuruk, held up by two tent-poles, qanut (singular qanuk). From the ridge, the tent slopes gently in all directions to the wall, usually about 3'6" high, which is held up by short poles (napajuktut, singular napajuktuk) about every two feet. The tent is held out from the top of each napajuktuk by a guy-rope anchored around a large stone. The bottom of the wall is also anchored by a row of stones around the inside. At one end of the tent

is a wooden door, approximately 20" x 36" fitted into a wooden frame with a very high sill. The door opens out so that dogs may not enter.[3]

From the outside, there is little apparent difference between camp and settlement tents. The canvas is generally newer in the settlement, since many camp tents have been heavily patched to last several seasons.[4] Several settlement tents have rafters as well as the ridge-pole, so the tent sags less and looks neater.

How the tent is organized inside depends on whether or not the household is nomadic. In the settlement, and in those camps that stay in the same place every summer, tents have floors made from packing boxes of scrap linoleum. (In one case, a tent floor was covered with a neat carpet of cocoanut matting traded from a cargo ship.) Other tents use only the ground, levelling it with gravel. The tent is oriented so that the ground slopes from the back down toward the door, usually, therefore, facing the water.

At the back of the tent is the sleeping platform, stretching right across the tent. This platform is separated from the floor of the tent by a large plank or log, behind which the ground is levelled more carefully, then covered with crude mats formed of willow twigs. On these mats are placed caribou skins, on top of which is spread the bedding, usually consisting of patchwork quilts, blankets, and often a sleeping-bag. Behind and along the sides of the sleeping platform are piled wooden boxes, cartons, and suitcases where all possessions not in daily use are stored. During the day, the pillows are placed at the back of the platform, but at night, everyone sleeps with his head toward the front of the tent.[5]

Although the sleeping platform is almost universal in the camps, the bed is replacing it in several tents in the settlement. Different stages

of transition from sleeping platform to bed are evident. The old catechist, Vilia (750), has the regular sleeping platform, raised 5" above the floor of the tent and defined by a large log. Pita (777) has a sleeping platform, higher than Vilia's, and with one section about three feet wide raised as high as a bed for his eldest son. In Lukasi's tent (1620, where I lived), half the sleeping platform remains, occupied by Lukasi, his wife, and two youngest children; the other half is replaced by a bed made of packing boxes and oriented across the tent, occupied by his eldest daughter, Ani (1623), age 23. Aisa (706) has split the sleeping platform in half with a bureau between, so that each half resembles a low wooden bed without springs or headboards. Lasajusi (741) has two spring beds in the back corners of the tent, with a high wooden cupboard between. Vilia (696) a special constable for the RCMP, has built himself a wooden tent platform with a full-sized door in the side wall, a double bed at one end and a double-decker bunk at the other.

From the sleeping platform to the door of the settlement tent, the sides are usually lined with counters made from boxes and scrap lumber. These are less evident in the camps, particularly in those camps that are nomadic, although every tent has at least one table or box upon which cooking utensils and food are placed. These counters and tables are usually kept fastidiously neat.

If there is a growing girl in the family, roughly between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, the counter along one side of the tent is used solely to display little trinkets and nick-nacks that she has collected. The counter is often covered with colorful pages from magazines, spread evenly and hanging down to cover the space below the counter, which is

often built on two levels to display more items. The items include framed photographs of movie-stars, small toys, empty cosmetic bottles and jars, dishes, lightbulbs, pictures cut from magazines, etc., and usually a jar of smaller trinkets used as stakes for card games: pens, pencils, barrettes, lighters, beads, and costume jewelry. Pictures are hung on the tent-poles above the counter, along with bead-work or other handicrafts.

In the centre of all camp tents and several settlement tents, a stove made of sheet iron or a discarded oil drum rests on stones or a wooden base. In the settlement, this stove burns scrap lumber that is collected around the docks. Caribou moss is used in the camp stoves, collected by the women, who tramp inland every day to carry a great pile home on their backs. It is left to dry inside the tent near the door. (Cooking is done almost exclusively on Primus stoves unless the camp runs out of kerosene.) A stove-pipe carries smoke through the roof of the tent. Over the stove a rack supports wet socks, silapaks, or drying sealmeat and fish roe.

A considerable amount of raw, cooked, and partially consumed country food gives camp tents a rather strong odour that is lacking in settlement tents, where most food comes out of tins and bags.

Marriage

A household is not equivalent to a nuclear family[6] among the Port Harrison Eskimo. In most cases, a household will include one nuclear family, but there are many cases where it includes more than one, and, in some cases, less. This will be discussed in more detail below.

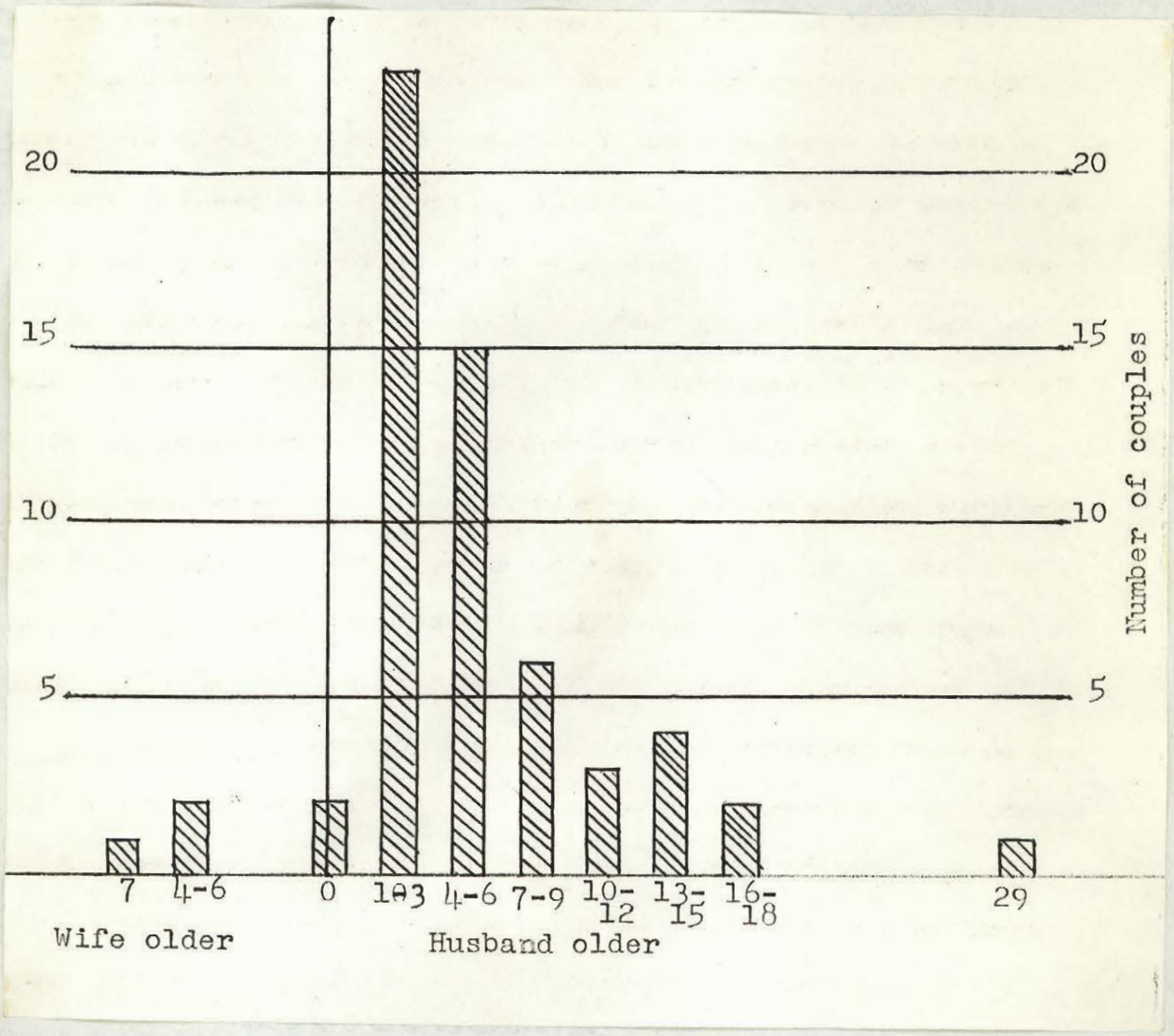
A new household is not always set up on the occasion of each marriage.

Very often a newly married couple will live with the parents of either partner until they begin to have a family of their own. Sometimes they never establish a new household, but live with the older generation, gradually assuming from them the organizational control of the household.

An Eskimo wedding involves no more than the agreement of all parties concerned and the moving of one partner into the household of the other. No ceremony nor exchange of goods is involved. It is therefore not possible to define marriage in terms of a ceremonial event. Nor can it be defined by a religious service, for only a small portion of the couples have been married in church. Of the 59 couples, only 17 are listed in the marriage register of the Anglican Mission, although several of the older couples may have been married by itinerant missionaries previous to the establishment of the mission in 1927.[7] For the purpose of this study, then, marriage will be defined as extended cohabitation between a man and woman leading to the acquisition of children, either through pregnancy or adoption.

Age at marriage: Because of the fact that few marriages are solemnized in the church, it is difficult to determine the usual marriage age. Even those that undergo a church ceremony may do so years after they have begun to live together, depending on the skill of the missionary and the strength of their own convictions. The registry of marriage in the church or RCMP detachment is therefore no indication of marriage age among the Eskimo. From observation it appears that there is great variation in marriage age, many men passing the age of thirty as bachelors, others getting married in their early twenties. Girls marry any time after puberty, although there are many who are not married before twenty-five, and two spinsters over thirty-five: Mini (1613) and Kalai (1579). In one case I observed, a

FIGURE V
AGE DIFFERENTIAL OF MARRIED COUPLES AT PORT HARRISON, P.Q.



fifteen-year-old girl had just married a twenty-nine-year-old man the week previously, and they were living together in her parents' tent.

Wives are usually younger than their husbands, as can be seen from the adjoining chart. For those that are, the median age differential is five years with a range from one to twenty-nine years. The modal differential is only two years, however, and almost half are three years or less. The two men with the greatest age spread between themselves and their wives are both camp leaders; Jani (904) and Apjaqa (1706).

There are three cases of wives older than their husbands, ranging from five to seven years: Siaja (894), Ani (792), and Miaji (1757). Two of these cases are daughters of camp leaders: Ani and Miaji.

Monogamy: Marriages are primarily monogamous in both camp and settlement. Arctic conditions almost force this to be the case, since every man needs a sewer, cook, and boot-softener, and every woman needs a hunter and trapper. There are a few cases of poligamy, however.

Polygyny, one man having more than one wife, occurs in three households.[8] In two of these, the man took a second wife when his first was in hospital for a protracted stay. The other case is the wealthiest man in the area, whose standard of living distinctly marks him off from the rest of the Eskimo population.

There are several households where a group of brothers live together, one of whom is married. In an economic sense this could be considered polyandry, since the wife of one brother must sew and cook for all and also benefits from their hunting and trapping. In all such cases, however, the woman is recognized as the wife of one particular brother, and her children are his alone. It was not determined whether or not this relationship

included sexual intercourse with the other brothers.

It is safe to conclude that, on the whole, marriage is monagamous in both camp and settlement. The Anglican missionaries expend much effort in trying to make this into a value.[9]

Patrilocality: Marriages are usually patrilocal. When the partners are from different camps, as is usually the case, the wife joins her husband's camp. The couple may often live within the husband's household, but may as often establish a new household. In three cases, however, where the wife is the daughter or sister of a camp leader, her husband has joined her camp, a matrilocal tendency probably resulting from the higher status of a relative of the camp leader.

Although there is this definite patrilocal tendency in inter-camp marriages, there appears to be a matrilocal tendency in those cases where the partners are from the same camp and move in with one partner's parents. That is, when a couple living in the same camp get married, the husband moves into his wife's household. Cases of this type are too few, however (two), to indicate that this is a definite pattern.

It is difficult to say what tendency appears in the location of marriages in the settlement. Since the population is limited to those households that have at least one member working for a white establishment, almost all these households have moved into the settlement rather recently. There does appear to be a neolocal tendency, since there are no joint families[10] within the settlement. Three couples who have married recently have remained near the husband's parents in the settlement, their fathers having something to do with the fact that they got jobs in the settlement.

According to one Eskimo informant, the Eskimos prefer to marry out of their own kinship. This may account for the fact that, with the exception of one camp, there appears to be a tendency for marriages between camps rather than within camps. The exception is Apjaqa's camp (1706), where three of Apjaqa's children have married three of Niviaksi's (1728) children from the same camp. A possible explanation is the fact that this camp was established by Apjaqa and Niviaksi, who were not brought up in the same camp, and therefore not related in any way.

The Household

It has already been stated that the household is not equivalent to the nuclear family. Some of these households are composed of joint families. Of the sixty-five households in the area during the summer of 1958, only two-thirds (43) were nuclear families, including those in which one of the spouses had died (8). Over a quarter (17) were households that included one or more kin of either spouse (usually a parent or sibling), seven of these included two nuclear families (usually a married child and his children). Two other households were men with two wives and their children. The remaining three were collections of single people.

In terms of distribution economics, the household is the smallest unit. The results of hunting of any member belong to the household as a unit. Women sew, cook, and serve all the men in the household. In the area of cash income, the household is not quite as communist, for every man trades for his own earnings. But since a good share of earnings must go towards food, all men contribute goods to the household larder. Thus, a growing son

will trade the money he earns from his own carvings, but most of it will be spent on lard, baking powder, flour - even some tobacco for his mother. The rest he will spend as he chooses on tobacco, gum, ammunition or an item of clothing for himself.

The household is also the unit of education and discipline. Any adult member may give commands to children and may punish children. Further, the children learn from all the adults in the household the skills and knowledge necessary for adulthood. They also learn to read and write Eskimo syllabics from the adult members of the household.

A household always includes more than one person. If a single person moves into a community, he is either absorbed into an existing household or someone moves in with him. This was true both in the settlement and in the camp, for either male or female. In the Inukpak Camp, for instance, Taiviti (876) was left alone when his mother died, so a son of Ilaisiapik (915) moved in with him. In the settlement, when Kalai (1579) returned from hospital without her adopted son, Ani (1623) moved into her tent with her.

Having defined household, we may now proceed to compare the household in the camp with that in the settlement. When one makes the comparison, one is struck by the fact that the household is much less clearly defined in the camp. The fundamental difference between the two is found in the fact that the camp household is limited by a community organization, and is therefore less independent than the household in the settlement, where we have shown Eskimo community organization to be at a minimum.

Traditionally, an Eskimo local group was highly inter-dependent. The welfare of all members was the responsibility of the whole group; food was shared between households, particularly in times of scarcity; and

social control was exercised by the group on all its members.[11] We have seen that the economic basis still exists for such community solidarity in the camps today. The household is therefore a more fluid unit in the camp from the points of view both of function and also of composition. Eating, sleeping, hunting, recreation are not clearly defined as household functions, as will be seen from the description given below of daily life, in the Inukpak Camp. From the point of view of composition, a camp household changes from season to season when the camp moves to a new site or from tent to illuq, illuq to tent. There does not appear to be a general pattern in these moves, for we find some households splitting for the winter, others combining in winter and splitting for the summer.[12]

In the settlement, where a wage economy prevails already, the household serves many functions that belong to the total community in the camp. Although country food is still shared,[13] wages are not, so the household becomes more independent from the community as its economy becomes more wage-centred.

The Daily Round

A brief description of the daily round will indicate the main difference between settlement and camp households. For this purpose, let us compare a typical weekday in Iva's household (1621) in the settlement with a day in Miaji's household (877) in the Inukpak Camp.

A Day in a Settlement Household

In Iva's tent, the day begins at 7.30 a.m. Either Iva or her husband, Lukasi (1620) gets up, lights the primus, puts the tea-kettle on. When the tea boils, it is handed around with chunks of bannock, and the coffee kettle is put on the primus for Iva, who never drinks tea. Tea or coffee are drunk before the rest of the family rises.

If it is not raining, Lukasi puts on his outer trousers and his parka and goes off at eight o'clock to work on construction at the radio station. If it is raining, Lukasi stays home and works on a new fishing net or looks at magazines, drinking tea often. Rain or shine, Iva begins to sew clothes, sweep the tent, wash clothes, or work on a grass basket. The oldest daughter, Ani (1623), leaves about nine to look after the missionary's children. Inuksiak (1834) goes off to school or out to play with other boys, and Alisi (2159), age two, stays in the tent with her mother most of the day.

About twelve o'clock, Lukasi returns for lunch, which is usually boiled fish or canned meat, followed by tea and bannock. Ani brings the missionary's children into the tent to play for half an hour before taking them home, and Inuksiak returns for lunch if there is no school. So the whole family is together at midday.

At one Lukasi leaves for work, Iva continues her household duties. During the afternoon there are often visiting women in the tent, sometimes camp women whose husbands are trading at the H.B.C. store. Ani is either home making bannock, washing or sewing, or else she is off visiting another tent.

After work Lukasi visits his two fish nets, either accompanying another Eskimo or borrowing a qajaq, since he owns no boat. Alisi is put to bed and

Inuksiak and Ani go off to visit or play keep-away.[14] Lukasi and Iva continue their household tasks until they retire at ten or eleven.

A Day in a Camp Household[15]

Life in the camp depends much less on the clock; times of rising and going to bed vary greatly from day to day. On the average, however, Miaji's household rises much later in summer than does Iva's (averages this summer: Miaji, 9 a.m.; Iva, 7.30 a.m.).

Miaji always gets up first, heats the tea and serves it with bannock to all the men before they rise. When all are up, everyone crouches on the sleeping platform and says prayers in unison. Sali (906), seventeen, then takes the qajaq to visit the nets while Miaji sews or washes clothes. When Sali returns, everyone who is in the tent at the time has some raw fish, then more tea and bannock.

The younger children play outside all day, coming home whenever they are hungry or sleepy.

On sunny days Sali carves outside the tent, usually with another man. Occasionally he will carve indoors on rainy days, but usually he spends bad weather visiting other tents or playing cards. The women visit back and forth quite often, but usually continue working throughout the visiting.

Toward late afternoon, Sali again visits the nets, usually returning with fish. Everyone immediately helps themselves, again following the raw fish with tea and bannock.

During the evenings the men and younger girls play keep-away until dark. Miaji plays cards in her own tent, putting the two younger sons to bed as they demand it, and continuing with her rummy until midnight or

later. One evening she played until 4 a.m. Before retiring, she says prayers with whomever is in the tent at the time. Sali usually plays cards in another tent where several men and women are gathered after twilight. Often he will not return to sleep, but sleeps in whichever tent he happens to be visiting at the end of the evening. Again, if a friend is with Sali near his own tent, they may both sleep in Miaji's tent.

This daily routine is only interrupted when the men go off to Harrison to trade or go north to mine soapstone and to hunt. It also differs slightly on Sundays, when no cards are played nor soapstone carved.

From these brief descriptions of daily routine in camp and settlement households, several differences are obvious. Probably most significant is the fact that daily functions of the camp household are not as formalized nor regulated as in the settlement. Meals are not eaten as a family, even sleeping is not invariably done in the same household. Prayers are not a family matter, but are the concern of whoever is in the tent at the requisite time. This would indicate that prayers, too, are a function of the total community rather than the household.

Another obvious difference is the fact that camp life is not regulated by the clock. Although several households own clocks (assiduously setting them by my watch every time I visited them), there was no concern for a regular schedule during the day. In fact, the camp was operating on a day of more than twenty-four hours. Reluctance to end card games carried the day further into the night, and since there was no pressing reason to rise in the morning, the day got under way later every morning. When I first arrived at Inukpak's camp, the household rose at eight; ten days later we were rising at ten or eleven. Periodic trips to Harrison break this cycle, begin another.

A third important difference is the periodicity of camp life. Every week or ten days, the men must travel to Harrison to trade their carvings for supplies. This regular trip breaks the day-to-day life of the camp into cycles of feast and lean, work and play, routine and festival -- cycles that do not appear in the settlement where one day follows another in a relatively unchanging manner. Settlement life offers less variety, and the division between work and recreation is more clearly defined there.

Fourthly, the daily life of the women does not differ radically between settlement and camp. Both have similar household tasks to perform. The main differences are lack of schedule in the camp, and a stricter division of labour, which is discussed below.

A final and minor difference is the regularity of household prayers in the camp, the lack of it in the settlement. This will be discussed below in the section on religious organization.

Division of Labour Within the Household

In both settlement and camp the separation between the sexes is marked. Although this division is more strictly defined in the camp economy than in the settlement, a strict division in most social activities is recognized equally in both camp and settlement. In the church, for instance, women always sit on the right, men on the left. In the game of keep-away, women and men are never on the same team, all women being on one team and the men on one or two other teams.

Even in casual gatherings men and women seldom mix. When an airplane arrived on the HBC beach, for example, the men crowded around it to watch the pilot step ashore, while the women stood in a group on the dock about

ten yards away, then rushed down to look over the plane when the men had walked away. When an Eskimo boat arrived from a camp, the same division was observed, although in this case it was the women who rushed forward to greet the new-comers.

This division is sharply represented in traditional Eskimo society, and is exhibited especially in the economic division of labour.[16] All activities having to do with the house are feminine, while all activities having to do with hunting, trapping, and transportation are masculine. As soon as a man enters the tent or illuq, he is waited on hand, mouth, and foot. He sits on the sleeping platform and receives tea and bannock without requesting it. Anything out of his reach is brought to him on request. And some woman of the house works over his boots (kamit, singular kamik) to soften them if they are stiff.

All sewing is done by women. In making a qajaq, men make the frame, but women sew the skins on it. Even in constructing a model qajaq, this division is maintained. Similarly, all skinning and dressing of animals is done by women, and all washing of clothes.

In the camp, the cooking process is entirely a woman's job. From the carrying of water and moss and the making of the fire to the boiling of tea or meat and serving it, the woman does it all. She is always the first up in the morning, even, serving tea to all the men before they rise.

That this division is not as strict in the settlement was evident from the examination of the daily round. Men often carry water and they even cook at times, although serving tea to guests is still exclusively a woman's prerogative. In the tent where I lived, Lukasi was often the first up, making the tea and tending the fire.

Young children of either sex may assume feminine responsibilities if asked by their elders. The boy is generally free to leave the tent more often, however, while the girl may be called on to help her mother or another adult woman in cooking, washing, sewing, or chewing skins. Children do not appear to have definite tasks, but are used as general helpers on whatever tasks the adults are employed with.

When they come into their teens, the boys cease any feminine responsibilities, and may instead be charged with tending the nets or feeding the dogs, sometimes even accompanying their elders on hunting or trading trips.

Girls have regular tasks in the home from the age of ten or eleven. From this age, they clean the tent, carry water, or make tea without their mother's bidding. They also begin to sew clothing, though sewing skins begins later.

Old men, who can no longer hunt or trap, still receive deference and are waited on by women. Old women, however, continue to work in the household until they die.

Child Raising

The responsibility for the well-being of the infants and children is entirely a feminine one. For the first four years of life, the baby is almost constantly in the company of its mother or an older sister, usually strapped on her back with a shawl.

Until the age of six months, the baby is wrapped in swaddling blankets when carried on the mother's back.[17] While in the tent, it is usually semi-naked. In the settlement, some mothers use diapers on their infants,

both indoors and out. The following is a description of a woman from a camp near the settlement:

> Amili (717) moved into settlement today with Jupi (2132) on her back in the pouch of her winter parka. He was hungry, so she took him into Taiviti's tent, offered him the breast ... After feeding, still crying, so Amali changed him. She undid safety-pin, unwrapped him from two blankets. He was wearing little overalls with a sweater, obviously crushed in same position for some time. Undid bottom of overalls, slid down plastic pants, took off diaper, put on another pair with safety-pins, and dressed him again, but did not wrap him in the blankets.

A baby is carried on a woman's back in two shawls. The woman bends over and places the baby on her back. Then the first shawl is folded diagonally and the fold drawn around the baby's shoulders over the woman's shoulders, the corners crossed in front and carried back under her arms to tie in a reef knot under the child's feet. When the baby grows too large for this arrangement (about six to nine months), it is placed straddling the woman's back, so that its feet extend forward under her arms and the corners of the shawl are knotted under its rump. Then another shawl is stretched over the child, covering its head if the weather is inclement, and either held by the woman or knotted behind like the first. A woman becomes expert in placing a child on her back and removing it unaided. Often girls of ten or eleven are seen carrying younger siblings.

Permissivity and Obedience: Childhood is marked by permissivity. A young child is not prevented from doing anything it wishes, even though it may interfere with adult activity.[18] The following illustration involves a three-year-old:

> Pini was making a net; Sapak, his adopted son, was sitting on the platform beside him. The net stretched from the tent pole to Pini and right past Sapak. Sapak became rambunctious and swung his arm around until it hit the net. He hit it several times,

> finally knocking the iqalunga (form for knotting net) out of Pini's hand. Without a word, Pini reached for the iqalunga again, and moved so that the net was out of Sapak's reach. No one rebuked Sapak, nor moved him.

At another time, the men in the camp were kicking a ball around. A little boy of three wandered into the game, but there appeared to be complete disregard for his safety as the ball and flying feet hurtled around him. Only when he had been knocked over a few times and began to cry did his father pick him up and carry him to the perimeter of the game area. The same permissive disregard is evident when children play with sharp or dangerous objects.

Mothers appear to be entirely permissive about breast-feeding their babies: whenever baby cries it receives the breast.[19] A child will be carried whenever it demands it - even at the age of three or four - provided there is a woman with a free back.

A child may play with a fragile utensil or destroy a toy without interference. No complicated toy remains in one piece very long, for some child (or even adult) will take it apart and destroy it.

Although the child experiences extreme permissivity, it carries out every task demanded of it as soon as it is old enough to comprehend. Such demands may be made on it by an adult, or even by another but older child, whether or not that person is a kinsman. Children may be asked by anyone older to pass the tea, bring a utensil, carry a message, or do any number of other small tasks. The child responds without hesitation: I did not once observe a child refuse to comply with such a request.

Affability: There is great emphasis placed on affability in children. From an early age, children are trained to acknowledge an adult's greeting with a smile and grunt. This may range from a formal mouth-smile to a sincerely warm appreciation of the greeting, depending on the situation and the child. Adults take delight in their children being friendly to adults, and push them forward in the presence of company.

Young children cry at the slightest provocation, on the other hand. A crying child is ignored until it calms down, is then distracted by food or conversation:

> Miaji (age 4) was playing with me, getting saucier and more violent until Siaja (mother) finally told her to stop, threatening her with being thrown to the "big dogs" outside. But Miaji continued her play until her mother threw a comb at her. Whereupon she began to cry with loud whoops for five minutes, ignored by her parents. Then she was offered tea and bannock, told gently to be quiet.

> Livai (age 4) was playing with Miaji (mother), got more and more violent until Miaji finally struck back, then gave him a spank across the bottom. He lay down and bawled, but completely ignored by mother until he slowed down. Then offered tea, bannock.

Toilet-Training: Children are trained from an early age to indicate to their mother when they need to urinate or defecate. A two-year-old boy, who was fast asleep in a tent I was visiting one evening, woke up suddenly, urinated when his mother placed him on the pot, and went back to sleep again without a murmur.

A mother encourages a male infant to urinate after nursing by manipulating his penis while holding him out so he will not wet himself nor her.

On one occasion a two-year-old girl soiled her underwear during the night:

> This morning Alisi woke up with soiled underwear. It was not noticed until Iva (mother) began to dress her, although my eyes were stinging as soon as she got out from under the covers: Exclamations of disgust from Iva, Ani (older sister), and Lukasi (father). She is stood up in the middle of the tent and looked at with disgust. Then she is undressed down to the underwear, which she is told to take off herself. Then Iva bathes her. Meantime, Alisi looks crest-fallen, on the verge of tears, but does not cry. She is not hit or scolded loudly. Lukasi speaking softly, Iva hardly at all, Ani a bit, mainly to express disgust. After she is washed and dressed, Alisi is quite happy, everything is forgotten.

Many small children wear split trousers during the summer, which move conveniently out of the way when they squat.

Oral Emphasis: Eskimos place great emphasis upon the mouth in childhood. Mothers offer their babies either breast, bottle, or dummy-nipple whenever they indicate the slightest discomfort. Little babies are often kissed on the mouth, and appear to have a learned response by the age of six months. Children are constantly chewing or sucking something. Gum is very popular, but they also chew seal skin, toys, or the sleeves of their parkas. All chewing is accompanied with a large amount of salivation.

This oral emphasis continues into adult life, and adults chew almost as much of the time as children. In the church, the front edge of each pew is deeply chewed opposite each place a mouth can reach it during a kneeling prayer.[20]

Differences Between Camp and Settlement: There appears to be little difference between camp and settlement in relation to child-rearing. Permissivity is slightly limited in the settlement by the property of the whites, which an Eskimo mother will assiduously guard from her children. Another limitation is placed on children by the various possessions of the settlement Eskimo which represent substantial investment and are therefore

guarded from the children's destructive hands, such as radios, lamps, and oil stoves. This may indicate a learned pattern, however, rather than purely utilitarian concern, as indicated by one observation in a camp. A woman had just finished mending a qajaq that had sprung a leak through careless handling in shallow water. Then while she put away her needle and caribou sinew, her four-year-old son climbed up on the qajaq and jumped up and down on it as it rested on the rocky beach. His mother made no motion or remonstrance to stop him, although the qajaq represents one of the greatest investments of labour the camp Eskimo owns. This apparent unconcern for its preservation fits into the pattern of permissivity and may indicate that such concern expressed in the settlement over children playing with less valuable property is actually learned from whites.

Adoption

Adoption of children is much more prevalent among Eskimos than among other Canadians. Of the 175 children, 28 are adopted, or 16%. Again, official records of adoptions are of little help, since only three of these 28 are listed in the birth records.

Adoption is an Eskimo adaptation to the hardships of a high infant mortality rate. One informant told me,

> All Eskimo like kids. If someone not got, get from another so all have. If too old, get kids from someone has a lot. All Eskimo like kids in tent. I love my Jimmy (an adopted son).

Both sterile couples and those that lose their children receive children from other couples, usually — though not invariably -- from relatives.

Adoption rates are considerably higher in the settlement than in the camps. Fourteen of the 38 settlement children, or 36.8% are known to be adopted, while the figure for the camps is only 10.2% (14/137). Although it is not always possible to determine whether or not a child is adopted, particularly in the camps, we may safely say that the adoption rate is twice as high in the settlement as in the camps. A possible explanation is that settlement households are better able to care for children, so absorb illegitimate babies, a majority of which are born to girls in the settlement.

Illegitimacy: Illegitimacy is not a problem because of the great desire for children. Because it is not a legal concept in this case, we may define it as a child born to a woman who does not have a husband. In some cases, if her household can afford it, a single woman will keep her child -- there are even two cases of single women adopting children. But usually it is adopted into a family. The majority of these illegitimate babies have white fathers, and there is one couple all of whose adopted children are half-Eskimo.

Illegitimacy accounts for only a small portion of the adoptions. In most cases, the child is born to a married couple, but adopted by another either because the parents cannot keep it or because the adopters are in need of a child through deaths or sterility.

Two Types of Adoption: There are two distinct types of adoption among the Port Harrison Eskimos. In one type, a child may be accepted into a family to receive the same affection and material benefits and share the same responsibilities as the biological children. This type of adoption usually occurs at birth, though it may occur later, particularly if it is a second adoption for the child.[21]

Or a child may be adopted into a family to help the woman look after

other children, to do the menial tasks. There are three such adoptions, all in the settlement, and all three girls were adopted at about the age of five or six — the age when they become an asset rather than a liability. These cases have been described by various welfare workers as "slaves," since they work very hard and are dressed more raggedly than the other children in the household. According to one white informant, they are treated "just like dogs. Their meat is thrown to them just like to the dogs, and they are kicked around." No evidence was observed to substantiate this statement.

In the rigours of arctic life, adoption is a social adjustment to spread children more evenly throughout the community to the benefit of both generations. As such, it operates without legal hinderance, and is often a very flexible arrangement. One small girl of two had already experienced three mothers: her original unmarried mother, a first adoption, and a subsequent adoption. If her present mother were to go to hospital, she would probably move again. The principle of distributing the children among households thus acts both to share the blessing of children and also to ensure the best possible survival rate for the population.

The relative lack of ego-involvement of Eskimos in their children greatly facilitates adoption. A child may be given up for adoption without great suffering or trauma. Adopted children do not appear emotionally damaged in any way, nor is there any ambivalent feeling toward them by adults and other children. It is only in such an atmosphere that it can function adequately for Eskimo society.

CHAPTER EIGHT: KINSHIP

Much of Eskimo social organization can be understood in terms of kinship relationships. An individual's position in the community, his economic commitments, his authority, and his relationships with other members of the group — all have a kinship dimension.

In a short field project like this it is not possible to investigate all ramifications of the kinship system. This study will concentrate on the terminology used within one camp, the Inukpak Camp, and most of the conclusions are drawn from that material. The charts of terms that are given are based on actual usage discovered in this camp, rather than upon the word of informants. It therefore provides empirical examples which may be useful to the great task of analysing Eskimo kinship, while not being definitive itself.

Range

Because the population of Port Harrison is only 340, and there has been little immigration from other posts, the network of kinship relationships covers almost everyone in the area. Any individual has relatives in each community. (These relationships are diagrammed in kinship charts, appendix IX). What relationships can be deduced by linking nuclear families in this

way may vary considerably, however, from those relationships that are recognized in kinship terms by the individual. Few Eskimos remember ancestors beyond their own grandparents, and many do not remember even these. Furthermore, because the local group is not large, the number of kinsmen in daily contact is small. Relationships are seldom spelled out beyond the third degree.[1]

As we might expect, adults recognize more relatives than do children. Female children recognize more than their male peers, although there appears no corresponding difference between the adult sexes. The average number of kin recognized by adults in the camp studied was 42 of the 53 members of the camp.[2]

The range of persons recognized as kin is affected by the arrangement of local groups. Besides those recognized as kin in the camp, each person recognizes relatives in other camps as relatives. Some also recognize relatives in POV, Great Whale River, and among the families that have moved into the high arctic.

Murdock's "Eskimo Type"

Eskimo kinship has been used by G. P. Murdock as one type in his general typology of kinship systems. The "Eskimo type (of kinship system) includes all societies with Eskimo cousin terminology and no exogamous unilinear kin groups ... it is characterized by monogamy, independent nuclear families, lineal terms for aunts and nieces, the bilateral extension of incest taboos, and the frequent presence of such bilateral kin groups as kindred and demes."[3] He defines a deme as an "exogamous local group in the absence of unilinear descent,"[4] and kindred as a "kin-group of a typically bilateral type."[5]

Although this model has been derived from the Copper Eskimo described by Diamond Jenesse,[6] it is usually thought to describe all Eskimos of the Central and Eastern Arctic. Alaskan and Bering Sea Eskimo have been shown to have differing systems, possibly influenced by Siberian systems, and Giddings questions from this whether it is possible to speak of an "Eskimo type."[7] However, it may serve as a basis for our discussion of the kinship system of the Port Harrison Eskimo. Where there are discrepancies, they will be pointed out, but no attempt will be made at conjectural history to explain their origin. Such conjecture presupposes a previous pure "Eskimo type" at Harrison, an assumption that we have no grounds for making.[8]

Complications: The kinship system is complicated by two factors that make it difficult to unravel. One of these is the frequency and flexibility of adoption. The relationships a child gains from his residence in one household are retained when he moves to another household. The investigator may thus be confused if he is unaware of all the earlier households an individual has belonged to.

The other complicating factor is the Eskimo custom of recognizing the unity of name. Thus, a man may call a more distant relative his father if he has the same name as his father. This principle of unity of name will be discussed in more detail below.

When these complications have been overcome and removed from the model, we may examine it to see how it conforms to Murdock's "Eskimo type."

Cousin Terminology: The Port Harrison Eskimo does not distinguish between different kinds of cousins. There are eight different terms used to describe cousin (qatungutik, qatunguk, qatalak, naja'sak, qangiak, nuaraluaq, uja'uk, uju'uk), but these do not distinguish between parallel and cross

cousins.[9] The term qangiak, which appears from first glance at the material to mean paternal parallel cousin of a male (FaBrSo or FaBrDa, male speaking)[10], could more accurately be described as referring to first cousins of a male who are themselves male or figure their relationship predominantly through males.[11]

Cousins are differentiated according to their sex and relative sex. The term qatungutik is used between cousins of the same sex, while paja'sak is used by males to refer to female first cousins. Qangiak is used only by males to describe either sex, and nuaraluaq similarly only by females. The term antak, brother, is rarely used by a female to describe a first cousin.

With regard to age, if there is a large age differential, first cousins may be referred to by terms for aunt, uncle, nephew or niece.

We may therefore conclude that although there are different terms for cousins, these terms usually do not distinguish between parallel and cross cousins, usually do distinguish between siblings and first cousins. Thus the cousin terminology appears to follow Murdock's "Eskimo type."

Exogamous unilinear kin groups: These do not exist in this area, descent being figured bilaterally. The camp tends to favour exogamous marriages, but this is not the rule.

Monogamy: Although not a rule, monogamy is the predominant form of marriage, as we have seen in the section on marriage.

Independent nuclear families: It is not entirely clear what Murdock means by this term. If he means that the nuclear family functions as an independent unit, our chapter on the family has indicated this to be an approximately correct description. Marriages are sometimes neolocal, but with a patrilocal tendency in regard to camps.

Lineal terms for aunts and nieces: The accompanying chart indicates that all aunts and nieces are distinguished from one's own parents and siblings by separate terms. The terms for father and mother, ataatak and anaanak, are never used to describe other kin of their generation. A distinction exists between angak, MoBr, and akkak, FaBr, although a corresponding distinction does not appear between MoSi and FaSi because of lack of data. This indicates that the system of uncle terminology is bifurcate collateral rather than lineal, but the classificatory use of these terms indicates that it is predominantly lineal.

Nieces are always distinguished from one's own daughters, whether one is male or female. The terms in this case are lineal, since no distinction is made between sister's and brother's children.

Bilateral extension of incest taboos: There is evidence to support this characteristic of the "Eskimo type." One informant stated that Eskimos prefer marriages between as distant kin as possible and no marriages of first cousins were discovered. Sexual play among teen-agers in the same camp appears to be condoned, but does not necessarily result in marriage, even when a child is born.[12]

The extension of the incest taboo appears to be bilateral and proportional to the degree of relationship, first cousins never marrying, second cousins less likely to, and so on. Since few relations are recognized beyond the third degree, this essentially means that the taboo is extended to all first cousins.

Kindred and deme: Both kindred and deme are present in Port Harrison Eskimo society. The total population of the area can be considered a kindred, since it represents a kin-group extended bilaterally. This group

has little function except in providing personal identity, since the Inukjuamiut (people of Port Harrison) are distinguished from both the Povungnitumiut to the north (at POV) and the Kuukjuamiut to the south (at Great Whale River).[13]

Each camp represents a deme, since there is a tendency toward exogamy, and relations are recognized bilaterally within the camp. However, because of the great number of pseudo-kinship relationships recognized within the camp, we might say that the primary feature of the camp is locality rather than kinship. Nevertheless, some anthropologists have thought the term appropriate to define the camp.[14]

From this brief examination, it is possible to conclude that the Port Harrison Eskimo exhibit most of the characteristics of the "Eskimo type" of kinship system described by Murdock. Cousins are not differentiated according to their parents' relation to one's parents; there is no exogamous unilinear kin-group, marriage is primarily monogamous and the nuclear family is relatively independent; aunt and niece terms distinguish them from parents and siblings, and there is bilateral extension of incest taboos; both kindred and deme appear in this kinship system.

But the assignment of this system to one of a typology does not adequately describe it. For one thing, it does not explain the apparent classificatory use of such terms as akkak, which can be seen from the charts to apply to FaBr, FaSiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrSo, HuBr, HuBrSo, and MoBrSo. And it does not explain the fact that some terms appear only on the male chart, others only on the female chart. In order to determine what these distinctions mean, we must examine the system of kinship terminology more closely.

FIGURE VI
KINSHIP TERMS STARTING FROM FEMALE
(in use at Imukpak Camp, Port Harrison, P.Q.)

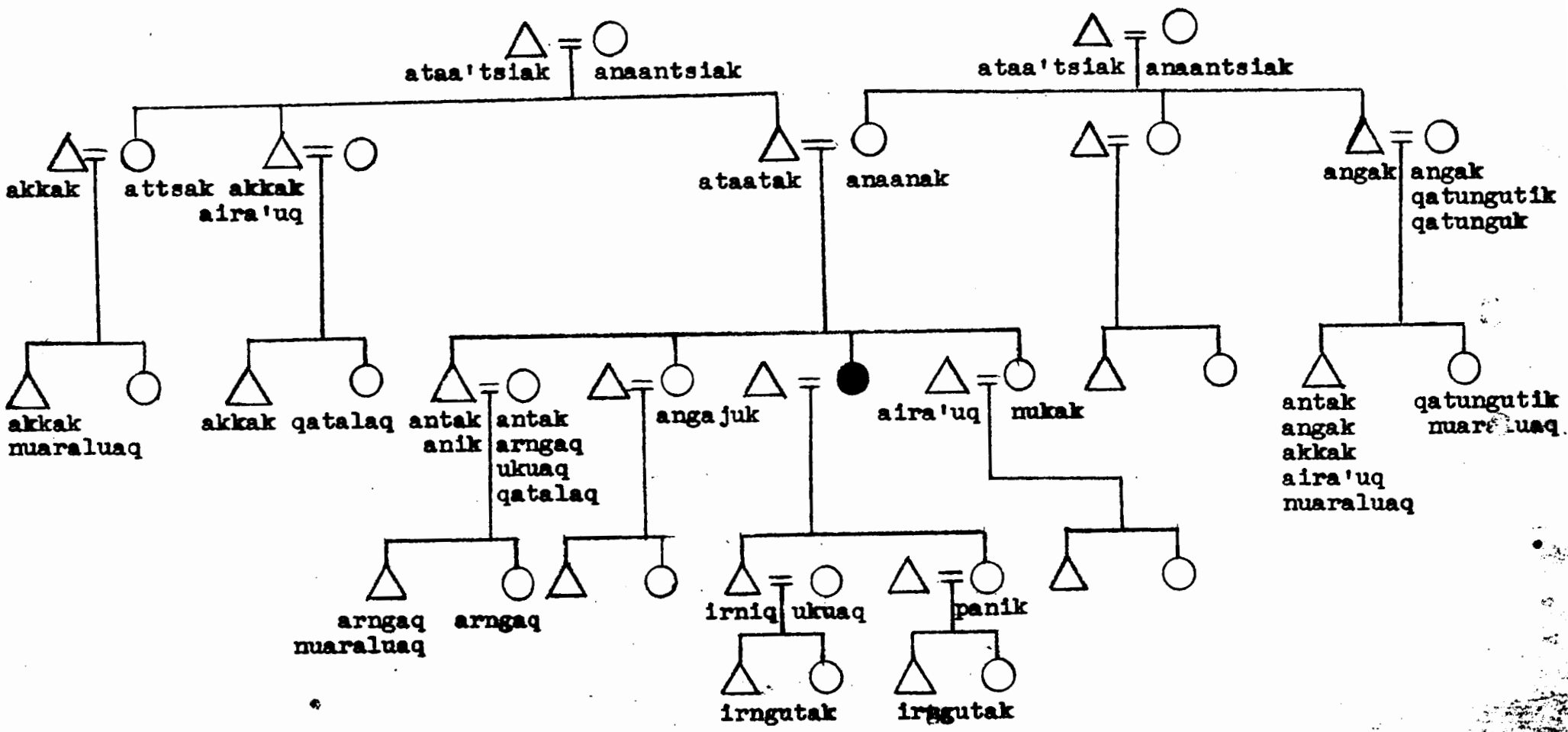


FIGURE VII
KINSHIP TERMS STARTING FROM MALE
(in use at Inukpak Camp, Port Harrison, P.Q.)

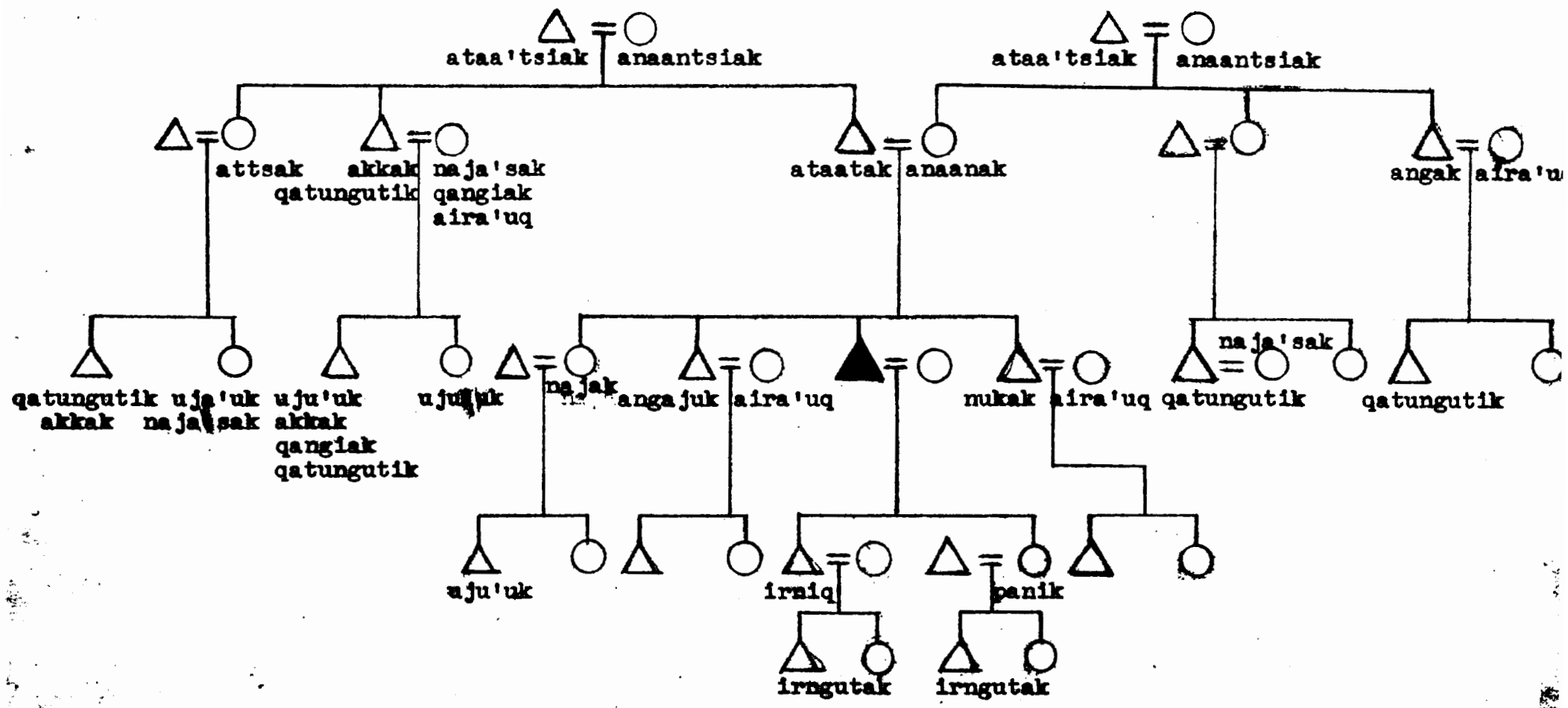
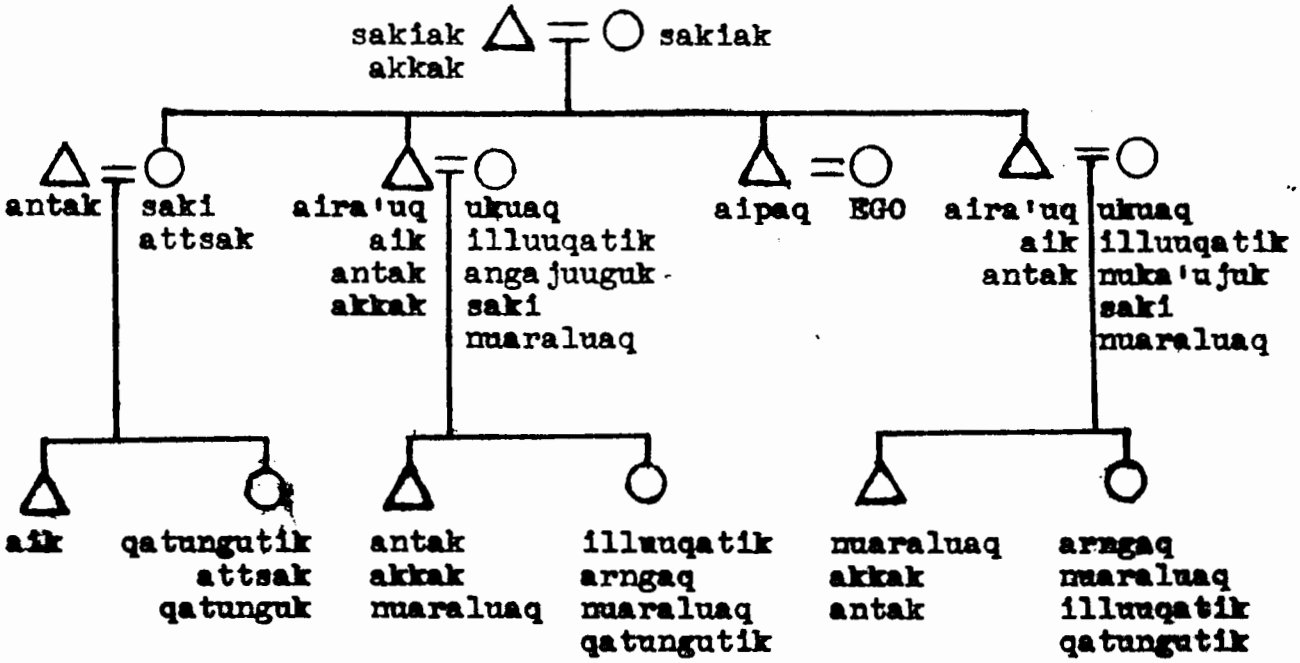
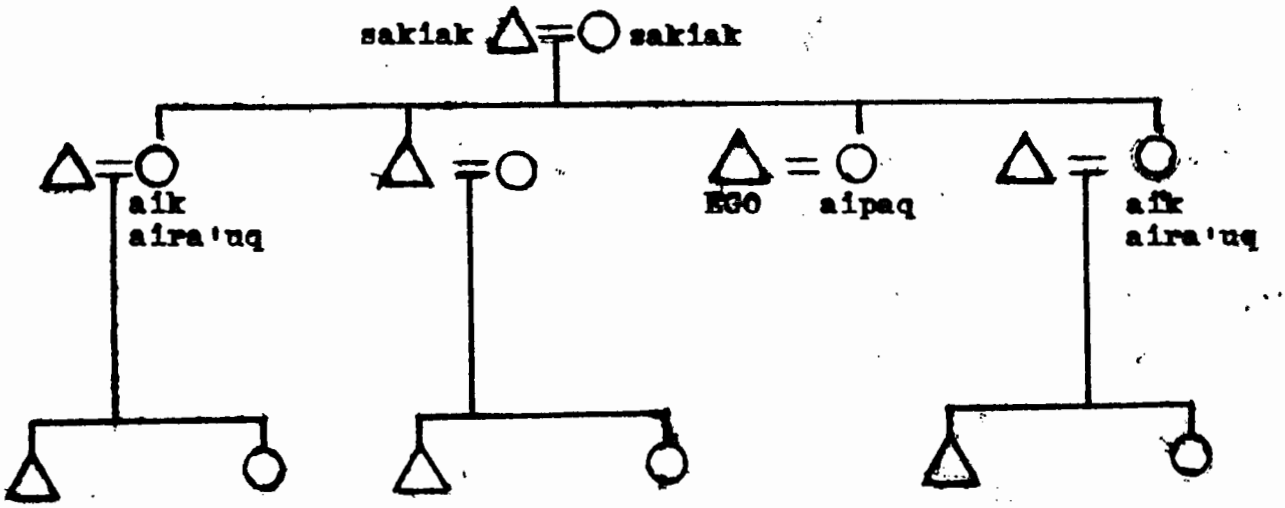


FIGURE VIII
AFFINAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS*

Female Speaking



Male Speaking



*Based on usage in Inukpak Camp, Port Harrison.

Analysis of Kinship Terminology

Eskimo kinship terminology includes both classificatory and specific terms.[15] All primary relationship terms -- that is, all relationships within the nuclear family -- are specific. Some secondary relationships have specific terms, but these may be extended to cover other relatives.

Kinship terms appear to be based on several principles that become evident through an analysis of the data collected. A relationship between two persons may be distinguished by 1) age, 2) sex, 3) the closeness and nature of relationship, and 4) extension of kin terms. Two pseudo-kin principles may be added to this list: 5) identity of name, and 6) midwife relationships.

1. Age: In the first place, the age of the speaker limits the terms he may use. Young children may use primary terms, brother or sister, for their playmates. Old people call all children irngutak, grandchild, and use such terms as arngaq that are not used by younger adults.

The relative age of speaker and kinsman is also a factor determining kinship terms. Younger siblings of the same sex are distinguished from older. A boy may refer to his step-mother as "step-sister", naja'sak, if their ages are close. Or a man may refer to his paternal cousinsas paternal uncle, akkak, because they are older than he. This results in some terms becoming almost generationally classificatory (excluding primary relations), such as akkak, father's brother, ataa'tsiak, grandfather, naja'sak, female cousin of male, or irngutak, grandchild.

2. Sex: The sex of the speaker limits the terms he may use, certain terms used only by women, others only by men. For example, qangiak is used

only by men to describe a younger relative, arngaq similarly only by women.

Furthermore, if two persons are of opposite sex, they may use a term that is different from the one used between persons of the same sex. Aik is used reciprocally between in-laws of the same generation, but only if they are of the opposite sex. Either sex calls older siblings of the same sex angajuk, younger ones nukak. But boys call all their sisters najak, girls address all brothers as antak or anik.

There appears to be a further influence of sex on terms for secondary and tertiary relatives. This depends on the relative strength of male or female in the relationship. Thus the term arngaq is used by older women to refer to nephews or nieces related through primarily male relationships (BrDa, HuBrDa, etc.) This principle is only suggested by the material, but may provide a clue that will explain the use of some terms hitherto unexplained.

3. Closeness and Nature of Relationship: Eskimos distinguish different types as well as degrees of relationship. Consanguinal relatives are distinguished from affinal by and large, although there is considerable confusion in these terms.

Certain terms of secondary and tertiary relationships are specific to a particular relation. Thus, angak means mother's brother according to three informants. But usually such terms can be used to refer to other people with approximately the same relationship to one as mother's brother, such as MoSiHu or even FaFaSiSo. The various uses of akkak have already been listed.

Aside from biological and affinal relationship, the closeness of social relationship also affects kinship terminology. It will be seen later

that many non-kin are given kinship terms because they live in the same camp.

4. Extension of kinship terms: A term that is used to describe one relationship may be extended to include other members of his nuclear family. Thus a girl who calls her brother antak may call his wife antak instead of the usual aik. Angak, which means MoBr, can be extended to include MoBrWi or MoBrSo. The extension of terms based on identity of name will be discussed below.

5. Identity of name: It has been briefly stated that Eskimos often refer to a person who has the same name as a kinsman by the kinship term for that kinsman. At the Inukpak camp a boy whose younger brother's name is Simiuni calls another young boy nukak, younger brother, because this boy's name is also Simiuni. Similarly, three brothers refer to a six-year-old girl as anaanak, mother, because both she and their mother are named Luisa. There is another case of a fifteen-year-old boy who speaks of a widowed family as his wife and children because he has the same name as the dead man.

This principle of identity of name is used only when it involves a relative of first or second degree. One case was observed of extension of a cousin term, but this is uncommon.

Since some Eskimo children are often named after grandparents, sometimes still living, little babies are quite frequently referred to as grandfather, ataa'tsiak, or grandmother, anaantsiak. Since older people are called grandparent by everyone, a child with the name of a living old man will be called ataa'tsiak by everyone in the camp. One young baby in the Inukpak camp was named Inukpak (2333) so everyone called him ataa'tsiak or ataa'tsiaapik, little grandfather.

6. Midwife-Child: Another relationship recognized by a term is that between midwife and child. A midwife is called sanajia'uk by the children she or he has delivered, for a midwife may be of either sex. The reciprocal of this term is angusiak for male children and arngaliaq for female. All these terms are used in priority to terms describing kinship relations, even of secondary relationships. Sanajia'uk may also be extended by identity of name, although in such cases, a suffix meaning "little" or "cute" is added: sanaji'apik or sanajikulluk.

The same person seldom figures twice as a midwife. Each child in the Inukpak camp refers to a different person as his midwife. It was also used once between two children of the same age and opposite sex, although the reason for this was not determined.

The function of the midwife was not studied. No births were observed in the camp, and it was not determined if the status of midwife was ceremonial or practical.

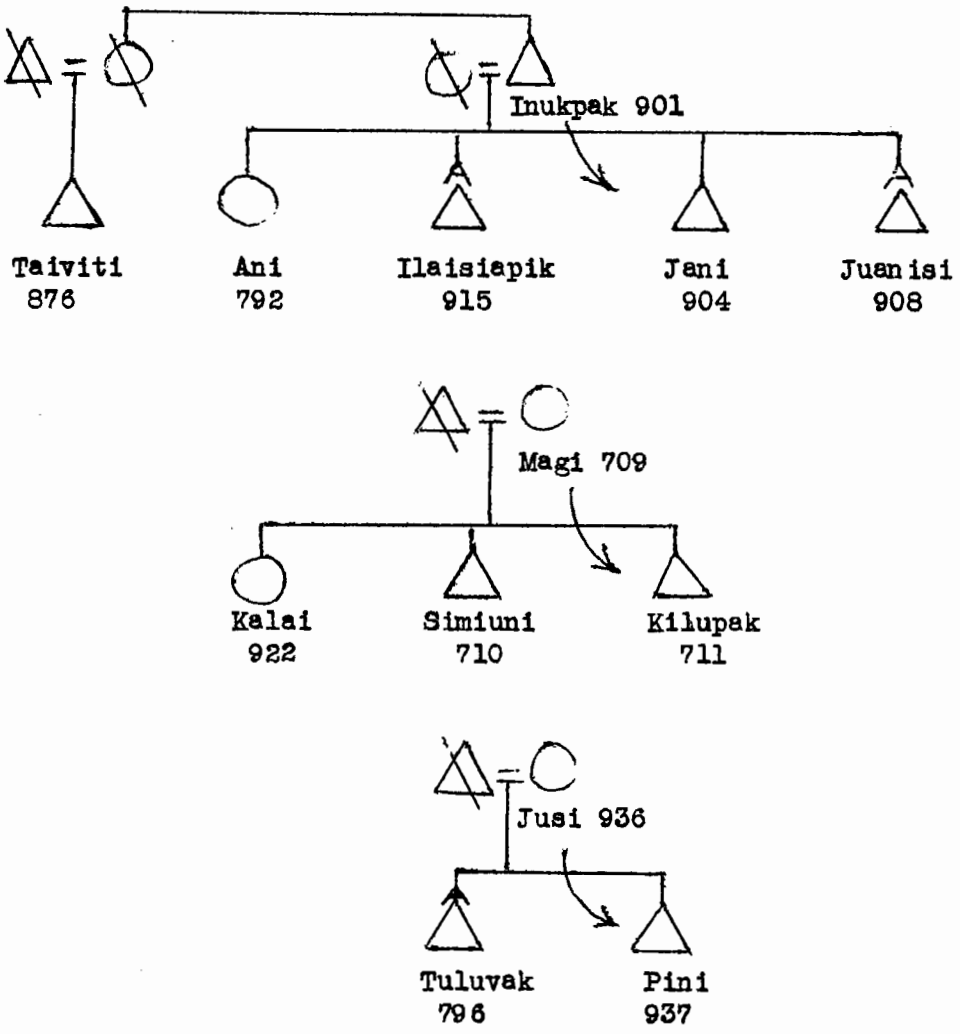
These six principles by themselves are not adequate to explain the system of kinship terminology, for they do not explain much of the multiplicity of terms in the diagrams. For instance, the distinction between affinal and consanguinal terms is by no means clear. This is a problem to be studied with more adequate data.

Unity of Local Group

Organized Camps: Kinship behaviour, and to some extent terminology, is dependent upon the unity of the camp as a social group. A camp is made up of several kin groups that live together — the kin of the leader and

one or two satellite groups. In the Inukpak camp, for instance, five households were related to the leader, (904), three others formed a separate kin group, and two others formed the third.[16] There are no marriage ties between these three groups, although there may be one shortly. Each of these three kin groups often lives in one area of the camp, although they do not appear to undertake any actions as separate units. If the camp breaks up temporarily in the spring, it may break approximately along these kinship lines.

FIGURE IX
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSEHOLDS IN INUKPAK CAMP



The fact that daily relationships within the camp are closer than between camps has its expression in the kinship terminology of the Eskimo. All children born in the same camp consider themselves related, whether or not there is a traceable blood or affinal relationship. The term for this relationship among males if qatungutik, which might be translated as "cousin" in the Old English sense meaning someone coming from the same locality and therefore of the same "kind". Relationships are also extended within the camp by the use of kinship terms between adults where no blood or affinal relationship exists, so that everyone in the camp is tied with almost everyone else in a network of kinship and pseudo-kinship ties.

Besides solidarity, kinship also functions in the camp to determine lines of authority. The camp leader is hereditary, passing from father to oldest son. Brothers of the leader have a position of authority over other men in the camp, although this may be affected by relative age as well.

Settlement: The situation in the settlement is quite different. There are approximately ten separate kin groups represented in the fifteen households making up the settlement population. Kinship lines seem to play little part in the life of the settlement as a community, but function only to tie settlement households to various families in the camps. Only in the kin group of the HBC interpreter are lines of authority maintained between separate households, the interpreter having a strong position of authority over his two married sons who live in separate households.[17] Since no over-all leader exists for the settlement Eskimo, the problem of hereditary leadership is not present.

Conglomerate Camps: In those camps that are loosely organized, kinship groups make up the more permanent units of the camp. When the camp fragments, it is along approximate kinship lines. Larger boats — canoe, trap-boat or whaleboat -- are owned and used by the kin group rather than by the whole camp. Even when the camp is together, members of the different kin groups locate their tents close together, and there is often some distance between different kin groups. These camps exhibit the only instance where the kin group is an economic unit.

Summarizing, Eskimo kinship in this area is a highly flexible version of a bilateral system, based primarily on the unity of the local group. This system is less evident in the settlement, but in the loosely organized camp, kin ties appear stronger than camp ties. Terminology is based on several principles other than consanguinity and affinity.

CHAPTER NINE: RECREATION

No matter what standard of living a community has, no matter how close to subsistence they may live, there are always found forms of recreation, patterns of behaviour, whose aim is nothing more than "having fun." Naturally, what a community defines as "fun" differs from one culture to another, and may differ even from one local group to another.

In the population under study, there are both similarities and differences between settlement and camp as to the patterns of behaviour in periods of play. Certain patterns, such as visiting, are common to both, but with somewhat different emphasis. Others, such as dancing, are specific to one or the other. Let us go through the various forms of recreation and describe the similarities.

Visiting

The most important form of recreation among both camp and settlement Eskimos is visiting. Whenever they are not busy with other things, men and women will move from one household to another, chatting, smoking, drinking tea, or just sitting. It is possible to identify five different forms of visiting: 1) among settlement Eskimos, 2) camp visiting settlement

Eskimos, 3) settlement visiting camp Eskimos, 4) within a camp, and 5) between camps. Each of these forms has appropriate behaviour for host and guest.

1) Visiting among settlement households begins about 6.30 every evening, and continues until dusk. Although there is some visiting between the women during the day, both men and women participate in the evening visiting, bringing or carrying their youngest children.

2) Another form of visiting in the settlement occurs on trading days, when the camp Eskimos come into the settlement. While the men are busy trading at the Hudson's Bay Store, their women and children move around the settlement, stopping in at each tent for a short visit, usually involving a saucepan of tea. These visits are usually marked by an absence of conversation, the settlement hostesses continuing with their tasks while the camp guests sit and watch. Often when the men finish their trading, they will join their wives in these silent visits.

3) The third form of visiting occurs in the settlement when there is a large number of camp Eskimos in for ship time. These festive days are marked by considerable visiting by the settlement Eskimos to the small travelling tents of the camp Eskimos. These visits involve much conversation, exchange of news and gossip, although not much tea is drunk. Older settlement Eskimos usually visit camp relatives, while the younger people circulate freely, congregating in tents where there are young camp Eskimos.

4) In the camp, visiting is far less formalized. Since there is little scheduling in the day, men and women, are constantly visiting between tents. Women often take sewing to another tent and spend the day

visiting while doing their work. Men congregate to carve soapstone outside together if it is not too windy. In the evenings, the visiting that has been in progress all day continues, although sewing and carving are usually left behind and the visits turn into card games as the evening wears on.

5) Finally, when camp Eskimos are travelling, they stop at every camp along the way to visit. These stops involve visiting every tent that is occupied, stopping only long enough to drink a basin of tea, eat some raw fish or other food, and smoke a cigarette. These visits usually include a small exchange of gifts, such as tobacco for fish or geese for sugar, especially if either group is short of something.

It can be seen from the above descriptions that visiting in the settlement is more differentiated or formalized than it is in the camp. Since households are more clearly defined in the settlement, visiting between them is a more institutionalized pattern than is visiting between less structured households within the camp.

Another analytic fact that becomes clear is that the different patterns of visiting between camp and settlement Eskimos further marks these two groups off from each other. When a settlement Eskimo is host to a visiting camp Eskimo, the pattern is entirely different from the reverse situation, where a camp Eskimo hosts a settlement Eskimo, although they both occur in the settlement.

use the game as an opportunity to wrestle with other women than their wives, and younger women hang on to the more popular young men with more tenacity than they hang onto the ball.

Gambling Games

The final important form of recreation common to both camp and settlement is gambling. Here the primary difference between settlement and camp appears to be the size of the stakes and the frequency of play. The various games played differ between local group, each camp having its own peculiar games as does the settlement.

Saitug: Cards, or saituq, are played a great deal more in the camp than in the settlement, where only a few households play regularly. In the camp, there is a game in some tent every night, except Sunday, often going on into the early hours of the morning. Sometimes the older women gather to play in one tent, the younger girls and the men playing in another.

In the settlement, the stakes are a quarter a hand, or its equivalent in cigarettes or bullets. In the camps, the amount of stakes differs between camps, but is usually lower than in the settlement. In the Inukpak Camp, the ante was standardized at five .22 bullets. Accepted equivalents were one larger bullet or a shotgun shell, two cigarettes, two sticks of gum, a box of matches, a handkerchief, two cloth articles, eight small trinkets or two pieces of costume jewellery, although these are not equivalents in monetary value.

Many different card games are played, usually each hand being a different game selected by the person to the left of the dealer. Women tend

Keep-Away

Another form of recreation that is common to both camp and settlement is the game of keep-away. In this game, only slight differences are evident between the two groups.

Keep-away is a game played by any number of people with a small bean-bag or ball. The object of the game is to pass the ball between members of one 's own team without letting it fall into the possession of any other team. Any number of teams may play and there is no scoring nor attempt to define a winning team. If both men and women are playing, one team always includes all the women. When there are too many men to form one team, they may divide into two or three teams themselves, so that as many as four teams may be competing against each other for possession of the ball. When small children are playing, they either form a team of their own or play on the women's team.

Since this game is usually played at dusk on rough terrain, it is often very rough. There appears to be little regard for the dangers of falls or collisions for the children or women, and even women with babies strapped to their backs may join in the game, being pushed and pulled like the rest.

Keep-away is played almost every night at the beginning of the summer when the snow finally leaves the ground. In the settlement, enthusiasm begins to wane by the middle of July, and only the children continue to play into August. In the camp, however, both adults and children continue to play most of the summer.

The only other slight difference noted is the fact that in the settlement the game is more sexually charged than in the camp. Settlement men

to select those games that last longer before a winner is decided, men prefer the quicker games. (A list of Eskimo card games will be found in the appendix.)

Kaituq: Another form of gambling is kaituq, or top-gambling. A rectangular top is carved out of wood with a different design on each face. It is then spun in turn by the men playing, each trying for a predetermined pattern. This game was observed only once, and among Eskimos who were intermediary between camp and settlement. (See appendix for description of game.)

Checkers: One other indoor game that is popular among the Port Harrison Eskimos is checkers. In checkers, as in cards and kaituq, the rules are changed after each game, the two players taking turns deciding the rules. (See appendix for description of these rules in checkers.) Both camp and settlement Eskimos play checkers although neither group plays it often.

Dancing

Dancing is one form of recreation that is specific to the settlement Eskimos. This is particularly noteworthy because dancing did not originate with the move to the settlement, but appears to have been a pattern of recreation learned from the whalers and early traders many years ago and common to all the Eskimos. Its limitation to the settlement Eskimos has therefore been a process of exclusion of camp Eskimos rather than a pattern learned in the settlement.

Dances are held once or twice a month, either in the school or in the

house of the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter. Everyone in the settlement attends, although the children do not dance, and, as the evening wears on, gradually fall asleep in the corners or under the chairs. Some older people sit and watch, but most adults participate in at least one dance during the evening.

Each dance takes from half to three-quarters of an hour, followed by an intermission when the dancers rush outside for air. Four or five dances are therefore enough to fill the entire evening.

Eight, ten, or twelve couples participate in a dance, two opposite couples executing a figure at the same time all the way around the ring. The dance begins with an introduction, followed by the figures which are interspersed with an alamand and a grand chain. When all couples have completed one figure, all join hands and circle, then swing their partners, and the head couples begin another figure. The figures are usually begun by the same man, Lasajusi (1619). Three or four figures constitute a dance, which is then completed with a coda. (Some of these figures are described in the appendix on dance.)

Some of the men have an intricate jig step which they use throughout the dancing. Between dances, there is sometimes a jigging competition by two or more men, facing each other in the centre of the floor while everyone else watches and shouts encouragement.

If there are camp Eskimos in the settlement at the time of a dance, the younger men and women often come to watch, but never to participate, with the exception of five or six young men from the nearest camp. The others stand around the door or sit around the walls of the room, silently watching or entering in the laughter at any comic action. When I asked

one of them to join in the dancing, he replied that he did not know how to dance.

Other Athletics

Wrestling: Of all the athletic contests observed, probably the most traditional is wrestling. Eskimo wrestling allows only one hold, and there is no attempt to pin an opponent, the contest being concluded as soon as one participant has been thrown. The opponents face each other, each places one arm over the shoulder of his opponent, the other arm under the other shoulder, and clasps his two hands together behind his opponent's back. In this double bear-hug, they then attempt to throw each other to the ground. Both children and adults play this game, although it is limited to males. It appears to be primarily a spectator sport, played only when there is a crowd to watch, and with opponents matched as to weight or skill to make the contest more interesting.

Football: A crude form of soccer football is played by both camp and settlement Eskimos if a ball is available. Goals are marked at each end of a level space, and teams chosen. There are very few rules, and the game resembles keep-away in that opponents may catch on to each other, push each other out of the way, or catch the ball and drop it to kick. Goals are counted, however, and one side is declared winner at the end of play. Play is usually ended by darkness, although sometimes the participants may agree beforehand that a certain number of goals will decide the winner. In the settlement, the teen-age boys are learning to play touch-football from the missionary. At present (August 1958), the game

is not yet well understood, and as soon as the missionary leaves the field, the participants change the game to keep-away with the football.

Prisoner's Base: The game of prisoner's base was observed in the Inukpak Camp. For this game, the participants are divided into two equal teams, each retiring to a point which is their "home." They then sally from this "home" to "capture" opponents, the one who left his home most recently "capturing" an opponent by touching him. The "prisoner" must then go to a spot close to his captor's "home", from which his teammates try to rescue him by touching his outstretched hand before they are touched themselves. The first team to capture all members of the opposing team wins the game.

Children at Play

The free-play of children follows the patterns that would be expected among any people: children imitate the activities associated with their parents.

For girls, this usually involves some aspect of playing house. When several little girls are playing together, they will mark out a "tent" in the sand, place little rocks around the boundaries, and play within it. Even at two, little girls are already asking their parents to strap objects to their backs as they have seen their mothers carrying babies:

> Alisi (age 2) had her afternoon bottle, then asked Lukasi (father) to strap it on her back with a scarf like a baby; she shifts it from one shoulder to another as she has seen women do while carrying their babies. Later, playing with a toy lantern, she asks Ani (older sister) to strap it on her back, bending over to receive the baby, then shifting it from one shoulder to the other.

Boys often play at hunting seals or driving the dogs. Here is a description of such play in the settlement.

> Down on the HBC beach, the boys were playing in the abandoned whaleboat. Jani was captain, and his crew for the first part of the voyage consisted of Inuksiak, Juanasi, Atami, and Taiviti. All were at some times standing on the decks or gunwales shooting with sticks of wood. Or else they were turning the old fly-wheel that still remains in the boat.
>
> At a command from Jani, Inuksiak and Juanasi turned seal, leapt from the boat, floundered in the "water", and then lay down and sunned themselves. Then Jani took his "gun" and shot Juanasi, who promptly fell flat in the sand. Jani then jumped from the boat (onto the "ice"?) and taking Juanasi's outstretched hand, half-dragged him into the boat. Then Jani shot Inuksiak, who also fell down dead. Jani threw a "harpoon" at him (making sure it fell far short), then dragged him into the boat also. Niali was also dragged into the boat with some jokes about a female seal.
>
> I left them taking pot-shots in all directions with their "guns."

Similar play was observed in the camps as well.

CHAPTER TEN: RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

It is perhaps in the area of religion that the sociological functional method is least fruitful for an examination of Eskimo society. According to Radcliffe-Brown, religion contributes to the eunomia or general well-being and health of a society.[1] In his own words:

> Stated in the simplest possible terms, the theory is that an orderly social life amongst human beings depends upon the presence in the minds of the members of a society of certain sentiments, which control the behaviour of the individual in his relations to others. Rites can be seen to be the regulated symbolic expressions of certain sentiments. Rites can therefore be shown to have a specific social function when, and to the extent that, they have for their effect to regulate, maintain, and transmit from one generation to another sentiments on which the constitution of the society depends.[2]

If we examine the literature for a description of traditional Eskimo religion, however, it becomes evident that there was little in the way of organized religious rites, particularly in the Eastern Arctic.[4] Religion was primarily a personal phenomenon, operating in the area of adaptation to a rigorous life rather than in the social area of culture maintenance and social control. For this reason, it is difficult to describe the social function of traditional Eskimo religion.

Since the advent of the Christian missionary, organized religious life has become a part of Harrison Eskimo society, revolving around St. Thomas' Anglican Mission. The Eskimos are today all Anglicans, having been converted by early missionaries from George River and later Great Whale River around the turn of the century.

Since the data for this study are primarily observational, the functional contribution of Anglicanism is difficult to perceive. Religious beliefs were not examined, so it is not possible to describe their function. It would of course be ridiculous to assume that Eskimo Anglicanism is identical with the Anglicanism of other Canadians, or even of the missionary. The number of apparitions to Eskimos is one clear indication that this is not the case.[5]

As a consequence of the above, it is apparent that a description of the existing religious organization at Port Harrison is an exceedingly incomplete picture of this area of social life. Nevertheless, the record of observations in this field is necessary to the total picture of Eskimo society this thesis attempts to set forth.

The church at Port Harrison has become a formal institution in the lives of the settlement Eskimos, and it appears to be regarded with the same casual approach with which most Canadians regard their church in the south. Church attendance, for instance, varies considerably from week to week and is never a large portion of the population.

At the head of the church structure is the missionary. He is aided by a catechist, or lay reader, Vilia (750), age 63. Inukpak (901), one of the earliest converts and now a tolerated old man of 71, is also a catechist, although he is usually in his own camp rather than in the settlement

Each adult Eskimo in the settlement — and many in the camps — owns a New Testament and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, both in Eskimo syllabics. These are kept in a draw-string bag along with other religious documents, such as books of the Old Testament, marriage and confirmation certificates. These books usually serve also as photograph albums for any pictures an Eskimo may own.

Although most settlement Eskimos regard the Church in a casual way, there are two or three families who attend church very regularly. One man, however, is actively hostile and never attends, although various members of his family come occasionally.

Sunday is observed as a holiday by all white establishments. Since working Eskimos have a six-day week, Sunday often provides a change to go seal hunting. A calm Sunday will therefore see most men away the whole day in the various boats at the settlement.

The Church Service

The St, Thomas' Anglican Mission church is a one-room building about 25'-50'. A small chancel across the front includes an altar, covered with a seal-skin, altar cloth, and a bench on each side for the missionary and the catechist. The rest of the room is filled with plank benches separated by a narrow aisle and a large oil space-heater. At the rear is a small entrance porch where the men hang their caps.

A service in Eskimo is conducted in the church every Sunday morning and Sunday and Wednesday evenings. These services follow the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. Wednesday evenings the service is often supplemented with the singing of "Eskimo Choruses", small anthems that are printed

in the Prayer Book and sung to common English tunes.

Each service includes hymns selected from the Eskimo hymns printed in the prayer book. The missionary plays these hymns on the accordian, but when he is not familiar with the hymn, the catechist leads them a capella.

Each service also includes a sermon. Most of these are given by the missionary, although the resident catechist gives one a week and Inukpak preaches whenever he is in the settlement. The sermons are usually on a moral theme, exhorting the congregation to live according to Christian virtues of obedience, honesty, chastity, monogamy, etc.

At each service, a collection plate is placed on the chancel steps and several of the congregation go up the aisle after the service to make a small contribution. The weekly collection is usually one or two dollars, in a mixture of small change and promissory notes. At one service, the missionary announced that the custom of making contributions in the form of notes on the Hudson's Bay Company store would be discontinued and only cash would be accepted. Since cash has little use in the settlement except as counters for card-games, this will involve either an increased use of money or a decrease in church collections.

The service is frequently disturbed by women taking their children outside to urinate. The missionary has repeatedly asked the congregation to "water" their children before the service, and this is done by many. Nevertheless, the complete lack of training babies in retention for any length of time forces adults to take their children out during an hour-long service. Some adults also go out during the service for the same reason, although these are usually camp, not settlement, Eskimos.

Camp Christianity

Because camp Eskimos are only infrequently able to attend Church in the settlement, their religious life centres around prayers, rather than formal services. Prayers are often said both morning and evening, although some Eskimos are more conscientious than others in this regard. In the household where I stayed, evening prayers became less frequent toward the end of my stay, although morning prayers continued throughout.

Morning prayers were said whenever anyone remembered them. This sometimes occurred right after rising, but often toward the middle of the day. Whoever is in the tent at the time kneels on knees and elbows on the sleeping platform with his head on the bedding and facing the rear of the tent. The women put something over their heads. The Lord's Prayer and one other short prayer is spoken quickly in unison, with the children mumbling incoherently or repeating "Ataatavut" ("Our Father") over and over until they hear the Amen.

When the men went on hunting or trading trips together, prayers were said regularly just before retiring and in the morning. The Lord's Prayer was said, followed by a responsive prayer led by the acting leader of the trip. These prayers were always said kneeling, with the head bowed down between the elbows.

Aside from prayers, the only other observable religious behaviour in the camps is the setting aside of work and cards on Sunday and the reading of the Testament and prayer book. Since these books are the only Eskimo reading material in the camp, anyone interested in reading has little choice but to read them. Occasionally several people will sing a few hymns together, particularly when someone is playing an instrument.

Christianity and Life Crises

The Church solemnizes four life-crises for the Eskimos: birth, adulthood, marriage, and death. There is by no means uniformity in this, however, since for many Eskimos, these crises pass without the participation of the Church.

Christening of babies is by no means the rule, although children in the settlement are usually christened. Many do not become confirmed, and, as mentioned before, there are many who do not undergo a religious service when they get married.

For those in the settlement, it is impossible to escape a funeral service. Since the RCMP must fill out the death certificate, the body is taken out of Eskimo control and becomes a matter for white jurisdiction. In the camps, however, a person may die and be buried before any white finds out about it, and the death is only later reported to the RCMP and recorded.

Burial: Burial in the settlement is now in a graveyard behind the settlement. Bodies are buried in earth, and a small wooden cross marks each Eskimo grave, a granite headstone for each white grave.

Previous to the establishment of the mission, Eskimos were buried in a more traditional manner in stone piles. Near the settlement there is such a stone pile containing almost fifty identifiable graves. One informant told me this graveyard has not been used for over twenty years. About a third of the graves appear to have been rifled by humans. Because there is so little soil, those places where there are many small stones are used as burial sites. One may see old graves in almost every such stone pile along the coast near Port Harrison.

A shallow excavation is made by removing stones. This cavity is then lined with large flat stones to form a rectangular space for the body. The shape of several such graves that had been rifled indicated that bodies were buried in a flexed position, since a large proportion of the cavities measured about 4' x 2' x 1'. The body is placed in this cavity, covered by more large flat stones, and then covered with a heap of smaller stones. Occasionally a large stone is placed on top as a marker.

There appears to be no orientation of bodies in any particular direction, the graves being placed according to the lay of the land and larger rocks. There are the remains of wooden coffins in several of the graves. A few remnants of artifacts, such as a clay pipe and flint, indicate that personal effects were buried with the body.

The Mission in Eskimo Society

Of all the white establishments in Port Harrison, the mission has a unique relationship with the Eskimo community. Relations between missionary and Eskimo are therefore different from all other white-Eskimo relations.

In the first place, the missionary is the only white who speaks Eskimo fluently. The other whites consider it unnecessary to their function, but the missionary is attempting to identify himself with the Eskimo in order to better lead their religious life.

On the other hand, the missionary is the only white who is actively concerned with changing the personal life of the Eskimos. All other whites try to steer clear of their employee's or charge's personal lives.[6]

Such identification on the one hand, and "meddling" on the other, leads to an ambivalent relationship with Eskimos. Several Eskimos are hostile toward the missionary, many others avoid him. As one regular church-going Eskimo told me, "Missionary talk too much."

As with all white establishments, the mission attracts some individuals who are marginal to their own culture and status system.[7] Thus, one of the self-styled leaders of the church is a man who is considered a simpleton and buffoon in the community. But since the mission does not have the same relationship with the Eskimo as other establishments, those Eskimos who are marginal and are attempting to move toward white culture do not attach themselves to the mission, but rather seek identification with the other white establishments. This may reflect an Eskimo recognition of the fact that the mission is marginal to the white community as well.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: EDUCATION

In anthropological literature, it is customary to discuss education as socialization of children. It is impossible to do this in discussing the Port Harrison Eskimo because formal education is clearly separated from the rest of the culture. Its manifest function of preparing children for adult life in Canadian society has no relation to extant Eskimo society, where it serves an entirely different function of custodial and health care for the children of the settlement. This will become apparent from the discussion that follows.

Federal Day School

At Port Harrison, there is a Federal Day School run by the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs, Government of Canada. It employs one teacher, who lives in a small house beside the one-room school.

The school was established at Port Harrison in January, 1950.[1] For the first year it was conducted in a room of the Anglican mission house, and subsequently in the Nursing Station, until the school was built in 1951. During these first two years, no furniture was provided, both children and teacher sitting and working on the floor. The teacher for the first five

years, until summer, 1954, was Miss E. M. Hinds, an astonishingly resourceful person. She succeeded in organizing education in such a way that the children in the settlement might attend school every day, and the children in the camps followed a form of correspondence course, with their lessons being brought to the teacher each week when the men came to trade. This education was supplemented by yearly trips to the camps, where Miss Hinds would live for two weeks, conducting classes for those children who had been following the lessons by correspondence.

When Miss Hinds left Port Harrison, the programme of camp education gradually dwindled until in 1957-58, there was no programme. One reason given for this was that the lessons were viewed as meal tickets by the Eskimos who brought them to the teacher.

From this brief history it is apparent that education has been primarily a pattern for settlement children, since they are the only ones who can attend the school daily. Although camp children previously did some lessons by correspondence, formal education is now entirely limited to those children who live in the settlement at Port Harrison.

During the 1957-58 school term, the school had an average of fifteen pupils. Of these, three were fifteen-year-olds who attended two hours in the afternoon, twelve were between the ages of five and eleven, divided between grades one and two. These twelve attended school all morning and ate lunch of porridge, cocoa and biscuits in the school. Subjects taught were primarily arithmetic and English, with some arts and crafts. The three afternoon students were doing problems in fifth grade arithmetic and some social studies in the form of map-drawing and geography.

All instruction in this school is carried out in English, including all

commands and announcements. The teacher, who knew no Eskimo when he arrived at Harrison, began to take lessons from the missionary, but soon ceased when he found that "the children would refuse to use any English word when they knew I knew the word in Eskimo, so I felt it was defeating the purpose of teaching them English for me to learn Eskimo."

Lack of Success

When Miss Hinds first arrived at Harrison, she reports a great eagerness for education. Camp fathers visiting the settlement dropped in on her to ask if their children could also receive instruction. "Requests were made for arithmetic so that they could learn to understand the trading values at the store. Some wanted to learn English"[2]

In contrast, the teacher in 1957-58 was discouraged by the lack of motivation of the children for learning. His job had been described to him as teaching English and basic arithmetic to the Eskimos so that they could keep up with the great changes that would come about as they became more and more integrated into Canadian society. His first concern was therefore to teach English, and from the records kept by the two teachers before him, we can assume that this has been the primary goal of teachers ever since formal education began at Port Harrison.

It is rather surprising, therefore, to discover that very few of the Eskimos at Harrison speak English. Aside from the HBC interpreter, who comes from a half-white family on the Atlantic coast of Labrador, only three Eskimos in the settlement, (Lisi 1618, Kalai 1579, Bitsi 1299) and one from the camps (Ista 1568) speaks more than a few short words of

English. Of these four, only one has been to school (Bitsi 1299 attended seven years 1949-56) the other four learning their English during extended stays in TB sanatoria, either at Moose Factory of Hamilton.

Education and Eskimo Society

This apparent lack of success in achieving the major goal of education at Port Harrison can only be understood by examining the functional position of the school in Eskimo society.

No white establishment in Harrison can be thought of as part of Eskimo society. Although all impinge on that society in terms of authority, welfare, or economics, all are completely separate from the web of relationships that make up Eskimo society. Such a situation has been described by social scientists as caste, and in such a situation, the lines of communication across caste lines are few and likely to be hostile. The castes represent different societies, different cultural values, and in this case, even different languages. Differences in racial type are significant only in that they are given value as criteria for distinguishing between the two castes.

The teacher belongs to the white caste in Port Harrison, and the school itself fits into the relationships that make up the white community. It is therefore viewed by the Eskimo as being external to his society, belonging to the society of the qallunak, and in the same category as the nursing station that provides health services to the Eskimo while remaining separate from their society. This separation is further defined by the fact that the teacher does not speak Eskimo, that education is entirely in

English, and that even the reading material and arithmetic problems have no Eskimo content whatsoever.

In such a situation, to learn English is to identify with the opposite caste, thereby running the danger of negative sanction from an individual's own caste. It is therefore those Eskimos who do not fit into their own society that will be motivated towards education, rather than those who seek to identify themselves with their culture and gain positive sanction from it.[3]

The school is therefore primarily dysfunctional in an educational sense to Eskimo society. Its functions are limited, as stated before to 1) freeing women from the care of children for a few hours a day, and 2) caring for the health of the children by providing them warmth during the winter and one meal a day, as well as a constant check-up and the referring of all infirmities to the nursing station.

Aside from these, the school is important to the Eskimo society in the settlement by providing recreation. Dances are held in the building twice a month, alternating with movie showings.

CHAPTER TWELVE: NUTRITION, HEALTH AND DISEASE

The health of the Eskimos at Port Harrison is generally good, with little sickness other than the habitual cough that no one can avoid. According to the nurse, health has been especially good this year because of a greater supply of country food. Except for a pneumonia epidemic in the spring, the station has dealt with few health problems, and the nurse has been able to devote her time to the X-ray survey and periodic check-ups of the Eskimo population.

Facilities in the nursing station at Port Harrison, which is run by the Indian and Northern Health Service, include two wards with four beds, a well-stocked dispensary and examination room, an X-ray apparatus for taking full-size films, and a small office. It is now staffed by two nurses, although previous to August, 1958, there was only one nurse at Harrison. With two nurses, it is now possible for one to make more frequent trips to the camps and even as far as POV, the next settlement one hundred and fifty miles north.

Disease

The main disease problems of the Eskimo are respiratory: influenza, pneumonia, common cold, and tuberculosis. TABLE V summarizes deaths over

TABLE X

DEATHS PER MONTH, PORT HARRISON 1945-58

YEAR	JAN.	FEB.	MCH.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JLY.	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1958			2	3 P 1								
1957		2	1			2						
1956							1			1		
1955		1					1	1		1		1
1954			2		2	1	1	1	3 U 3		1	2
1953			1	1		1			2			
1952	2			1	1					8 F 1		
1951	2		1	1	1		2	1			1	1
1950	2 F 8		1		2	1	2	2	2	3	1	2
1949	2	1			4	1			1	1	1	
1948	1	1	1	2	2		6				3	2
1947	1	3	3	1	1		2	1	3	1	3	1
1946	1	3	3 F 7		3		1	2	2	3		2
1945				2	1	1		1	1		4 U 4	
TOTAL	11	19	15	15	17	7	16	9	14	21	15	15

KEY: P - pneumonia; F - influenza; U - unknown

the past dozen years by cause of death. Of the 125 deaths of known causes since 1945 (to August 31, 1958), TB accounted for 29% (36), other respiratory diseases for 36% (46), and all other causes combined for 35% (44).[1] Tuberculosis has been drastically reduced in recent years, however, because of the efforts of the Northern Health Service, so that such respiratory ailments as pneumonia and influenza are now the main disease problems.

Because of this, spring and fall are the most dangerous times for the Harrison Eskimos. The snow is not ready for making igloos until December, so the Eskimos must live in tents through October and November, in temperatures that average as low as 15°F and sometimes drop far below 0°F. In the spring, the igloos melt in early April, and the families are forced into tents long before the daily mean temperature rises above freezing. The result is that in both the fall and spring the population — especially the children — are highly susceptible to respiratory virus such as flu and pneumonia. As TABLE X indicates, these are the periods of epidemics, often ending in a substantial number of deaths. Red circles have been drawn around those places where the statistics indicate several deaths from the same cause, and the causes are indicated by the key. These are evidently epidemics, and of the six indicated, five are in the spring or fall, only one in winter, none in summer. (The two epidemics of unknown disease are probably respiratory as well.)[2] Total figures also indicate that most deaths occur in spring and fall, although the numbers are not statistically adequate to show significant differences.

There does not appear to be a great deal of difference between the settlement and camp Eskimos in relation to disease. What difference there is indicates that settlement Eskimos are slightly healthier. For instance,

42.6% (112/263) of camp Eskimos have been out to hospital for TB, while only 32.0% (24/75) of the settlement Eskimos have been out. Such differences are probably due to the fact that settlement Eskimos live in small houses through the critical periods of spring and fall when the camp Eskimos have to live in tents during freezing temperatures. It is also due to differences in hygiene patterns.

Hygiene

Public hygiene differs somewhat between camp and settlement. For instance, the settlement has several garbage disposal pits, while garbage in the camp is thrown out the door to the dogs. Since dogs are free to wander anywhere in the camp, the Eskimos just go outside the tent to defecate; while in the settlement, where all the dogs are constantly tied on lines, people go much further from their tents to defecate.

Of course, because a camp site is often abandoned after a few weeks, public hygiene is less of a problem for the nomadic camp. Instead of trying to keep a site clean, it is just left behind when it becomes offensively dirty.

Personal hygiene differs only slightly between camp and settlement. All Eskimos are very fastidious about washing their hands, using a great deal of soap each time. They like to wash their hands before eating, after eating, even between courses while eating, and when they just come in to a tent. Faces are washed less frequently, but usually at least once a day. Hair is washed about once a week. Baths are uncommon, except for the very small children.

Clothes are washed quite often during the summer, with a great deal of soap, and usually without rinsing. The women wash clothes almost every day, both in the camp and in the settlement.

The nurse considers spitting a problem of hygiene, although it is not considered important by the Eskimos. In those camps where there are no floors in the tents, the Eskimos spit and clear their noses inside the tents without bothering to stamp it into the gravel. In all tents where there is any kind of floor, one usually finds a tin can used as a spitoon. This is the case in the settlement and in several camp tents, notably in Apjaqa's camp (1706).

Body vermin appear to be a problem only in the camps. Lice-picking was observed quite commonly in the camps, but not in the settlement. Usually children pick the heads of adults and other children, but adults will pick their younger children. Bugs are killed and thrown away, with little comment.

Nutrition.

Although Eskimo yearly diet differs somewhat between camp and settlement, during the summer they are more similar than would be imagined. It was estimated that three-quarters of the food (by weight) consumed in the settlement is store food, while only one-quarter is country food — primarily fish. In the camp, on the other hand, about one-third of the food consumed in the summer is from the store, two-thirds from the land, comprising fish and fowl and a small amount of seal.

Meals in the settlement are relatively regular, the household eating together three times a day. In the camp, however, eating occurs at any time of day, so that it is more difficult to record consumption figures. Two sample daily diets are compared below:

	Settlement Lukasi (1620)			Inukpak Camp Ituq (923)	
8.00 a.m.	Tea	1 pt.	Rising:	Tea	1 pt.
	Sugar	3 T		Sugar	2 T
	Bannock	3 oz.		Bannock	4 oz.
	Canned meat	6 oz.			
12.00 n.	Fish (cooked)	8 oz.	After	Fish (raw)	8 oz.
	Canned fruit	6 oz.	visiting	Tea	1 pt.
	Tea	1 pt.	nets:	Sugar	2 T
	Sugar	3 T		Bannock	2 oz.
			Early	Fish (cooked)	8 oz.
			after-	Tea	1 pt.
			noon:	Sugar	2 T
				Bannock	3 oz.
			After	Fish (raw)	8 oz.
			visiting	Tea	1 pt.
			nets:		
6.00 p.m.	Canned stew	6 oz.	Evening	Goose (boiled)	8 oz.
	Bacon (raw)	8 oz.	meal:	Tea	1 pt.
	Tea	1 pt.		Sugar	2 T
	Sugar	3 T		Bannock	3 oz.
	Bannock	2 oz.			
			Later:	Tea	1 pt.
				Bannock	2 oz.

Three urine samples taken from camp and two from settlement Eskimos were analyzed by the Nutrition Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare. This analysis indicated that the diets of these Eskimos were all satisfactory for B vitamins, thiamine, riboflavin, and niacin, with the single exception of niacin for one camp Eskimo. The Nutrition Division also analyzed average weekly diets for camp and settlement (see Appendix XIII), with the conclusion that the three "most limiting nutrients" were ascorbic acid (vitamin C), vitamin A, and calcium. Average daily intake of these two samples was 2542 calories for the settlement, 3193 for the camp. (It must be remembered that these are summer averages rather than yearly). Of this, 43% for both camp and settlement come from fats, "a little higher than an ordinary Canadian diet but not nearly as high as the Eskimo is usually pictured."[3]

TABLE XI

SAMPLE SUMMER WEEKLY CONSUMPTION FOR CAMP AND SETTLEMENT ESKIMOS, PORT HARRISON, P.Q.

Item	Camp: Ituq (923)	Settlement: Lukasi (1620)
Oat porridge		12 oz.
Bannock	6 lb. 2 oz	8 lb. 1 "
Fish (raw)	10 " 8 "	
Fish (boiled)	3 " 8 "	2 " 2 "
Goose "	3 " 8 "	3 " 8 "
Eggs		1
Bacon		8 "
Canned meat		1 " 6"
Canned vegetables		12 "
Potatoes (fried)		8 "
Lard		2 "
Canned fruit		1 " 14 "
Sugar	1 " 12 "	2 " 4 "
Tea	6 gallons	3 gallons

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE ANALYSIS OF ACCULTURATION AT PORT HARRISON, P. Q.

In the chapter outlining the methodology of this study, it was stated that the material would be treated in terms of the comparison of two distinct categories of people: the camp and settlement Eskimos. This has been done in treating each aspect of social organization in the preceding chapters. Although the result may over-emphasize a difference that exists in an essentially homogeneous population, it has pointed up the fact that various changes have occurred recently in this area and that these changes have far-reaching effects in every aspect of the social order. It is therefore a useful approach for the study of the Port Harrison Eskimo society.

There remain several questions to deal with. Firstly the examination of this synchronic difference between settlement and camp must be dealt with in terms of change toward Canadian patterns; briefly, the question of acculturation. Secondly, there is the problem of social integration raised by the extreme flexibility of Eskimo behaviour patterns. And finally, there is the brief exposition of questions that appear from this study to be fruitful avenues for further reasearch in the area. These three questions will be the topics of the sections of this chapter.

Acculturation at Port Harrison

Throughout the Arctic, Eskimos appear to be moving toward majority Canadian, rather than French-Canadian, patterns of behaviour. Although Port Harrison is in Québec, and although there may have been considerable contact with the French Canadian culture through Révillon Frères in earlier times (a supposition that is supported by the universal use of the tuque by males), nevertheless Eskimos in this area are influenced today solely by English-speaking Canadians.

Unfortunately, little has been written by anthropologists on the subject of Canadian social organization, with the notable exception of French-Canada.[1] It is not therefore possible to state clearly and specifically what are the patterns toward which Eskimo society is moving. For the purposes of this study, the assumption will be made that Canadian social organization closely approximates American patterns, about which some has been written.[2] When we speak, therefore, of the settlement representing a stage of acculturation more closely approximating majority Canadian patterns of behaviour, we are referring to patterns common to most of North America.

Solely in terms of the quantity of day-to-day relations with whites, the settlement Eskimos are much more in contact with agents of majority Canadian society than are the camp Eskimos, who come to the settlement only once or twice a week to trade their goods, collect family allowance, and/or see the nurse. But even more important than quantity is the nature of that contact. It was stated at the outset that the fact that the Eskimos in the settlement were working for wages affected every aspect of the social order. Beginning with the economy, let us briefly examine the various aspects of social organization in the light of this statement.

Economy

Canadian society participates in a world-wide economic system of exchange of goods. Money is used as the means of exchange and as a measure of value. "Property is held in private ownership."[3] Production is for sale rather than for use by the producer, and it operates through a highly complicated industrial system that necessitates interdependence and differentiation.[4]

Ever since the fur-trading companies first persuaded them to trap, the Eskimos have provided goods for exchange and have been somewhat dependent on goods produced elsewhere, in short have participated in the world exchange of commodities. However, while the camp Eskimos still operate only partially in the world economy, satisfying much of their needs by subsistence hunting, the settlement Eskimos have become almost entirely dependent upon a money economy; they fish and hunt only to supplement their diet.

With commodity production comes a new concept of money. The camp Eskimo sees money essentially as a measure of value. He never handles money, spending almost everything he earns at the moment he earns it. He is aware of it only as a measure of the total value of the goods he has produced and therefore of the total value of the goods he may purchase. His savings are meagre, and appear to be the result of suggestions from the HBC store staff that he may interpret as commands. The settlement Eskimo, who receives his wages in the form of a monthly credit at the store, is aware of owning a large amount of money only part of which he spends at each trip to the store. Money for him becomes a means of storing value as well as a measure of value. It is only a step from this to a concept of money as an end in itself.

Commodity production and the resulting redefinition of money is accompanied by a new concept of private ownership of produce. Although the concept of private property is not new in Eskimo society, capital goods having been owned by households from pre-contact times, the idea of the product of labour not being shared is new with a wage economy. Seal is still shared, wages are not, and as wages increase in proportion to seal, the sharing pattern diminishes.

A concept of private property is necessary for the development of the extreme discrepancies in the standard of living that characterize Canadian society. Such discrepancies are barely visible between camp households, but are beginning to appear in the settlement. They are particularly evident in comparing settlement and camp household, where it exhibits itself not only in total cash income (see Table V), but also in the manner of dress, number of luxury goods owned, and the nature of the diet of the settlement Eskimos.

Polity

In Canadian society, power is distributed formally and informally through a formal political structure: the governments.[5] The local group is usually not obedient to a single local leader, and kinship plays little if any part in social control beyond the nuclear family. The community has a formal political structure, usually rationalized in laws.

Although it would be difficult to say that the settlement at Port Harrison resembles other Canadian communities with regard to these characteristics, nevertheless, the form of community organization and power structure that characterizes the camp — and is quite different from the Canadian

pattern — is already absent from the settlement. In a negative sense, then, the settlement does approximate Canadian political patterns more closely than does the camp. The settlement community — if so it may be described — is not held together by any indigenous bonds and would certainly disintegrate were the whites to leave Harrison.

Decisions upon which power comes into play in the camp are absent in the settlement; location of camp, group purchases at the HBC store, management of the large boat, times for group activities such as seal-hunting, trading, and moving. Since whites have the power to decide who shall work for wages, they have taken over the power to make decisions regarding who will live in the settlement and when they will hunt. Whatever organization is evident in the settlement depends on relations between the various white establishments. In a sense, this represents entrance into the Canadian polity, for all decisions involving power are ultimately referred to the Government of Canada and carried out by the RCMP and other agents of the Government in the area.

It must be remembered that the powerful camp leader is not a pre-contact status, but is itself a creation of an acculturation process begun two centuries ago with the advent of the fur trade. Acculturation in this case did not involve accepting the patterns of the donor culture, but rather the evolution of a new form that was more functional in the relationship between trapper and trader. It is this earlier pattern of acculturation that has now disappeared in the settlement with the advent of wage labour.

Criteria for leadership necessarily change under these circumstances. But until leaders begin to appear in the settlement, it will be difficult to state what the new criteria are. It is evident that the man who speaks English, and is therefore present at every important encounter of Eskimo

and white, appears to assume a leadership rôle. But this appearance of leadership must not be mistaken for the real thing unless it is evident that the interpreter operates as a leader, for there is a very good chance that he is even marginal to Eskimo society and not a suitable leader from the Eskimo point of view.[6]

Family

The Canadian family (excluding French Canada) is characteristically small, independent, and neolocal.[7] The average family has only two children.[8] Rôles within the family tend to be equalitarian, rather than strictly divided by sex.[9]

Although the average settlement household is smaller (4.94) than the average camp household (5.56), this difference is not the result of a reduced birth rate, but of the fact that the settlement household is more independent of other kinsmen. This is indicated by the paucity of joint households. The settlement marriage tends to be neolocal to a greater extent than the camp marriage. Furthermore, the household is economically independent of other households in the settlement to a much greater degree than exists in the camp, where sharing of functions and produce is more common.

Another observable difference is found in the division of labour between the sexes. The traditionally strict division between home duties and hunting-trapping-travelling duties shows signs of weakening in the settlement, where hunting has been replaced by wage-labour. That Lukasi (1620) will get up in the morning to make tea for his wife, Iva (1621), represents a great change from camp patterns towards the more casual division of labour exhibited in the majority Canadian family.

It should be stressed that these patterns more closely approximate Canadian patterns, not because they have been learned separately from agents of Canadian culture, but rather because they are functionally more adequate in the new situation of wage labour. Since each household has sufficient provision and income (by Eskimo standards), there is little need for inter-household sharing. Furthermore, wages are paid in the form of credits at the HBC store, a form that cannot be readily shared with neighbours.

Associations

Canadian society is characterized by a vast multiplicity of voluntary associations.[10] In the areas of religion, recreation, and health, dealt with in this thesis, associations function for satisfaction of different individual's wants. Few of these wants are now handled informally.

Eskimo society exhibits few associations of any kind. Aside from the Anglican Church, there appear to be no associations whatsoever. It is possible to say, however, that in general the settlement exhibits more formalized patterns in the areas of recreation and religion than does the camp. In both camp and settlement, matters of health are essentially outside the bounds of Eskimo control, in the hands of whites.

In the settlement, religious behaviour centres around the church service held thrice weekly. Unless the weather is favourable for sealing, it is customary to attend service once on Sunday, the Wednesday evening service being more optional. A Women's Auxiliary meets regularly throughout the winter season.

In the camps, where no services are held except when the missionary visits, religious behaviour consists of morning and evening prayers at

irregular times of the day. Since hunting may be undertaken any day of the week, Sunday is usually set aside, but with no formalized or required behaviour other than prohibitions on work and playing cards.

More formally structured forms of recreation, the dance and movies, are present in the settlement, absent in the camps. In both categories, however, the usual forms are informal games, such as cards and keep-away.

One association has come into being very recently in the settlement. This is a cooperative which purchased a trapboat last summer under the leadership of the HBC interpreter. This association, which includes only six of the fifteen heads of households in the settlement, replaces the economic cooperation of the camp, more closely approaches the Canadian pattern of voluntary association.

There is, of course, a clique structure in the settlement. Cliques do not appear to divide along kinship lines. These cliques are evident through the frequency of visiting between households, but they represent divisions that are extremely tenuous and have no apparent significance as yet.

Stratification

Although there is considerable disagreement among scientists as to the definition of social class, all agree that North American society is characterized by social stratification on a number of criteria.[11] It is generally recognized, in other words, that "status distinctions are important in America — extremely important — but they do not classify the society into clear social units."[12] Williams describes American social class, by which he means "an aggregate of individuals who occupy a broadly similar position in the scale of prestige,"[13] in terms of the differing values, beliefs, and interaction groupings that characterize them.[14]

We have seen that differential wealth is already creating various standards of living among the settlement Eskimos, and between settlement and camp Eskimos. This latter distinction has acquired invidious connotations that are evident from the analysis of interaction between camp and settlement. In the patterns of recreation, for instance, and particularly in visiting, a prestige differential is apparent between them.

In the camp itself, the only stratification evident is between leader and followers, although in some camps there appears slight deference to members of the leader's kin. There are no class distinctions, however, in the sense of stratified groups.

Stratification is therefore becoming evident in this society as a whole as a result of the fact that some Eskimos are employed for wages. Further distinctions within the settlement itself are becoming apparent with regard to wealth.

Education

The majority Canadian society employs formal education as one of the two most important agencies of socialization. Cultural norms, behaviour patterns, value orientations are taught in school as well as the home, along with techniques and knowledge necessary for the survival of the social system.[15]

The description of formal education in Chapter Eleven has indicated that this is not the case in Eskimo society. What must be learned for survival, both cultural and physical, is learned in the home, and the school serves no educational function in this regard.

Nevertheless, it must be stated that the school does occupy the time

of children in the settlement, that the opportunity for its use as an agent of social change exists there, and not in the camps. When the settlement children attend school every day, they are participating in a behaviour pattern that characterizes children of the Canadian majority society, and distinguishes them further from camp children. The significance of this pattern is as yet not great, though it may become much greater if the incentive to learn English begins to permeate the Eskimo home.

Value System

Changes in social organization toward Canadian patterns are probably correlated with changes in value orientation. The very increase of scale associated with wage-labour and consequent dependence on items from the world market demands new moral, legal, and religious concepts that are more in line with the values of Canadian society at large.[16]

In the economic sphere, one may expect a new definition of money, of wealth, and probably of time. Closely associated with these may develop a concept of stratification according to wealth, and a consequent social differentiation among Eskimos of a more striking kind than now exists between camp and settlement.

With these economic value changes will necessarily be associated changes in other areas, such as family, marriage, education, and religion. What these changes are, what new values are emerging, can only be guessed at from this study. Such guesses should form hypotheses for future work in the area, using different methodology and techniques more suitable to a study of covert culture.

Flexibility and Integration

Having spent considerable time analyzing the different aspects of the social order, it will now be useful to view the culture as a whole in order to examine its integration with the knowledge we have gained. We turn now from analysis to synthesis.

One of the most striking conclusions that becomes apparent from the synthetic view of Eskimo social organization is the degree of flexibility in behaviour patterns. Rigorous life in the Arctic, where subsistence itself is a never-ending challenge to man's ingenuity, has demanded a degree of inventiveness that is almost unique. The necessity of nomadism does not allow for large local groups where patterns may develop into values, for the group is constantly meeting new challenges.

The result of this life is that the Eskimo is culturally well-equipped for social change. This cultural equipment is evident in every area of social life.[17]

Family patterns are rendered flexible by the mechanism of adoption, which distributes children between households more equitably than does nature alone. Where infant mortality is high and epidemic or starvation is likely to wipe out several individuals at a time, a mechanism like adoption is necessary for group survival. Death, sterility, or old age need not be reasons in this society for a couple to lack children as long as there are enough to go around.

Marriage is not bound by ritual or circumscriptions that would make it rigid. Divorce is rare and monogamy the norm, not because of strong prohibitions, but because this is the best adaptation to the cultural-ecological circumstances.[18] The attempts of missionaries to make

permanent monogamous marriage a value have not succeeded. This is evidenced by the following facts 1) two men have sent wives away whom they married in church, taken other wives without Christian ceremony; 2) there are two men who live with more than one wife at the present time; and, 3) a large number of children are born to women who are not married. Such will continue to be the case unless permanent faithful monogamy becomes functional, or until the Eskimos learn the substitute North American pattern of serial polygamy.

In the area of community organization and authority, Eskimo society has shown flexibility in adapting to changes without disintegration. From the traditional pattern of poorly defined local groups without strong leaders, integrated demes emerged when the fur trade made them more functional. This pattern then disappeared equally readily when wage-labour allowed for an unorganized community at the settlement.

Recreation patterns are equally flexible, with games that remain highly unstructured and susceptible to constant variation. Even the dance, introduced as a highly formalized pattern, becomes a flexible form, allowing for varying numbers of participants, varying steps and figures. Card games show an equivalent de-structuring in Eskimo culture.

There is no doubt that this flexibility had much to do with the fact that white contact with Eskimos has been relatively free of conflict. Changes introduced by whites were not viewed as threats to the Eskimo way of life, but rather as a factor of environment to which the Eskimo must adapt with the same approach he has used since prehistoric times in adapting to a hard and capricious physical environment.

The Eskimo's attitude toward the environment is summed up in the word "arunamut," which literally means "because nothing can be done," and implies "therefore we must face the situation without regret."[19] Ever since the white man entered the Arctic, the Eskimo has said "arunamut" to all his incomprehensible antics. White economy, then white religion, and finally white political authority in the form of the RCMP have penetrated Eskimo society, wrought far-reaching and irrevocable changes on it, often without the understanding of the Eskimo individuals involved. Yet these changes have not been overtly opposed by the Eskimos.

The arunamut attitude has resulted in the unfortunate consequences that the Eskimo now accepts as an environmental axiom much that in democratic society is considered an individual's prerogative and duty. The right to choice of religion, the right to movement, the duty to work, the right to bargain as a free agent, and the right and duty of education for children, for instance, do not usually involve individual choice among Eskimos in this area.

But if this flexibility has led to domination of Eskimo society by various white agents, it may also aid in the process of acculturation that the Eskimo is now undergoing. For social change need not produce conflict in a society where behaviour patterns do not appear as rigid values, where the social organization is suited to easy adaptation. The problem facing the administration in such circumstances is not one of gradualism to avoid conflict, but rather the destruction of the relationship with whites that involves the acceptance of white authority as an uncontrovenable part of the environment, and the reassertion by the Eskimo of control over the areas of culture that have been in white hands. Fundamental in this

process will be the realization of economic independence of the group, its ability to act as a free agent in economic matters.

Theoretical Significance

While the flexibility of Eskimo society may ameliorate administrative problems, it provides interesting theoretical problems for the anthropologist, which are ultimately of practical importance as well. It raises the question of the integration of each social unit in the society. For if patterns of behaviour are not standardized as values with great affective weight, what produces solidarity and integration in the society, in the local group, or in the family?

The question of family integration is one for particularly fruitful speculation and research by social scientists. The family, or household, is the basic unit of traditional Eskimo society. One would therefore expect it to be highly integrated, with interdependence not only on the economic level, but strongly on the personality level as well. But the relative ease with which children are passed from one family to another, and the apparent lack of personality damage to children resulting even from repeated adoptions, indicates that ties between parents and children are easily broken, easily made. It appears that neither parent nor child feels an overwhelming sense of unique relationship.

But if this is so, and since we know that personal identity is learned from relationships, how does the child gain his sense of personal identity? How does he learn to understand his status and, consequently, his relationship with other members of the society. It has been an assumption of social scientists interested in socialization that this personal identity comes

from the unique relationship between parent and child, especially mother and child. Is it possible that personal identity may develop without such a unique relationship, through more diffuse ties of less extraordinary emotional intensity? These are some of the questions raised from a cursory view of the Eskimo adoption pattern.

The integration of the local group provides another area of profitable research for the anthropologist. It seems evident that kinship is not the primary reason for integration of the organized camp, but rather the economic cooperation of the households, primarily in relation to the use of a large boat. These camps appear to persist, however, in places where they have ceased to function as economic units.[20] The historic development of the status of leader and its present demise offers an interesting developmental study of status.

The relation between flexibility and integration provides interesting theoretical speculation in itself. Flexibility "does not mean that the society is poorly integrated", Embree states.

> On the contrary, the loose integration is a functional one, allowing not only variation in individual behaviour, but also in national behaviour. (In Thailand) it has a survival value which may well go back to the early days of extensive Thai migrations and which has served the nation well to this day.[21]

Embree points out that the fact that flexibility is functional in this case raises the theoretical question of whether it is possible to find a one-to-one correlation between "needs" and structure.[22] Although he does not mention Malinowski by name, this appears to be a suggestion that Malinowski's functionalism needs re-study in the light of these findings.

Acculturation and Assimilation

There has often been a tacit assumption in both academic and administrative circles that the process of acculturation moves inevitably toward final assimilation of a minority people and the disappearance of their culture. But experience in South America indicates that this need not be the case. If a situation develops where the differentiation between two cultures becomes functional, a self-perpetuating caste system may ensue that may survive for centuries. In South America, Benedict has pointed out that this has been the pattern where the indigenous population has become the main labour pool for the economy, as in Peru.[23] The cultural separation of the two castes has been maintained through a variety of mechanisms that John Gillen has described as "inhibitions to acculturation."[24]

There is no theoretical reason why a similar situation may not develop between Eskimo and white in the Canadian Arctic. With the Eskimo providing the labour under white supervision, the entrance of industry into the Arctic need not lead to increased assimilation of the Eskimo. It may instead result in a strengthening of caste boundaries that are already evident between white and Eskimo in Port Harrison. That assimilation replace caste separation depends primarily on government policy in the north.

The introduction of Eskimo cooperatives is strategic in this regard. Separation between Eskimo and white stems fundamentally from subservience-dominance in economic relations, and the most effective method of attack on this relation is the creation of independent economic units owned and operated by Eskimos. The cooperative is best suited to this task because of the strong patterns of sharing which are evident in Eskimo society with regard to produce from subsistence hunting — the ultimate basis for any Eskimo cooperative in the Arctic.

Questions for Future Research

This chapter has raised several questions which have not been answered. The reason is obvious: the material and methodology of this study have not been adequate to deal with them. They remain, therefore, as questions arising from this analysis that would provide for useful and theoretically interesting research in the future. It is a fitting conclusion to any piece of research to summarize the unanswered questions, for it indicates appreciation of the fact that ours is a science without ultimate conclusion, that will continue to develop as long as man continues to invent new ways of meeting new situations.

1. Acculturation and values: The examination of the value system associated with the mixed economy of the camp and its metamorphosis under the impact of wage-labour would provide further insights into the process of acculturation.

2. Adoption and family integration: The wide use of the mechanism of adoption raises interesting questions about the nature of family integration among the Eskimos. This can involve critical study of current assumptions in the field of socialization as well.

3. Local group integration and settlement patterns: The investigation of the question of what holds an Eskimo camp together as well as the camp's relation to the land would provide a useful addition to our knowledge of the Eskimos.

4. "Arunamut" and Acculturation: The Eskimo philosophical outlook of arunamut, resignation, seems ill-suited for advanced industrial society.

How this concept affects Eskimo personality and the effects of social change upon it are of vital interest to both anthropologist and administrator.

5. A cooperative pattern for acculturation: If the analysis of the effect of economic patterns put forward in this thesis is correct, the study by an anthropologist of cooperative schemes initiated by the Canadian Government will be of extreme theoretical interest to the student of social change. For it is the ultimate unity of theoretical and applied anthropology that will advance both our scientific understanding of man and his happiness in a just social order.

NOTES

NOTES

All books appearing in these notes are listed in the bibliography, where publishing details are given.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. The terms "white" and "Eskimo" are not used to indicate racial groups, but rather to distinguish cultural groups. Although race is one aspect of the distinction, it is defined culturally by both groups, as evidenced by the fact that Caucasoid Eskimos are "Eskimo." "White" is, of course, a very unsatisfactory term to describe a cultural group, but no brief alternative comes to mind, and since it is in general use in the Arctic, it appears the most convenient term to use.

2. Eskimo words are spelled according to the orthography developed by Dr. Gilles Lefèbvre of l'Université de Montréal. A brief description of this orthography is included in Appendix I, to be found at the end of this thesis.

3. Evidence of Dorset culture at Port Harrison is based on finds described to me by Miss E. M. Hinds of the Department of Northern Affairs, Education Division. I did not see them myself, nor am I competent to judge them if I had. All whites in the area report the remains of many stone houses on the Hopewell Islands.

4. Dobbs, Account of Hudson's Bay and the Countries Adjoining, p. 45.

5. Balikçi, "Relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, baie d'Hudson, 1957", p. 3.

6. Coates, The Geography of Hudson's Bay, pp. 64-90.

7. Dobbs, op. cit., p. 5.

8. Chappell, A Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay, pp. 170-1

9. From correspondence from Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.

10. Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo, p. 78.

11. From conversation with Mr. Chester Russell, Department of Northern Affairs, former HBC clerk at Port Harrison. Writing about this area as it was in 1913, Flaherty does not mention bows, describes the use of guns (Flaherty, My Eskimo Friends, passim.)

12. Marsh, "Arctic Century", pp. 5-6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

1. Wilson defines category as "a set of people whose position in society is similar, but who never join together and behave as a group." (The Analysis of Social Change, p. 45.)

2. Malinowski, Dynamics of Culture Change, pp. 2-3.

3. See Meir, "Malinowski and the Study of Social Change," p. 230.

4. Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems", p. 198.

5. The term "civilization" is here used as defined by Howells, as "having cities, with all that implies" (Back of History, p. 315), such as economic surplus, transport, and a high degree of political and social differentiation.

6. For the distinction between "cultural" and "social" see Stern, "Concerning the Distinction Between the Social and the Cultural", and Kroeber and Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System."

7. Barnett, "Culture Processes", p. 33-7.

8. Malinowski, "The Life of Culture," pp. 26-7.

9. Wilson and Wilson, op. cit., p. 24 et passim.

10. Ibid. p. 158f.

11. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, p. 18.

12. Collier, The Indians of the Americas, p. 175 et passim.
See also Benedict "Two Patterns of Indian Acculturation", p. 211f.

13. See for example Lowenthal, "The Extinction of the Krimchaks in World War II."

14. Quoted in the "Introductory Remarks" by John Barrow to Coates, The Geography of Hudson's Bay, p. ix.

15. Malinowski, Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 14, and see pp. 23ff.

16. Ibid., pp. 27-29.

17. See Ibid., p. 29.

18. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, p. 49.

19. Gluckman, "An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of B. Malinowski," pp. 205.

20. Malinowski, op. cit., p. 24.

21. Ibid., p. 12.

22. Malinowski, "Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXX, (1940). Quoted in Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 188.

23. cf. Gluckman, op. cit., pp. 14ff. "Level" as used here does not imply level of abstraction, "the number of conceptual removes from the observed data one employs in treating one or another of the variables being discussed." (Barber, "Structural-Functional Analysis: Some Problems and Misunderstandings," p. 131.) Rather it is used in the sense that Nadel uses it in discussing the "Heirarchy of Sciences." (Nadel, The Foundations of Social Anthropology, p. 209f.)

24. Malinowski, "A Scientific Theory of Culture", p. 159.

25. Ibid., pp. 168-176.

26. Ibid., p. 175.

27. Kaberry, Phyllis, "Introduction" to Malinowski, Dynamics of Culture Change, p. vii.

28. Sharp, "Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians."

29. Bredemeier, "The Methodology of Functionalism," p. 177.

30. White, "The Science of Culture", p. 61.

31. Ibid., pp. 76-110.

32. Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., p. 3.

33. Ibid., p. 4.

34. Ibid., p. 180.

35. Ibid., pp. 178-9.

36. Ibid. p. 181.

37. Merton, "Manifest and Latent Functions," p. 34 and pp. 32-34.

38. Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., 181.

39. For a distinction between manifest and latent function, see Merton, "Manifest & Latent Function," especially pp. 61-81.
The functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown is concerned with latent function as defined by Merton.

40. This relationship has been briefly described by the Wilsons in The Analysis of Social Change, pp. 14ff., 136ff.

41. Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit.,p. 180.

42. See Dahrendorf, Ralf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis."

43. For an alternate evaluation of functionalism, see Barber, "Structural-Functional Analysis: Some Problems and Misunderstandings," especially pp. 133-135. Barber criticizes the view that functionalists are not interested in change and are essentially conservative in ideology. The criticism is on the basis of principle, however, rather than pointing out functionalists who have concentrated on change or are progressive.

44. Merton, Op. cit., p. 53f.

45. For a good description of blood feud in Kaingang society, see Henry, Jungle People, pp. 49-63.

46. Merton, op. cit., p. 50f.

47. A classic Marxist definition of social class is Lenin's: "Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in historically definite system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions and method of acquiring the share of social wealth that they obtain. Classes are groups of people one of which may appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy." (Lenin, Selected Works, vol. ix, pp. 432-3). Quoted in Selsam, Handbook of Philosophy, p. 24.
Since the Marxist model of dysfunctional differentiation producing change is primarily derived from capitalist society, it is ill-suited to a description of changing Eskimo society, which does not exhibit classes by this definition. Engels' attempt to apply Marxist sociology to simple societies was based on the poorly founded ethnographic material used by most nineteenth century anthropologists. Furthermore, his primary concern was with evolutionary generalizations. (Engels, Origin of the Family, Property, and the State.)

48. The definition of acculturation given by Redfield, Herscovitz, and Linton in "Outline for the Study of Acculturation" is accepted here. Acculturation "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." (p. 149)

49. Redfield, The Folk Culture of the Yucatan, especially pp. 19-57, 338-369. Tepoztlan, a Mexican Village, especially pp. 217-23.

50. Redfield, "The Folk Society."

51. Lewis, "Life in a Mexican Village", pp. 427-448.

52. Ibid., p. 433.

53. The situation of wage labour in the mines in Africa is well known and referred to by the Wilsons (The Analysis of Social Change, passim.) and by Malinowski (The Dynamics of Culture Change, passim.).

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE: GEOGRAPHY

1. All weather statistics are from monthly weather summaries kept at radio station VAL in Port Harrison. Averages are based on the period January, 1955, to August, 1958.

2. From a 1956 report to Welfare Section, files on Port Harrison, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

3. From welfare teacher's report, September, 1954, files on Port Harrison, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR: DEMOGRAPHY

1. By "present" is meant August 1, 1958.

2. These are the only years for which statistics are available at Port Harrison.

3. All vital statistics are derived from the records kept by the R.C.M.P. detachment at Port Harrison. Thanks are due to Constables Gibson and Stiles for co-operation in making these records available to the ethnographer.

4. Only babies that live twenty-four hours are recorded as "live births." Figures before 1954 are interpolated.

5. This is the rate until August 31; it will probably rise by the end of the year, since there appear to be fewer births in fall than in the spring.

6. See definition of marriage in the chapter on family.

7. The definition of "single" is based on the definition of marriage given in the chapter on family.

8. This figure represents three-halves of the total deaths up to August 31, 1958.

9. A household is defined operationally as a tent, since it is not possible to count noses every day.

10. There is one more household than last year in Harrison now because the nursing station has hired an interpreter and choreboy from one of the camps, Ista (1569.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE: ECONOMICS

1. Quoted in Parsons and Smelser, Economy and Society, p. 13.

2. Herscovitz, Economic Anthropology, pp. 3ff.

3. Commodity is here used in the Marxist sense, satisfying the dual conditions Marx outlined in the first chapter of Capital (pp. 41ff.). To paraphrase for the sake of brevity, a commodity is here defined as an object that by its properties satisfies some human want and is produced to be exchanged for some other commodity. The advantage of this definition for this study is that labour power — the ability to work — is classed as a commodity.

4. Assuming here, by definition that labour power is a commodity (see footnote 3). Although it may appear to be stretching the point to speak of wage labour as commodity production, from the point of view of the exchange relationship, this is exactly what the worker is doing. He exchanges his labour power for wages, then puts that power to action during the prescribed time or to accomplish the prescribed tasks (see Marx, "Wage-Labour and Capital," p. 17). That he produces no material goods is not important for our consideration here, since it is the exchange relationship we are concerned with.

5. See Barnett, "Culture Processes."

6. It may be noted that the average camp income is considerably higher than that of the Inukpak Camp. This is probably due to a greater output of handicrafts from certain other camps, an hypothesis that is supported by the much greater amount of income derived from handicrafts in the average camp than in the Inukpak Camp.

7. Only three settlement Eskimos own qajaqs: Lasajusi (741), Vilia (750), and Vilia (696). Two of them were made by relatives who live in camps. See appendix for a summary of capital goods ownership.

8. This figure includes trapping and sealing, but, as will be shown later, trapping makes up 95% of the amount.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

1. The term angaju'kak is used to describe the camp leader, as well as the man in charge of each white establishment. It is also used to describe the lead-dog of a team. It implies bigger, older (angijuk).

2. The interpreter, who comes from Labrador, wields more authority over his sons than do most fathers in the Harrison area. About this, he had the following to say:

> I've noticed more at Port Harrison than anywhere else I've been the father seems scared to say something to his son. I tell my sons and they do what I say and they even come to me for advice.
> But people here are different -- it seems like they don't want to say anything to their sons, like they aren't going to like the old man if they says anything or something ... I mean grown sons. They seem to think the son won't like it and get mad at them ... Just because the son is grown up they don't want to say anything to them.

3. See population list, Appendix II, for list of families in each camp.

4. See maps of different camps in Appendix V.

5. According to one white informant, the camp leader is not a leader when his camp visits the settlement. The case cited, however, indicated other possible motives for a leader making such a statement.

6. Hawkes, "The Labrador Eskimo," page 110, cf. Weyer, The Eskimo, 209ff.

7. See Appendix VI on material possessions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN: FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

1. Yatsushiro, "Economic Development and Culture Dynamics," p. 13.

2. Burgess and Locke, The Family, from Institution to Companionship, p. 8.

3. Two tent doors opened in. This was probably due to carelessness in sewing the door-frame into the tent when it was put up in the spring.

4. A tent usually lasts only three years, less if it is not stored carefully during the winter. Older tents appear dark grey and begin to rot around the bottom.

5. If the ground slopes too much toward the door, Eskimos may sleep with their heads toward the back of the tent, but usually they will pick a spot and level the platform sufficiently so that they can sleep with their heads toward the door.

6. Nuclear family is defined as "a married man and woman with their offspring" (Murdock, Social Structure, p. 1). This is variously described as "conjugal family" (see Gillin and Gillin, Cultural Sociology, p. 228), "immediate family" (see Arnold Rose, Sociology, p. 561), or "nuclear family" (see Robin Williams, American Society, p. 37).

7. Before the establishment of St. Thomas Mission at Port Harrison, missionaries from Great Whale River were in regular contact with these Eskimos for many years.

8. Tommy Palisser (1295), Vilia (696), and Apjaqa (1706). Jani (904) married one girl, sent her home a few days later on the grounds of impotence, then took another wife. This is not a case of polygamy because the first wife has obviously been divorced in the Eskimo sense and has remarried.

9. Throughout the summer of 1958, the missionary preached a series of Wednesday night sermons on the holy sacrament of marriage.

10. A joint family is defined as one consisting of two or more nuclear families (see note 6 above) that live in the same household, in which one spouse of one nuclear family is a primary relative of one spouse in the other.

11. cf. Hawkes, Labrador Eskimo, p. 73.

12. This is indicated by a comparison of the population list I drew up during the summer with the one drawn up in the winter by the welfare teacher, Mr. M. Hofstetter.

13. This was explained to me by an Eskimo informant, who said: "Money is never shared -- except of course when it is made from a boat and everyone gets their share -- like wages for working on the boat." An interesting extreme example was described to me by Mr. Asen Balikçiz, of the National Museum. One Eskimo family at Great Whale River (summer 1957) was earning over $1,000 per month in combined wages which they did not share with any other household. Yet they continued to share in the product of the seal hunt carried on by a household that was earning less than $100 per month.

14. See the section on recreation for a description of this game.

15. It should be pointed out that I visited this camp while the leader and five other men were away with their peterhead on an extended boat charter. Life may be somewhat different when all the men are in the camp.

16. cf. Birkett-Smith, the Caribou Eskimo, p. 257.
Weyer, The Eskimo, p. 194
Giffen, The Rôles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture, p. vii.

17. Honigman, "Child Rearing Patterns Among the Great Whale River Eskimo," p. 33.

18. Cf. Ibid., pp. 43f, and especially aneddote p. 38.

19. This is not corroborated by the Honigmans' study at Great Whale River, where they report the Eskimo mother tries to distract her child, only giving it the breast as a last resort. (Ibid., p. 35f).

20. This oral emphasis was described by early explorers, although they tended to give it exotic meanings. For an example, see Chappell, who explained the licking of objects as a mark of ownership. (Chappell, A Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay, p. 65).

21. The schoolteacher's wife described one case to me when Alisi's newborn (Alicie 1555) was taken to her brother Sali's home (Charlie 1554) less than a day after its birth.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT: KINSHIP

1. The degree of relationship refers to the number of nuclear families involved. Thus relations within the nuclear family of the subject, called Ego, are primary, while parents' siblings are secondary since they involve both Ego's and a parent's nuclear family. First cousins are tertiary: including Ego's, his parent's, and his parent's siblings nuclear families.
(Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, p. 52)

2. This number includes a family of five that left for Frobisher Bay on the C.D. HOWE this summer, Tuluvak (796), as well as two persons in hospital, Juanasi and Mususi (Joanassie 908 and Mosesie 2202). By adults is meant seventeen and over. The sample includes only nine adults, out of a possible twenty-seven.

3. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 227.

4. Ibid., p. 63.

5. Ibid., p. 45f.

6. Jenness, The Life of the Copper Eskimos.

7. Giddings, "Observations on the 'Eskimo Type' of Kinship and Social Structure".
See also Hughes, "An Eskimo Deviant from the 'Eskimo Type' of Social Organization."

8. Radcliffe-Brown demonstrates the inadequacy and often falaciousness of the method of conjectural history in his article, "The Study of Kinship Systems," where he champions a functional approach to kinship. (Structure and Function in Primitive Society, pp. 49-89, espec. 49f.)

9. By parallel cousins are meant the children of siblings of the same sex, thus their relation to each other is FaBrSo-or-Da or MoSiSo-or-Da. Cross cousins are children of siblings of the opposite sex, and their relationship to each other is thus MoBrSo-or-Da or FaSiSo-or-Da. These distinctions are important because in many unilinear kinship systems, parallel cousins belong to the same clan, while cross cousins are potential or even preferred mates.

10. FaBrSo is short-hand for father's brother's son. These short-hand relations are always read as possessive nouns.

11. It may be interesting to note a similar term to qangiak among the Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea. Hughes records kangiyak as FaBrSo-or-Da and BrSo-orDa. He concludes that this is a specific distinction of paternal parallel cousin, but this interpretation does not appear to fit the material from Port Harrison ("An Eskimo Deviant from the 'Eskimo Type' of Social Organization" p. 1141-2).

12. An example of this is the child Mususi (2332) born to Maina (793), a seventeen-year-old. I was unable to determine who was the father. The child has become part of the household of Maina's parents and there is no indication that Maina will soon marry.

13. When a group of Eskimos from Port Harrison migrated to Great Whale River, they were referred to by the local inhabitants as "Port Harrison Eskimos" (probably Inukjuamiut). This was described to me in conversation by Mr. Balikçi of the National Museum, Ottawa.

14. cf. Balikçi, "Inter-ethnic Relations at Great Whale River, Hudson Bay 1957", p. 23.

15. Morgan distinguished between classificatory kinship systems, where more than one type of relationship is encompassed by each term, and specific systems where each term refers to a unique type of relationship. More recent work has shown these to be inadequate types, but they may be useful nevertheless as partial descriptions of specific kinship terms. (Murdock, Social Structure, pp. 99f.)

16. This includes the family of Tuluvak (796) who left Harrison for Frobisher Bay in June, 1958.

17. This paternal authority was described by this man as a trait more common to the Labrador coast he comes from. In fact, he describes the fact that it does not exist more generally among the Port Harrison Eskimo: (See Community Organization - footnote 2.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN: RELIGION

1. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, p. 182.

2. Ibid., p. 157.

4. For accounts of religious behaviour see, -

Tanner, Newfoundland-Labrador, pp. 543-550
Turner, Ethnology of the Ungava District pp. 193-202
Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 483-496,
and Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo, pp. 124-141

5. The most famous example of Eskimo apparitions is the "Belcher Island Murder Case," which has not yet been adequately described. An informant told me of similar, but less extravagant, examples among the Eskimos at POV following the publication of Pilgrim's Progress in syllabics. Mr. Asen Balikçi of the National Museum, Ottawa has described to me cases of apparitions he has collected at POV.

6. As one white told me, "I have no relation to their private life whatsoever, aside from making sure they are on the job each day."

7. Barnett, "Culture Processes," pp. 27ff.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN: EDUCATION

1. There is a discrepancy between the figure used here, which is stated by the first teacher, Miss E. M. Hinds, ("Experiments in Camp Education of Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic," p. 1), and that given in correspondence by the Department of Northern Affairs: September 1, 1949.

2. Hinds, op. cit., p. 2.

3. cf. Barnett, "Culture Processes," pp. 27ff.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE: HEALTH

1. Compare this to the over-all Eskimo average given by Dr. Willis, chief of Northern Health Service, Government of Canada: Of all Eskimo deaths by known causes, 82% are TB and other respiratory, 18% all other causes. (Conversation May 19, 1958).

2. Dr. Willis estimates that at least three-fourths of deaths by unknown cause among Eskimos are respiratory ailments. (Ibid.)

3. Correspondence from Dr. L. B. Pett, Chief, Nutrition Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, Government of Canada, March 2, 1959.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTEEN: ACCULTURATION

1. See, for instance, Miner, St. Denis, Hughes, French Canada in Transition, Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban Life."

2. For instance, a whole issue of the American Anthropologist has been devoted to "The U.S.A. as Anthropologists See It" (vol. 57, no. 1, December, 1955).

3. Mason, "A Characterization of American Culture," p. 1269.

4. Williams, American Society, p. 149-50.

5. Ibid., pp. 202f.

6. Barnett states, "According to my observations the potentialities for accepting the new have manifested themselves most clearly in certain individuals whose behaviour suggests that they have not achieved a completely happy or binding adjustment to their culture" ("Culture Processes," p. 27). Presumably this would apply to the learning of a new language as well as to other traits.

7. Ruesh, "Acculturation and Illness," p. 14f.

8. Canada 1958, p. 46.

9. See Burgess and Locke on the "Interdependence of Rôles", in the modern companionship marriage (The Family, pp. 302-4, especially p. 303).

10. See, for instance, Williams, op. cit., pp. 466-73.

11. Goldschmidt, "Social Class and the Dynamics of Status in America," pp. 1209ff.

12. Ibid., p. 1213

13. Williams, op. cit., p. 89

14. Ibid., pp. 90-135.

15. Ibid., pp. 265f.

16. Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change pp. 159-163.

17. For a discussion of similar flexibility in social organization but in a more advanced society, see Embree, "Thailand — a Loosely Structured Social System." Embree makes the same point that such a society may undergo social change with substantial lack of conflict or disintegration.

18. For a discussion of cultural-ecological determinants, see Stewart, Theory of Culture Change, pp. 30-42, especially pp. 36-39.

19. The attitude and word "arunamut" are not new with this study, but have been recorded by countless writers about the Eskimo. See, for instance, de Coccola's book, Ayorama, the title of which is the same word in the dialect of the Coppermine Eskimos.

20. Mr. Asen Balikçi reports that at both Great Whale River and POV Eskimo settlement patterns follow the lines of previously separate camps, which he calls demes ("Relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, baie d'Hudson, 1957", p. 23 et passim., and in conversation).

21. Embree, op. cit., p. 191.

22. Ibid., p. 192.

23. Benedict, "Two Patterns of Indian Acculturation."

24. Gillen, "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatamalan Community," especially pp. 13-14.

APPENDIX I: ESKIMO ORTHOGRAPHY

The Orthography used in this thesis for the transcription of Eskimo words and names is that developed by Professor Lefèbvre of l'Université de Montréal. This orthography was introduced to the writer prior to the fieldwork, and was tested in the field in the recording of Eskimo words, names and phrases. It was found to be phonemically satisfactory, that is, it was adequate for distinguishing meaning.

Only three vowels are phonemic in Eskimo: i, a, u. These may have various shades of pronunciation in different environments, such as i sounding like e before q, or a sounding like o in final syllables, but these are allophonic rather than phonemic differences.

a, i, u, are pronounced as in Italian. A lengthened vowel is doubled, a phonemic difference, as in kina, "who", and kiina,"face."

The consonants are pronounced at Port Harrison as follows:

g: softer than in English, as a velar flap.

j: half-way between English r and y as a palatal fricative.

k: as in English kid.

l: as in English.

ll: similar to English dl as in idling, without interspersing a semi-vowel but releasing the d into the l.

m: as in English.

n: as in English.

ng: as in English singer, never as finger.

p: as in English, but with less aspiration.

q: usually a uvular fricative, as ch in Scottish loch, but an unvoiced uvular stop without aspiration at the end of a word like a k pronounced at the very back of the mouth - without breath. When it is doubled in the middle of a word, it is an aspirated uvular stop.

r: as the German r, a uvular voiced fricative.

APPENDIX II: ESKIMO POPULATION OF PORT HARRISON - AUGUST 1, 1958.

Note: 1. All numbers are E-9 unless otherwise stated.
2. Orthography is according to Lefèbvre System with English name in parentheses if different.
3. Relations are given to head of household, as follows:-

mo: mother
fa: father
da: daughter
so: son
wi: wife
hu: husband
si: sister
br: brother
c-wi: co-wife
a-da: adopted daughter
a-so: adopted son.

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
SETTLEMENT			
699	Jusi (Josie) Nauja	1917	
700	Mata (Martha)	1925	wi
1501	Luisa (Louisa)	1947	da In hospital
1931	Jimi (Jimmie)	1950	so
2224	Lili (Lilly)	1953	da
696	Vilia (Willia) Akiatuk	1920	
1046	Lisi (Lizzie)	1935	c-wi
697	Lia (Leah)	1929	wi In hospital
748	Jani Pi (Johnny Billie)	1943	so
1805	Nunga (Maggie)	1948	a-da
2323	Ani (Annie)	1957	a-da
1620	Lukasi (Lucassie) Naujakulluk	1912	
1621	Iva (Eva)	1919	wi
1623	Ani (Annie)	1934	da
1834	Inuksiak (Charlie)	1949	so
2159	Alisi (Alicie	1956	a-da

s: as in English, but retroflexed: curling the tongue further back toward the palate.

t: as in English, but with less aspiration.

v: This varies between English v and w, depending on the speaker, but is usually closer to w.

': glottal stop, often replacing the first of two stops that occur together. Pronounced as the difference between "a nice man" and "an 'ice man."

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
SETTLEMENT			
1574	Sali (Charlie) Najumialuk	1920	
1815	Susana	1922	wi
2149	Lusi (Lucy)	1955	a-da
2337	Miaji (Mary)	26-1-1958	da
1779	Taina (Dinah) Qaqqaqaq	1937	lodger
758	Pita (Peter) Naluktik	1912	
759	Luisa (Louisa	1925	wi
760	Lisi (Lizzie)	1945	da
1504	Ana (Anna)	1947	da
1928	Taiviti (Davidie)	1950	so
2222	Siaja (Sarah	1953	da
2146	Vini (Winnie)	1955	da
761	Kalai (Caroline)	1935	a-da
1297	Itu'kulluk (Tommy Jr.) Palliser	1930	
1618	Lisi (Lizzie)	1935	wi
2121	Jini (Jeannie)	1954	a-da
1613	Mini (Minnie	1921	wimosi
2157	Jusi (Josie)	1957	wimosi-a-so
1790	Ituq (George) Palliser	1927	
1791	Mini (Minnie)	1926	wi
1793	Janti (Johnny D)	1943	a-so
1885	Kalai (Caroline)	1950	da
1994	Miaji (Mary)	1952	da
2117	Ani (Annie)	1954	da
2153	Sali (Charlie)	1956	so
(2602	Iva (Eva)	2-8-1958	da)
750	Vilia (Willia) Ningiuk	1895	
751	Ilisapi (Elisabee)	1897	wi
754	Aita (Ida W)	1944	a-da
1884	Juanasi (Joanassee)	1950	a-so (soso)
762	Taiviti (Davidee) Ningiuk	1926	
763	Mata (Martha)	1932	wi
1581	Atami (Adamee)	1948	so
2331	Miaji (Mary)	3-10-1957	da

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
SETTLEMENT			
1554	Sali (Charlie) Qasilluak	1927	
703	Mata (Martha)	1928	wi
2330	Apjaqa (Abraham)	18-8-1957	a-so
741	Lasajusi (Lazarusie) Maina	1930	
1555	Alisi (Alicie)	1936	wi
2137	Ana (Anna)	1955	da
740	Maina (Mina)	1900	mo
706	Aisa (Isa) Smiler	1921	
707	Lusi (Lucy)	1924	wi
2221	Siasi (Siarsi)	1953	a-da
2322	Taniali (Daniel)	1957	a-so
(1579	Kalai (Caroline)	1919)	Frobisher Bay
(1337	E-7 Jimi (Jimmie Pouta)	1953?)	In hospital
1549	Miaji (Mary)	1937	
1778	Raingi (Rhynee)	1935	lodger
1550	Ana (Anna)	1941	si
1295	Tommy Palliser Sr.	1902	
766	Lia (Leah)	1907	wi
1299	Bitsi (Betsy)	1938	da
2340	Maikalapik (Michael)	10-3-1958	daso
1300	Ju (Joe)	1941	so
1485	Alisi (Alicie)	1918	c-wi
2201	Niali (Nellie)	1952	da
2317	Jani (John)	1957	so
768	Augiak	1934	a-so
1588	Ilai'sa (Elijah)	1920	lodger

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
BAFFIN TRADING CO. SITE (Approximately one mile west)			
777	Pita (Peter) Qasilluak	1906	
778	Talasi (Dalacie)	1912	wi
780	Jani (Johnny K)	1944	so
781	Miaji (Mary)	1947	da
2109	Maina (Mina)	1953	da
779	Paulusi	1938	
1667	Arnasuq (Lucy)	1940	wi
2348	Inukpak (Johnny)	9-6-1958	so
1660	Jusi (Josie) Nuluki	1931	
1658	Nuluki	1902	fa
HOPEWELL NARROWS CAMP (Approximately six miles south)			
1540	Paulusi	1915	
1541	Iva (Eva)	1919	wi
1542	Nua (Noah)	1938	so
1499	Maina (Mina)	1947	da
1961	Ista (Easter)	1952	so
2142	Aisaja (Isaiah)	1955	so
1562	Amillak	1897	
1563	Siaja (Sarah)	1930	da
1564	Livai (Levi)	1931	so
1566	Miaji (Mary)	1941	da
1576	Aisa (Isa) Umajualuk-	1911	
1577	Lia (Leah)	1917	wi
1578	Mata (Martha)	1941	a-da
1567	Najumialuk	1900	
1568	Siaja (Sarah)	1900	wi
1569	Ista (Easter)	1926	so
1571	Alisi (Alicie)	1938	da
1572	Kuunlusi (Corneliusie)	1940	so
1573	Timuti (Timothy)	1943	so
1570	Jini (Jeannie)	1933	da
2308	Miaji (Mary)	1956	dada

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
HOPEWELL NARROWS CAMP (Cont'd.)			
1546	Samuili (Samuelie) Amillak-	1902	
1547	Niali (Nellie)	1906	wi
1548	Matusi (Mathewsie)	1934	so
774	Timuti (Timothy) Qa'tiaqaq	1924	
775	Luisa (Louisa)	1927	wi
1822	Ani (Annie)	1949	da
2125	Siaja (Sarah)	1954	da
2325	Jupi (Jobie)	24-6-1957	so
1777	Alisi (Alisie) Qaqqaqaq	1898	si
1780	Juta (Rhoda)	1940	sida
FIVE MILE INLET CAMP (Approximately six miles north)			
1552	Taiviti (Davidie) Qasilluak	1913	
1553	Lisi (Lizzie)	1914	wi
1556	Apjaqa (Abraham)	1938	so
1557	Litia (Lydia)	1942	da
2156	Nuluki	1956	a-so
1619	Lasajusi (Lazarusie) Ipuk	1932	
717	Amali (Emily)	1934	wi
2122	Lisi (Lizzie	1954-	da
2343	Jupi (Jobie)	3-4-1958	so
1616	Sali (Charlie) Ipuk	1913	
1617	Siasi (Siarsi)	1916	wi
1614	Jani (Johnny C)	1938	a-so
1498	Aita (Ida C)	1946	a-da
1612	Nua (Noah) Naujakulluk	1926	
1730	Miaji (Mary)	1932	wi
2147	Lili (Lilly)	1955	da
2327	Jita (Rita)	1957	da

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate		
FIVE MILE INLET CAMP (Cont'd.)				
1559	Samasak	1916		
1723	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1925	wi	
1561	Ali (Allie)	1943	so	
1575	Kalai (Caroline)	1946	da	
2312	Samasak	5-11-1957	s-so	
(833	Mususi (Moses) Aupaluktuk	1924	)	This family left
(816	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1927	wi)	on C.D. HOWE
(2144	Ningiuk	1955	s-da)	July 20, 1958.
1666	JImi (Jamassie) Qasilluak	1935		
1665	Vini (Winnie)	1902	mo	
1669	Jani (Johnny)	1935	s-br	
1684	Qumaluk	1938	siso	
1685	Nuluki	1945?	siso	
2115	Sali (Charlie)	1953	siso	
1683	Niali (Nellie)	1918	si	
1842	Alisi (Alicie)	1949	sida	
1699	Taniali (Daniel) Qasilluak	1925		
1700	Pirti (Jeannie)	1924	wi	
2205	Paulusi	1952	so	
2344	Miaji (Mary)	9-5-1958	da	
1670	Ali (Allie)	1926	wibr	
1671	Maiji (Mary)	1927	wibrwi	
1910	Lisi (Lizzie)	1948	wibrda	In hospital
1988	Pita (Peter)	1952	wibrso	
2133	Alisi (Alicie)	1954	wibrda	
BATES PENINSULA CAMP (Approximately 25 miles north)				
927	Saima (Simon) Tukai	1911		
928	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1911	wi	
929	Tamasi (Thomassie	1937	so	In hospital
931	Ju (Joe Adamee)	1943	so	
1507	Miaji (Mary)	1947	da	
1955	Pini	1951	so	

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
BATES PENINSULA CAMP (Cont'd.)			
1585	Mususi (Moses	1931	Dahu
930	Ana (Anna)	1941	da
2349	Lisi (Lizzie)	22-6-1958	dada
1582	Lukasi (Lucassie) Iqaluk	1904	
1587	Pita (Peter)	1943	so
1807	Magi (Maggie)	1948	da
1586	Tamasi (Thomassie)	1935	so
864	Livai (Levi) Iqaluk	1919	
865	Luisa (Louisa)	1921	wi
866	Iva (Eva)	1943	da
890	Pita (Peter) Nauja	1929	dahu
867	Nua (Noah)	1946	so
1935	Sajamai (Jeremiah)	1951	so
2118	Niviaksi	1954	so
1592	Saimautik	1907	
1643	Lusi (Lucy)	1900	wi
2154	Sali (Charlie)	1954	a-so
1644	Jakka	1930	wiso
891	Niali (Nellie)	1931	wisowi
2145	Lusi (Lucy)	1955	wisoda
2601	Lisi (Lizzie)	11-7-1958	wisoda
1647	Aipili	1940	
1648	Lukasi (Lucassie)	1942	br
1695	Lusi (Lucy)	1907	mo
704	Lukasi (Lucassie) Qumaluk	1921	
91	Miaji (Mary Mina)	1926	wi
705	Niali (Nellie)	1945	da
1862	Sapuja (Sepora)	1949	da
2321	Jupi (Jobie)	1957	so

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
BATES PENINSULA CAMP (Cont'd.)			
1593	Akuliak	1910	
1594	Lusi	1912	wi
1593	Ju (Joe)	1936	so
1596	Alisi (Alicie)	1938	da
1597	Nua (Noah)	1941	so
1598	Taniali (Daniel)	1944	so
1599	Mata (Martha)	1946	da
1826	Maina (Mina)	1948	da
1958	Juani (Johnny)	1951	so
2213	Tami (Tommy)	1952	so
2127	Taiviti (Davidie)	1954	so
2311	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1956	da
2347	Ani (Annie)	20-5-1958	da
SAJULI'S CAMP (Approximately 25 miles south)			
1945	Sajuli Vitaluktuk	1909	
1746	Jini (Jeannie)	1912	wi
1515	Jamasi (Jamasie)	1947	so
2113	Simiuni (Simeonie)	1951	so
1735	Jusapi (Josephie) Nalikturuk	1936	dahu
1757	Miaji (Mary)	1931	da
2341	Alē (Allie)	1-3-1958	daso
884	Apjaqa (Abraham) POV	1927	
885	Alisi (Alicie)	1929	wi
1806	Jani Nauja (Johnny)	1948	so
1981	Lusi (Lucy)	1951	da
2342	Sali (Charlie)	20-3-1958	so
879	Inukpak	1930	
878	Miaji(Mary)	1902	mo
880	Jupi (Jobie)	1934	br
881	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1938	si
882	Taniali (Daniel)	1942	br
883	Ani (Annie)	1945	si
1768	Sailasi (Silasie)	1919	
1584	Litia (Lydie)	1928	wi
2217	Ani (Annie)	1952	da
783	Kalai (Caroline)	1947	wisi
2346	Maina (Mina)	2-5-1958	da

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate		
SAJULI'S CAMP (Cont'd.)				
1766	Tukai	1888		
1767	Ani (Annie)	1893	wi	
1769	Pita (Peter)	1921	so	
1770	Lusi (Lucy)	1924	da	
1771	Nua (Noah)	1925	so	
1772	Putugualuk	1932	da	
1773	Lukasi (Lucassie)	1935	so	
1774	Iva (Eva)	1940	da	
1775	Kalai (Caroline)	1943	da	
1749	Juanasi	1934		
1747	Iva (Eva)	1902	mo	
1751	Maina (Mina)	1941	si	
1752	Simiuni (Simeonie) Vitaluktuk	1921		
1753	Lusi (Lucy)	1923	wi	
1754	Ilisapi (Elizabee)	1946	da	
1755	Ani (Annie)	1915	si	
1756	Jini (Jeannie)	1935	sida	
1932	Tanialı (Daniel)	1951	so	
1843	Ilaisi (Elisie)	1949	so	
2203	Ilai (Eli)	1952	do	
2134	Miaji (Mary)	1954	da	
2345	Jupi (Jobie)	11-5-1958	so	
1758	Ilai Vitaluktuk	1910		
1759	Mudaja	1912	wi	
1760	Paulusi	1938	so	
1761	Ani (Annie)	1941	da	
1836	Sajuli	1949	so	
1985	Miaji (Mary)	1951	da	
2150	Iva (Eva)	1955	da	
APJAQA'S CAMP (Approximately 35 miles south)				
1706	Apjaqa (Abraham) Nastapuka	1900		
1707	Maina (Mina)	1902	wi	In hospital
1519	Siajai (Sarah)	1929	c-wi	
1708	Taiviti (Davidee)	1945	so	
1713	Siaja (Sarah)	1943	a-da	
1709	Lia (Leah)	1928	da	
1883	Luisa (Louisa)	1945	da	

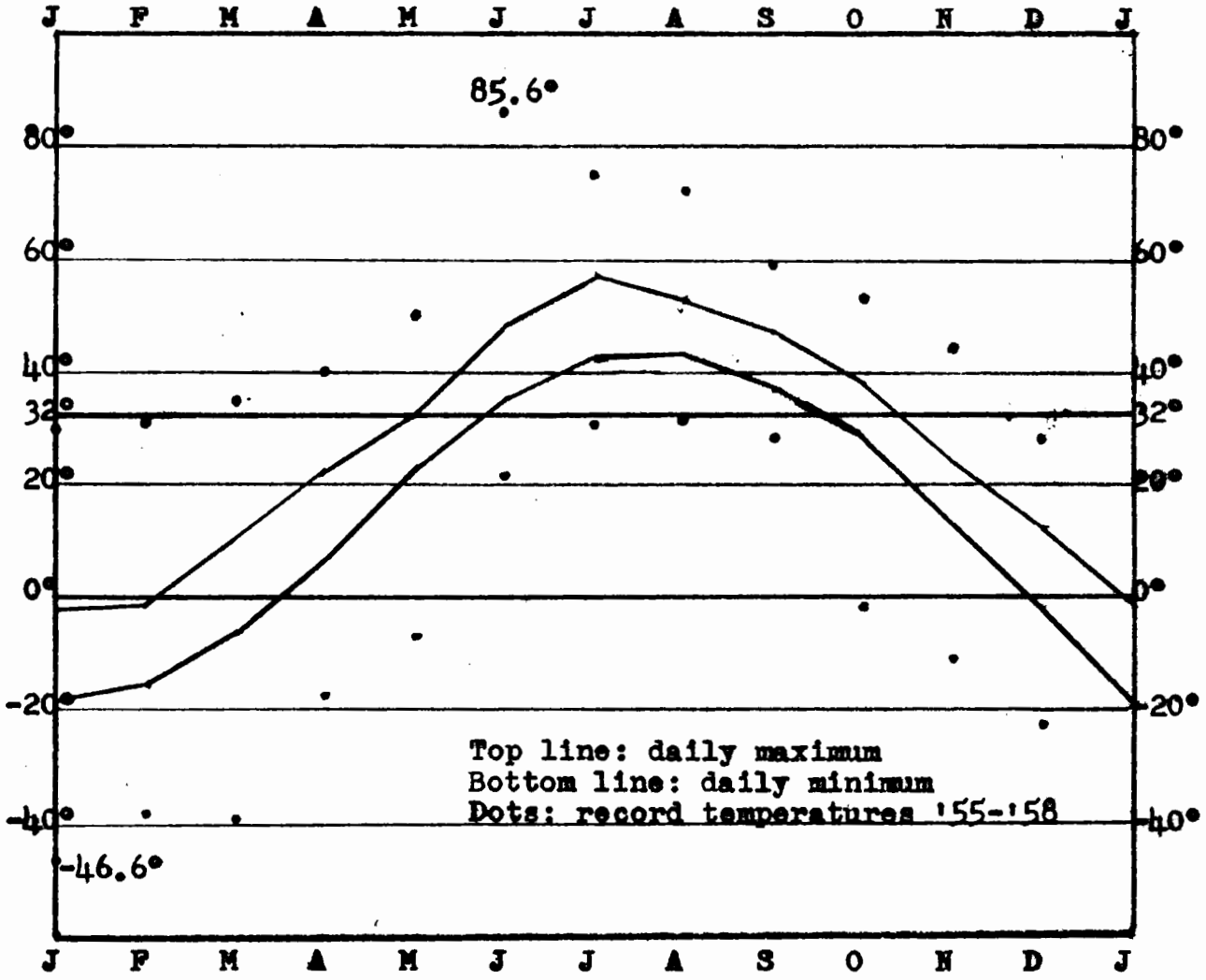
Disc No.	Name	Birthdate		
APJAQA'S CAMP (Cont'd.)				
1712	Samasak (Samson) Nastapuka	1931		
733	Niali (Nellie)	1933	wi	
2309	Jut (Ruth)	1956	da	
1701	Aisa Qasulluak	1917		
1703	Akansi	1932	wi	
1702	Auvitalaktuk	1934	a-so	
2120	Ana (Anna)	1954	da	
2335	Jani (Johnny)	10-11-1957	so	
1704	Saima (Simon) POV	1917		
1705	Amali (Emily)	1918	wi	
2329	Miaji (Mary)	26-7-1957	a-da	
731	Atami (Adamse)	1925		
1710	Ani (Annie)	1930	wi	
2310	Amali (Emily)	1956	da	
728	Niviaksi	1892		
729	Ani (Annie)	1902	wi	
732	Sailasi (Silas)	1930	so	
734	Taiviti (Davidee)	1937	so	
736	Sajamai (Jeremiah)	1942	so	In hospital
735	Kuunlusi (Cornelius)	1940	so	
1716	Saima (Simon) Qasulluak	1925		
1711	Jila (Sheila?)	1935	wi	
1715	Ani (Annie)	1898	mo	
1717	Paulusi	1928	bo	
730	Samuili (Samuelie)	1924		
1558	Lia (Leah)	1932	wi	

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate	
JOHNNY INUKPUK'S CAMP (Approximately 50 miles north)			
904	Jani (Johnny) Inukpak	1913	
901	Inukpak	1887	fa
877	Miaji (Mary)	1930	wi
906	Sali (Charlie	1941	so
907	Atami (Adamie)	1943	so
1984	Pita (Peter)	1951	so
2132	Liwai (Levi)	1954	so
915	Ilaisiapik	1912	
916	Luisa (Louisa)	1917	wi
917	Siaja (Sarah)	1941	da
918	Aji (Harry)	1943	so
919	Sakajaisi (Zachariah)	1946	so
1611	Simiuni (Simeonie)	1948	so
1831	Miaji (Mary)	1949	da
1609	Ilai (Eli)	1936	a-so
923	Ituq (Mosesie)	1939	
922	Kalai (Caroline)	1925?	mo
924	Simiuni (Simeonie)	1941	br
925	Jupi Nauja (Jobie)	1946	br
2225	Ali (Allie)	1953	br
710	Simiuni (S imeonie) Qingalik	1930	
894	Siaja (Sarah)	1923	wi
2119	Miaji Lisi (Mary Lizzie)	1954	da
711	Kilupak Qingalik	1934	
709	Magi (Maggie)	1906	mo
712	Samasak (Samson)	1937	br
937	Pini (Benny) Nuktialuk	1930	
1646	Jipaka (Rebecca)	1935	wi
936	Jusi (Rosie)	1907	mo
938	Lukasi (Lucassie)	1933	br
939	Pita (Peter)	1939	br
2333	Inukpak (Johnny)	29-9-1957	so
2328	Sapak	1955	a-so

Disc No.	Name	Birthdate		
JOHNNY INUKPUK'S CAMP (Cont'd.)				
791	Mususi (Moses) POV	1915		
792	Ani (Annie)	1910	wi	
793	Maina (Mina)	1941	da	
2332	Mususi (Moses)	-9-1957	daso	In hospital
794	Lisi (Lizzie)	1943	da	
1814	Ana (Anna)	1948	da	
1989	Luisa (Louisa)	1952	da	
2123	Alisi (Alicie)	1954	da	
908	Juanasi (Joanassie) Naukauaq	1926		In hospital
903	Anisi (Annisie)	1929	wi	
2202	Mususi (Mosesie)	1952	so	In hospital
2129	Mini (Minnie)	1954	da	
1610	Litia (Lydia)	1938	lodger	
876	Taiviti (Davidie)	1923		
(796	Aisa (Isa) Tuluvak	1916)	This family	
(797	Luisa (Louisa)	1923	wi) left Harrison	
(798	Lia (Leah)	1944	da) via C.D. HOWE	
(799	Mususi (Jobie)	1947	so) to Frobisher	
(1980	Makusi (Marcusie)	1951	so) Bay, July 20,	
(2350	Anisi (Annisie)	20-6-1958	da) 1958.	

APPENDIX III: SUMMARY OF WEATHER AT PORT HARRISON
(All figures based on monthly averages January '55 to August '58.)

DAILY MAXIMUM & MINIMUM TEMPERATURES



AVERAGE PRECIPITATION AT PORT HARRISON

Month	days of measurable precipitation	total precip	snow	depth snow at month's end
January	6	.41"	4.1"	31.6"
February	7	.48	4.8	36.0
March	5	.22	2.2	38.5
April	6	.62	3.8	19.5
May	14	1.22	5.9	6.0
June	6	1.40	.5	nil
July	8	1.66	nil	
August	15	2.77		
September	12	1.63		
October	16	1.34	4.5	.8
November	16	.92	8.6	9.5
December	14	.93	9.3	19.7

APPENDIX IV: WHITE FOXES TRADED AT PORT HARRISON STORE

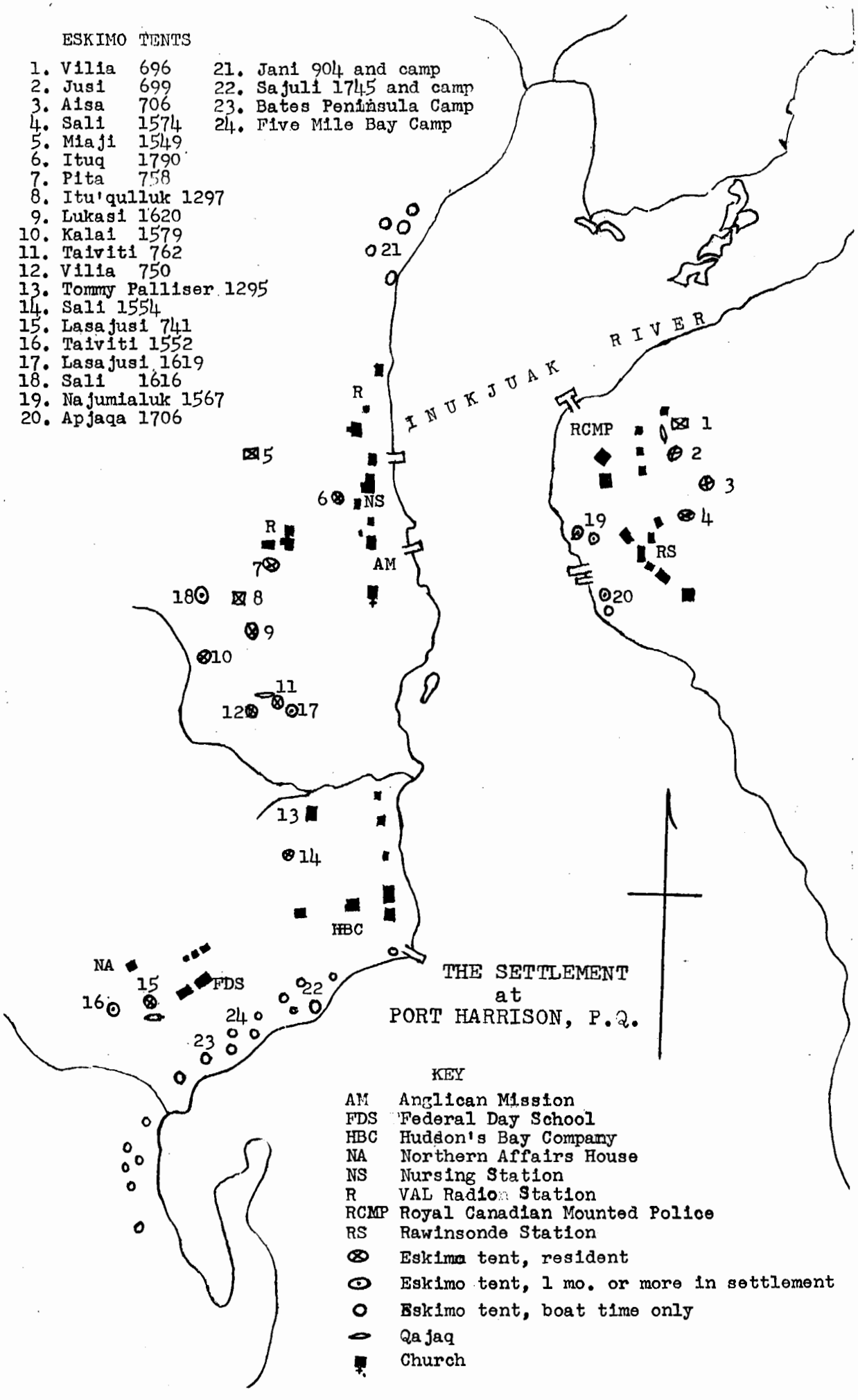
Winter	Number
1953-4	4,920
1954-5	
1955-6	1,501
1956-7	600
1957-8	415

In 1957-8, 855 seal skins were traded, all common or silver jar.

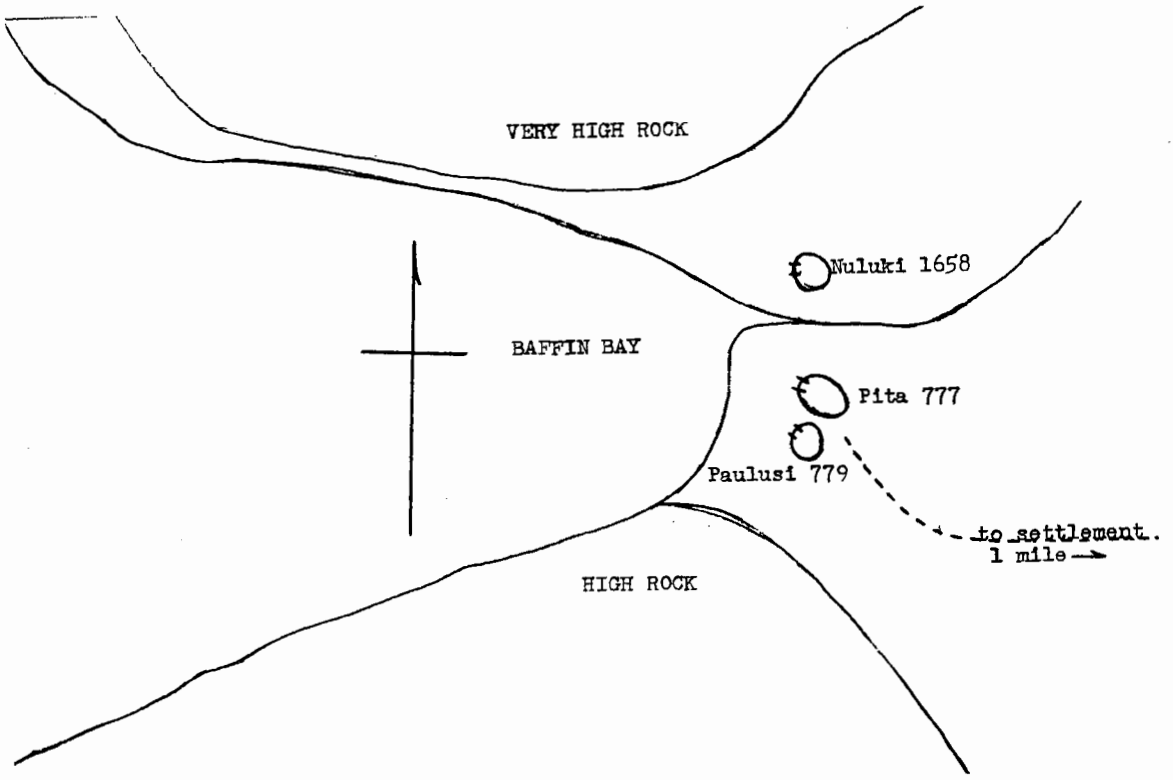
APPENDIX V: MAPS OF SETTLEMENT AND CAMPS

The map of the settlement is based on a map drawn by Mr. Murray Hofstetter from aerial photographs of the area.

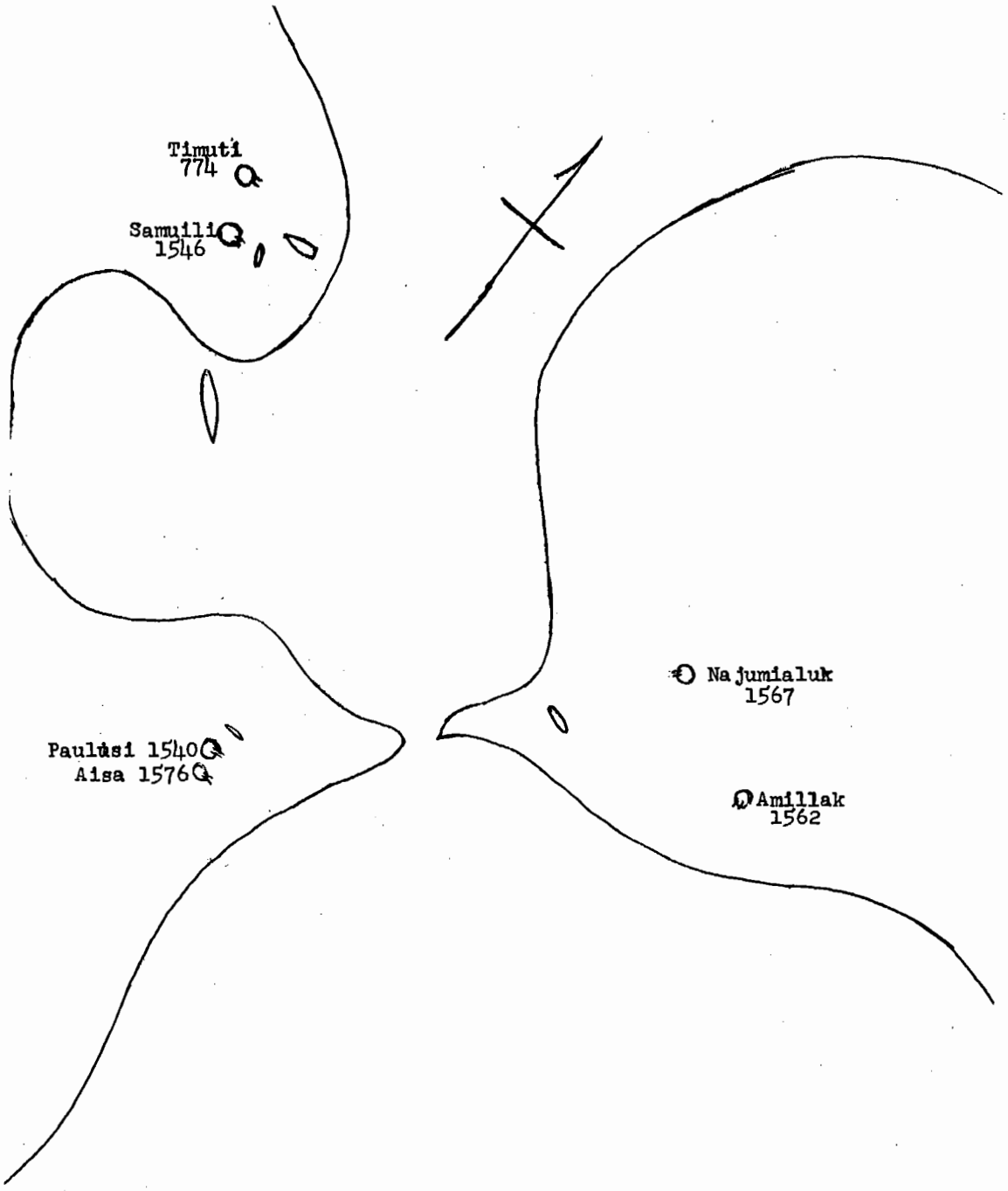
The other maps are based on scale drawings done by me on the spot.

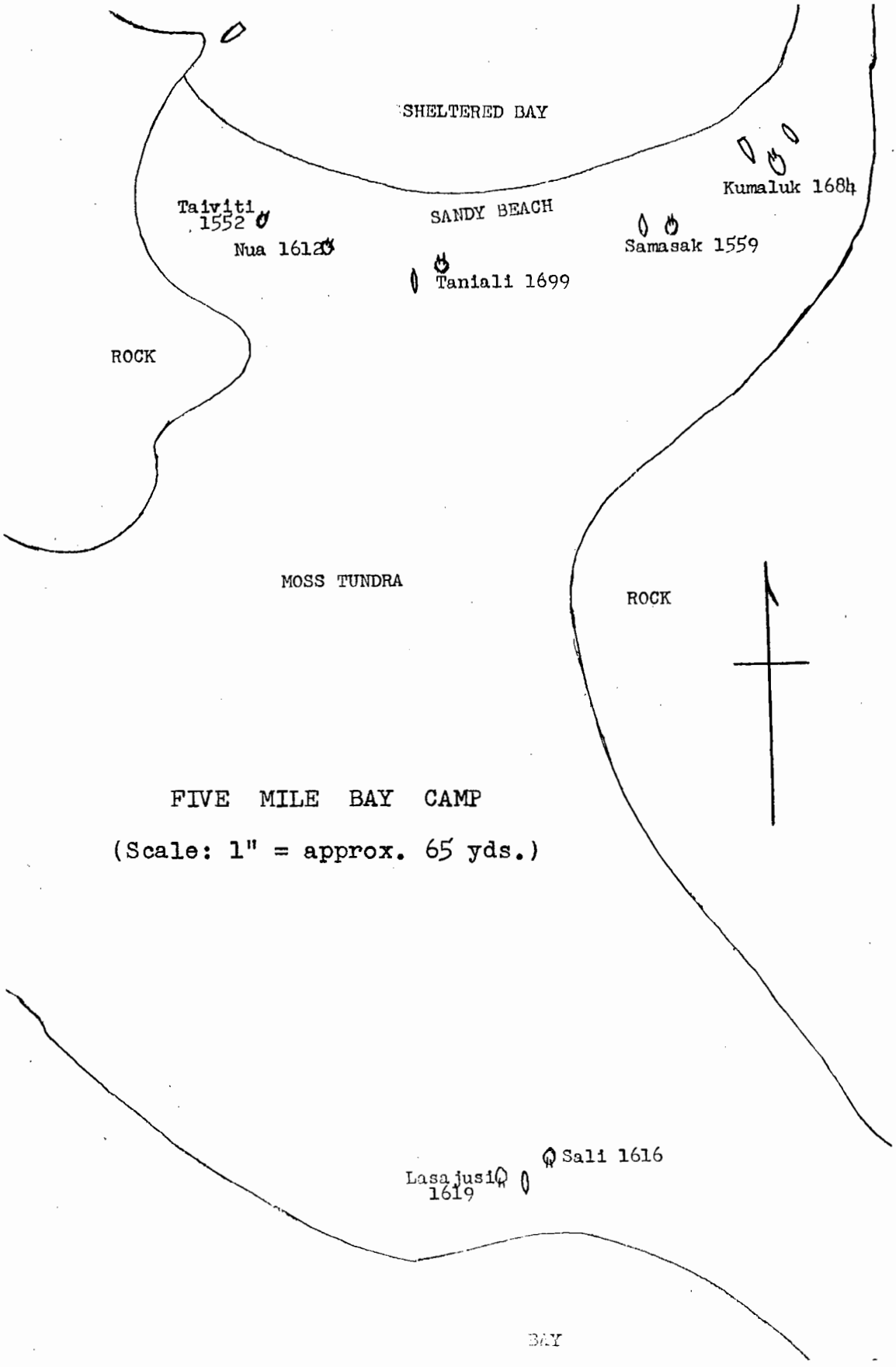

ESKIMO TENTS
1. Vilia 696
2. Jusi 699
3. Aisa 706
4. Sali 1574
5. Miaji 1549
6. Ituq 1790
7. Pita 758
8. Itu'qulluk 1297
9. Lukasi 1620
10. Kalai 1579
11. Taiviti 762
12. Vilia 750
13. Tommy Palliser 1295
14. Sali 1554
15. Lasajusi 741
16. Taiviti 1552
17. Lasajusi 1619
18. Sali 1616
19. Najumialuk 1567
20. Apjaqa 1706
21. Jani 904 and camp
22. Sajuli 1745 and camp
23. Bates Peninsula Camp
24. Five Mile Bay Camp
INUKJUAK RIVER
R
NS
AM
RCMP
RS
HBC
NA
FDS
THE SETTLEMENT
at
PORT HARRISON, P.Q.
KEY
AM Anglican Mission
FDS Federal Day School
HBC Hudson's Bay Company
NA Northern Affairs House
NS Nursing Station
R VAL Radio Station
RCMP Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RS Rawinsonde Station
Eskimo tent, resident
Eskimo tent, 1 mo. or more in settlement
Eskimo tent, boat time only
Qajaq
Church

BAFFIN BAY CAMP
(Scale: 1" = approx. 25 yds.)



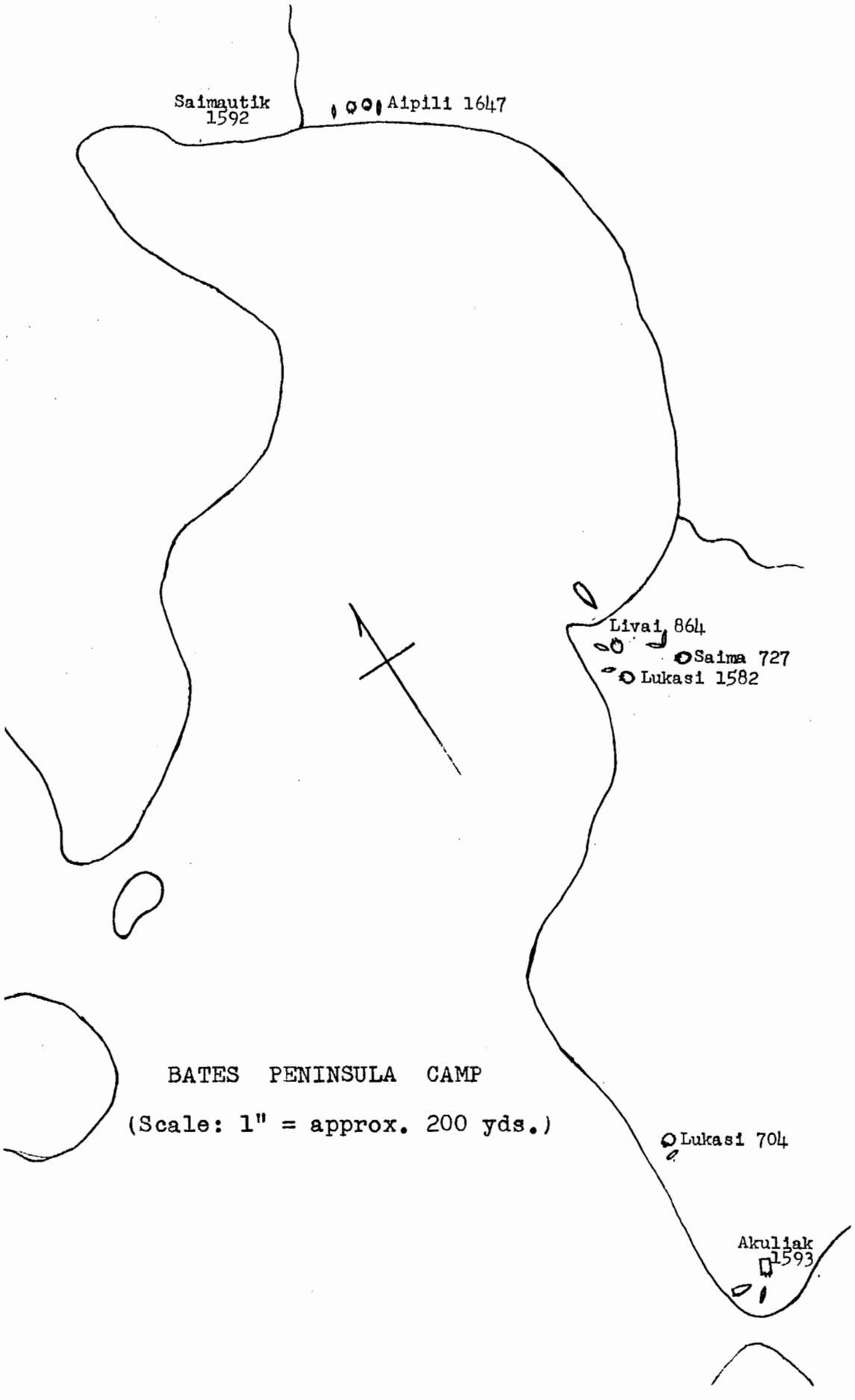
HOPEWELL NARROWS CAMP
(Scale: 1" = approx. 65 yds.)





FIVE MILE BAY CAMP

(Scale: 1" = approx. 65 yds.)

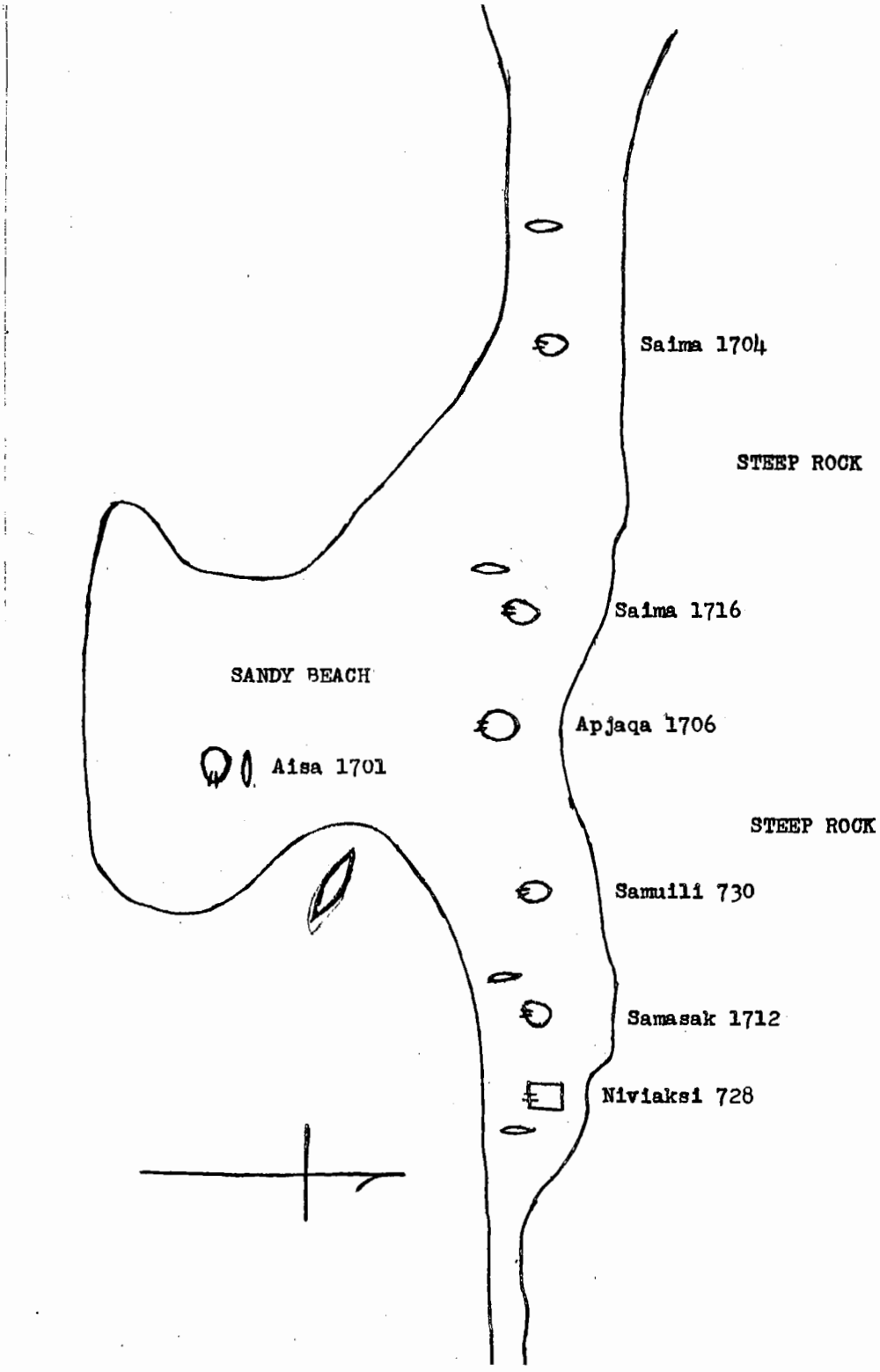


BATES PENINSULA CAMP

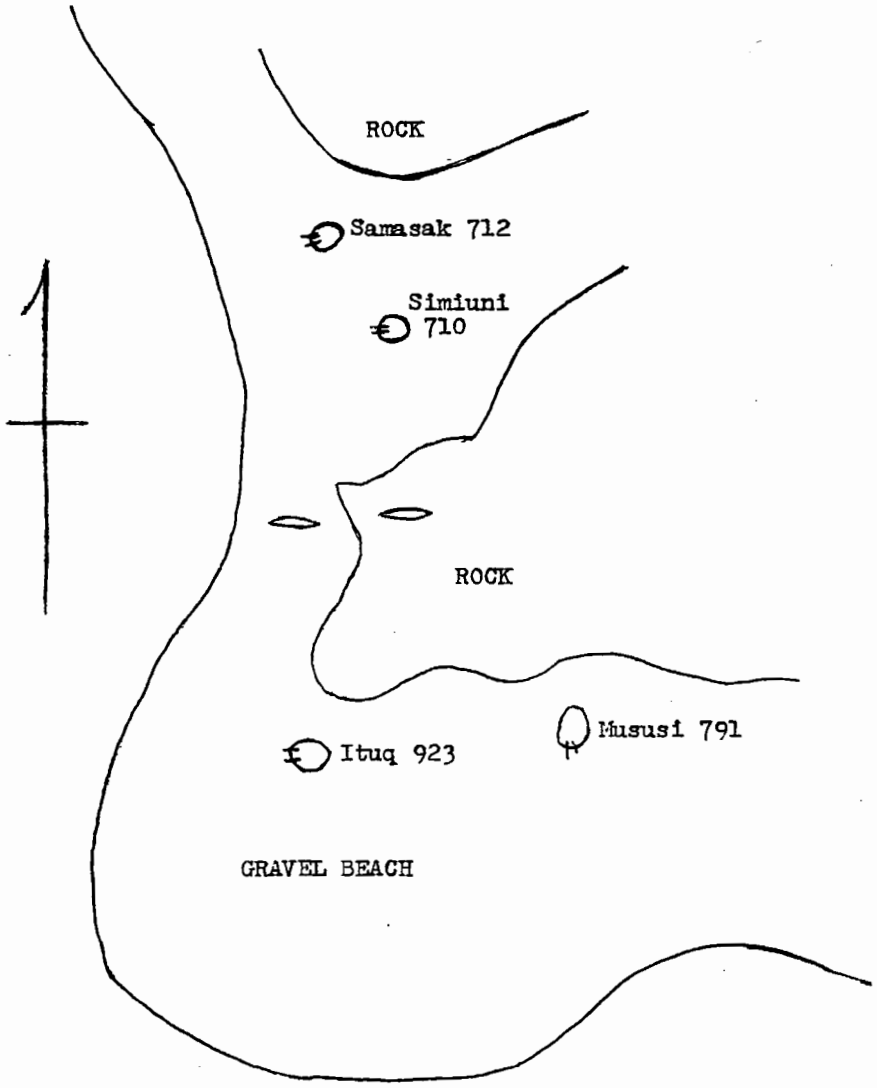
(Scale: 1" = approx. 200 yds.)

SAJULI'S CAMP (Scale: 1" = approx. 30 yds.)

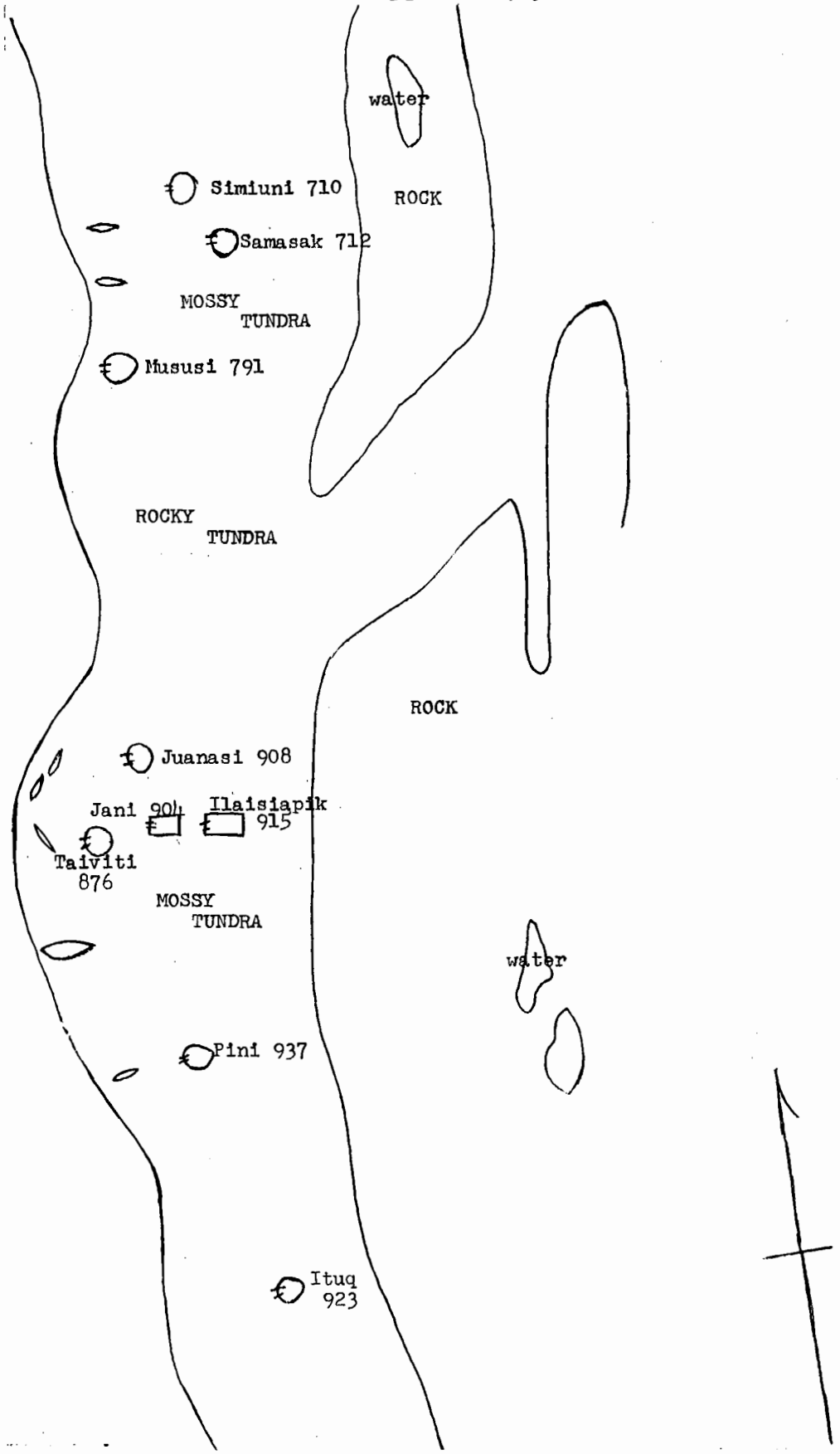
APAAQA'S CAMP (Scale: 1" = approx. 30 yds.)



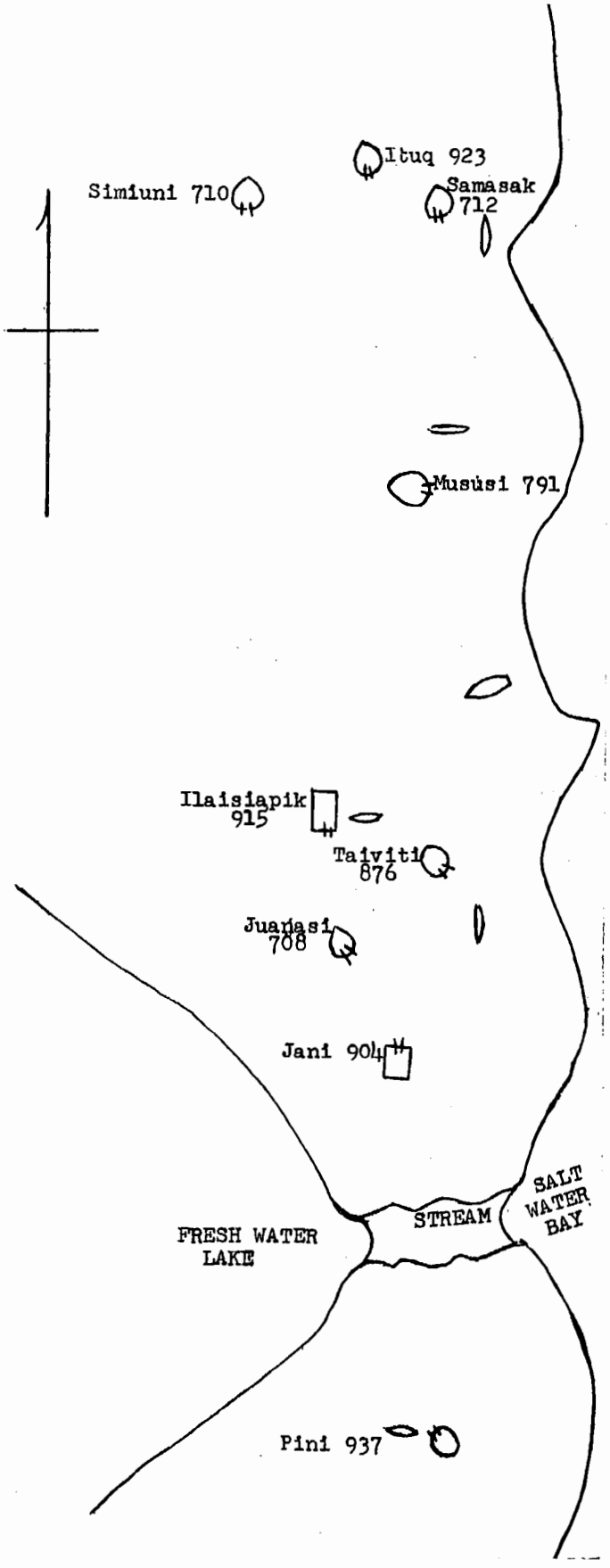
PART OF INUKPAK CAMP, before July 24
(Scale: 1" = approx. 30yds.)



INUKPAK CAMP, July 24-September 1
(Scale: 1"=approx. 40yds.)



INUKPAK CAMP, September 1-
(Scale: 1" = approx. 40yds.)



APPENDIX VI: CAPITAL GOODS OWNERSHIP BY ESKIMOS

Local Group	House-holds	Total Pop.	Adult Men	Larger Boats[1]	Qajaqs	Sleds	Dogs	Nets	Population per Adult Male
Apjaqa's Camp	8	31	12	1	6	11	54	9	2.58
Sajuli's Camp	8	52	13	3	9	13	80	15	4.00
Hopewell Nws.	6	31	10	2	5	8	40	9	3.10
Five Mile Bay	7	41	11	3	3	8	51	9	3.72
Bates Peninsula	7	47	14	2	8	8	54	17	3.36
Inukpak Camp	9	44	13	2	6	9	60	11	3.38
TOTAL CAMPS	45	246	73	13	37	57	339	70	
Average Camp	7.5	41	12	2	6	9.5	56.5	12	3.42
Settlement[2]	18	84	22	1	3	14	67	34	3.82

1 - Includes freight canoes, whaleboats, and peterheads

2 - Includes Baffin Trading Company camp.

APPENDIX VII: AN ESKIMO SEAL HUNT

(NOTE: The following account is written by Mr. Adrian Tanner, of the Port Harrison Radiosonde Station on my request. I have taken the liberty of changing orthography of Eskimo names to the orthography used throughout this report.)

We started out on the seal hunt at about ten in the morning. It was only decided to go earlier that morning, because of the calm weather. There were seven of us in the whaleboat owned by Najumialuk, an old Eskimo who was at the tiller. His married son, Sali, who worked for the Radiosonde in Port Harrison, had asked for the day off so he could go too. His two teen-age brothers, Kuunlusi and Timuti came, too, the former acting as mechanic. A neighbour of Najumialuk, Paulusi, his son, Nua, and myself made up the party.

As soon as we set out, the guns were loaded, and we sighted our first seal within the islands which line the coast. A few shots were landed nearby (very good for the range) before he dived, showing his body and hind flippers as he did so. It was then that the cry "ugjuk!" went up, for they had seen it was a square-flipper, a large variety of seal prized for its tough waterproof hide. Each time the seal dived the motor was started up and the boat headed for the place where he dived. Then a suspense of waiting until he came up again. At long range, .22's are used to keep the seal under so he cannot swim so far before coming up again. Then at close range they try to wound him with a shotgun blast. If a seal is shot in the head and dies quicklyhe will sink quickly before he can be harpooned. In fact about half the seals we shot sank before we could harpoon them. This was partly due to the poor maneuverability of the whale boat. In two cases we could actually see the seal slowly sinking under before we could get the whaleboat in close enough.

Hunting square-flippers or harp seals it is hard to get in close range as they can swim a long way under water. The Eskimo then use large bore guns, but try to hit them in the body while they are rolling over as they dive under.

A lot of ammunition was used up in getting our seals. For each seal shot there must have been a box of .22's (50 rounds) and a dozen shotgun shells used.

As soon as we appeared to be tiring a seal, the harpoon was got ready. It was always the same Eskimo who did the harpooning. The men were full of gleeful smiles each time we hauled one aboard.

When we got outside the islands, we saw a mass of ice on the horizon to the south. We headed there because the seals like to rest on the ice

floes and the water is calmer. We landed the boat on the first fair-sized iceberg and took the binoculars to have a look around. A lot of the ice was rotten and the Eskimos know where to tread by its colour. We sighted some seals about half a mile off on one of the ice islands, so we were soon off in the boat weaving our way through the ice.

The seals were quite plentiful there, and we did not chase one but shot each time one popped up, then waited for the next one. When we saw a seal for the first time, we took the boat to where it dived, stopped the engine and then scratched the sides of the boat. The seals are so curious they come up to see what the noise is. Watching seals a long way off through the binoculars from the boat, you can see them pushing their heads right up out of the water and peering to see who or what you are.

Once we saw a family of square-flippers basking in the sun on an ice-floe. He hadn't heard or seen us so we cut the motor and keeping very quiet we paddled to the part of the island nearest us, about 75 yards from the seals. Sali had his Ranger's .303 Enfield. He got two with three shots. But there was a narrow neck of ice on the island, too rotten to cross, so we had to go around in the boat, and arrived just in time to see the wounded seals sinking to the bottom, having managed to slide off into the water.

We finally did get one square-flipper and seven common jars. The seals were shared on the basis of how many each man killed, although I could not tell who killed which. The square flipper was shared between the two families.

The seals were cut down the belly when we got home and left anchored under water - to bloat, I guess, anyway they did. Next day they were skinned, the fat scraped off, the meat quartered and the offal put in a barrel for dog feed. The skins were then soaked in water, scraped, washed, stretched and chewed, all the work being done by the woman of the house. Then they were taken to the company to be traded for $1.50 each.

The square-flipper was cut in sections, and the meat cut out of it, leaving a wide loop of skin. This was turned inside-out, scraped and cut spirally to make long strips for dog traces and harpoon line. The hide at each end of the seal was cut and stretched on a frame like the common jars, after the hair was scraped off. It bleaches white and is used for the feet of skin boots.

Our catch was considered good, and the gasoline was provided by the Radiosonde as part of Sali's wages, so it seems on a normal seal hunt the margin of profit is rather small. But then — I have never tasted seal meat!

APPENDIX VIII: KINSHIP TERMS

(The following list of kinship terms is based on interviews with one Eskimo and two white informants familiar with the Eskimo language. Where there was any discrepancy, the meaning given by the Eskimo informant was adopted).

AIK: affinal relative of opposite sex, same generation.

AIPALUQ: male relative of male, one generation older.

AIPAQ: Spouse.

AIRA'UQ: affinal relative of opposite sex, same generation (= AIK).

AKKAK: father's brother, often extended to any male agnate relative one generation older.

ANAANAK: mother.

ANAANASAK: adopted mother.

ANAANTSIAK: grandmother.

ANGAJUK: older sibling of same sex.

ANGAK: mother's brother

ANGUK: older kinsman of same sex.

ANIK: brother of female
ANTAK:

ANGUSIAK: used by midwife for a male child he (she) has delivered.

ANGAJUGUK: husband's older brother's wife.

ANGUTIK: husband.

ARNGALIAQ: used by midwife for a female child he (she) has delivered

ANTSAK:

ARNGAK: (female speaking) brother's child.

ATAATAK: father.

ATAATSIAK: grandfather.

ATIQ: (literally, "name") having the same name.

ATTSAK: father's sister, sometimes mother' s sister.

ILUUQATIK: "sharing same house", husband's brother's wife.

IRNGUTAK: grandchild.

IRNIQ: son.

NAJAK: sister of male

NAJALUQUTIAK:

NAJA'SAK: female first cousin of male.

NINGAUT: (male speaking) daughter's husband, cousin's husband.

NUARALUAQ: (female speaking) sister's child.

NUKAK: younger sibling of same sex.

NUKARUQ:

NUKA'UJUK: (female speaking) husband's younger brother's wife.

PANIK: daughter

QANGIAK: (male speaking) child of older brother

QATALAK: first cousin of same sex

QATUNGUK: first cousin.

QATUNGUTIK: "Born in same camp" (same sex), often first cousin of same sex.

SAKI: affinal relation, usually same sex.

SAKIAK: parent of spouse

SANAJIA'UK: midwife who delivered Ego.

SAUNIQ: ("bone") having the same name.

UJA'UK:

UJU'UK: (male speaking) sister's child.

UKUAQ: son's wife.

UQUTIK: (Suffix) sharing characteristic in common with Ego. For example, two women named Siaja will refer to each other as "Siajauqutik": two older men refer to each other as "Itu'uqutik" (ituq = old man.)

APPENDIX IX: KINSHIP CHARTS

Key to Symbols

 Male Eskimo

 Female Eskimo

 Male, Female white

 Dead

 Extended cohabitation (marriage)

 Casual intercourse

 Adopted into this household

 Born to this couple, adopted to another household.

Disc numbers following names are all E-♀- numbers.

Numbers in parentheses following disc numbers refer to other lineages where this individual may be found.

APPENDIX X: CHURCH ATTENDANCE ST. THOMAS ANGLICAN MISSION PORT HARRISON, P.Q., FOR THE SUMMER 1958

Date		Total	Men	Women	Total Adults	Boys	Girls & Babies	Total Child
Jly. 2	Wed.	28	5	13	18	11	9	10
Jly. 5	Sat.	32	8	14	22	4	6	10
Jly. 6	morn.	55	22	23	45	4	6	10
	eve.	42	20	12	32	4	6	10
Jly. 9	Wed.	80	20	34	54	12	14	26
July 13	morn.	49	12	20	32	6	11	17
	eve.	37	13	14	27	4	6	10
Jly. 16	Wed.	46	18	14	32	7	7	14
Jly. 20	morn.	98	37	30	67	7	24	31
	eve.							
Aug. 3	morn.	73	2	35	37	2	34	36
	eve.	64	6	30	36	3	25	28
Aug. 17	morn.	64	13	22	35	4	25	29
	eve.	55	13	19	32	4	19	23
Aug. 24	morn.	59	19	16	35	5	19	24
	eve.	43	17	13	30	2	11	13

Aug. 31 - No church because all leaders away: Miss. to POV, catechists fishing.

Sept. 7	morn.	49	10	17	27	4	18	22
	eve.	27	9	9	18	3	6	9
AVERAGES		53.0	14.4	19.7	34.0	4.5	14.5	18.9
SUN. MORN.		63.9	16.4	23.3				
EVE.		42.6	13.0	16.2				

APPENDIX XI: ESKIMO GAMBLING GAMES

A. Card Games

Cards are always played for stakes, usually trinkets, cigarettes, or bullets, though quarters are often used in the settlement. The player to the right of the dealer chooses the game. Games may be divided into two basic kinds: those in which score is kept, each hand contributing to a total score, the person first reaching a predetermined score winning the pot: and those in which a winner is decided in each hand. Women generally prefer the scoring games, while men usually play the games where the pot is won by someone in each hand. In either type, a tie causes a replay.

1. Scoring games

a) Rummy: When the game starts, the person to the right of the dealer decides the winning score — usually between 200 and 400. Each player receives ten cards and the game follows usual rules for 500 Rummy, except that two jokers are used. When one person is out of cards, cards other players are holding count against them. The scoring: joker, 20; ace, 15; 10 J Q K, 10; 1-9, 5. The deal moves to the left after each hand. When one player is within one hundred points of winning, the dealer may deal any number of cards from three to fifteen, depending on what serves his interests.

b) Scoring numbers: Six cards are dealt to each player. Left of dealer leads, others must follow with the same denomination if they can. The last person to follow denomination leads the next round. The cards are played onto the table in front of each player, and are scored for him at the end of the hand, those remaining in his hand counting against him. The scoring system is the same as for Rummy.

c) Discard Rummy: This can only be played with a large number (over six) of people. All the cards are dealt out, jokers added to the deck so that it will come out even. Each player, starting to the left of the dealer, picks up a card discarded by the player on his right and discards another from his hand so that all may see it. The game continues until all the cards in one hand fit into combinations accepted for Rummy.

d) Tricks: Five cards are dealt to each player. Left of dealer leads and others follow suit, the highest card winning the trick. If a player is void in the suit played, he must draw one card from the deck, although he may play it immediately if it is the required suit. If no one can follow suit, even after drawing, the single card led is discarded. The hand ends when someone is out of cards. Scoring is the same as in Rummy, all cards in tricks counting for the player, those in his hand counting against him.

2. Single Hand Games

All of the single-hand games are played with the joker. Any of them may be played with or without drawing from the deck when a player is void of the required cards. Drawing may be no, one, two, or even three cards, depending on the whim of the person choosing the game. An alternative to drawing that makes the game even faster is for any player that does not have a required card to drop out of the game.

a) Suit or number: Six or seven cards are dealt to each player. Either a card is turned up from the remaining deck or the player left of the dealer leads a card. Continuing to the left, each player must play a card either of the same suit or of the same denomination as the last played. A seven may be played at any time and the player may declare it any suit he wishes. The first player to get rid of all his cards wins the pot.

b) Ujamik (Number): Six or seven cards are dealt to each player. Left of the dealer leads a card, and the other players must play a card of the same denomination. One suit is trump (denoted beforehand), the person playing the card of that suit leading the next round. If no card of that suit is played, the last person to play a card gets the lead. (An alternative to naming a suit is that anyone playing two cards of the same number takes the lead; failing this, the last person to play leads). The first player to get rid of all his cards wins the pot.

c) Savuk: Seven cards are dealt to each player. The game is played like Seven-Card Rummy, except that no cards are placed on the table in front of the player until his whole hand fits together in the accepted Rummy combinations. When this happens, he wins the pot.

d) Kivuk: Six or seven cards are dealt. Left of dealer leads, the others in turn playing the card(s) that are the next higher and/or lower denomination in the same suit. The last to play a card leads the next round. The first player to get rid of all his cards wins the pot.

B. Kaituq (Top)

Kaituq is played with a small rectangular top, whittled at the moment. The four sides, about 1" x 3/4", are either decorated with distinctive designs, or with different numbers. The designs observed were: 1) one diagonal line, atausik, 2) two parallel diagonal lines, mu''uk, 3) a diagonal cross, kajai, and 4) many parallel horizontal lines, amisut.

When kaituq is played with a top with different designs on the faces, the players attempt to spin for various sequences of faces, the first player achieving the required sequence winning the pot, provided no other player duplicates his feat on the same round. Some of the sequences observed:

1) one side once,

2) one side twice in a row,

3) all sides without duplication,

4) the side designated by the player before he spins the top,

5) one side wins, another side puts the player out of the game,

6) numerical values, positive and negative, are assigned to the various sides and the players play for a winning score.

When the game is played with a top that has numbers on the facets, it is played for a cumulative winning score. One side is usually considered negative, the other three positive. However, this top is also used for all the combinations above. An additional sequence is to try for a low score on four rolls in sequence.

C. Checkers

As with other gambling games, checkers changes its rules after each game, depending on the alternate choice of the players. Some observed variations:-

1) pieces may move and jump forward only, kings move and jump either direction,

2) the same, but pieces may jump backward as the second of a double jump, provided the first is forward,

3) the same, but pieces may jump in either direction,

4) a king may move along the entire diagonal of the board in one move, may jump anywhere along the move.

The game is always played with the rule that a player must jump if the opportunity is present, otherwise his piece is removed by his opponent.

APPENDIX XII: AN ESKIMO DANCE (July 11, 1958)

I arrived at the school around 9.15 to find only a few old women and small children there. The school gradually filled up by 9.45. Kids racing around the room, playing tag or just whooping it up. Everyone dressed very well; several new dresses on little girls; most of the women in skirts, all have hair fixed nicely. The whites are all well-dressed: men in shirts and ties, women in dresses.

By 10.10 enough men congregate on the floor to start a dance. They finally break down and seek partners from the women seated all around. Tommy P (1295) cutting a comic figure but Lasajusi (1619) leads all the dances.

Each dance consists of three or four figures done by eight, ten or twelve couples. Two opposite head couples lead off to the right, perform each figure all the way around the ring; then an alamand and grand chain all the way home, partners swing. The next two couples to the right of the opposite head couples then lead to the right. When all couples have led a figure, all join hands, circle once around, swing partners, and same two head couples begin next figure.

Figures: The figures are simple: 1) Circle four, star by right, star by left, swing your own and on to the next. 2) Circle four, swing opposite, swing own and on to the next. 3) Circle four, gent around lady with partner in tow, right and left through, swing your own and on to the next. 4) Circle four, head couple around the lady, then around the gent, swing your own and on to the next. 5) Circle four, all four circle around opposite four while circling four, swing your own and on to the next.

Codas: After each couple has completed three or more figures the dance ends with a coda: 1) Most commonly used coda: girls in the centre back to back, gents circle around once, swinging girl to right of partner, then gents around again and swing until each gent has swung every girl. 2) Head couple swing in centre break and each chooses new partner, swing, then leave circle, and repeated with new couple until circle degenerates. 3) Coda to coda: into centre with a whoop three times.

Step: Aisa (706), Vilia (969), Itu'kulluk (1297) jig step, but most shuffle.

The missionary claims that the Eskimos do the Virginia Reel with tongue in cheek, mimicking the white man in a dance they do not really enjoy as the square (?) dances. It is done as follows: all forward and bow, forward and slap both hands, forward a do-si-do; head gent and foot lady forward and bow, right hand around, left hand around, both hands around, do-si-do, slap both hands, alternating with head lady and foot gent doing the same (the order varies with the couples). Then head couple sashay up and back, reel up and sashay back, lead the lines around and form bridge. New head couple repeats dance.

Throughout the evening, many older women are sitting around the room, but no older men. Kids scurrying here and there, gradually going to sleep under tables, behind chairs, even in the middle of the floor. Babies being changed

every few minutes on the floor or in some corner, with some other woman taking the mother's place in the dance. A generally happy atmosphere.

Tommy P. left early with his wife. Several young boys did not show: Ju (1300), Augiak (768), Janti (1793). None of Ituq's family (1790) came, probably because his wife is pregnant.

Miaji (1549) dresses in newly-made brown wool dress, beautiful full kamiks. Lisi (1046) in cotton dress, cardigan, hair in ribbons and barettes. Raingi (1778) in usual dress with shawl.

Nuluki (1658) the general buffoon, never in the dance, laughed at by everyone and acts up to it. His son, Jusi (1660) not present.

Najumialuk (9567) not present, although camped in the settlement at the time. The teacher says there is a sharp distinction between settlement and camps, and they are made to feel unwelcome. Town and country!

Each dance lasts upwards of half an hour, then fifteen minute break while dancers go outside, cool off, diapers are changed, babies fed, etc. Then into it again and dance again. Dance broke up at 12.30, everyone wandered off.

APPENDIX XIII: ANALYSIS OF DIET IN SETTLEMENT AND CAMP

The following analysis of sample diets was made by the Department of National Health and Welfare, Laboratory of Hygiene. The diets are given in the chapter on nutrition.

Item	Unit	Settlement Lukasi (1620)	Camp Ituq (923)
Calories	Calories	2542	3193
Protein	grams	80.4 12% of Cal.	150.6 19% of Cal.
Fat	grams	123.4 43% of Cal.	148.8 43% of Cal.
Carbohydrate	grams	287.6 44% of Cal.	300.4 38% of Cal.
Calcium	grams	.108	.230
Iron	milligrams	9.9	12.0
Vitamin A	International units	1456	454
Thiamine	milligrams	.52	.64
Riboflavin	milligrams	.45	1.05
Niacin	milligrams	7.7	15.6
Ascorbic Acid	milligrams	8	0

APPENDIX XIV: RESEARCH METHODS

In order that the reader may fully understand the nature of the material upon which this thesis is based, this brief outline of research method is included.

After three weeks' research into the correspondence and records relating to Port Harrison in the offices of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in Ottawa, I travelled by train and airplane to Port Harrison via Moosonee, Ont., arriving at my destination June 29, the first airplane after the break-up.

Upon arrival at Harrison, I met and interviewed most of the white population, either formally or informally. I lived in a house and spent much of my time looking through the records of vital statistics kept at the RCMP post and observing the Eskimos trading at the Hudson's Bay Store.

During this orientation period, a population list was compiled from available lists, and kinship was worked out for the entire population through separate interviews with the missionary and the Hudson's Bay interpreter.

After ten days of such orientation, I decided on a suitable Eskimo household and made arrangements through the HBC interpreter to move in, offering $1.50 per day as room and a supply of food which we shared together. The household I picked was that of Lukasi (1620) and Iva (1621), and was suitable for a number of reasons, including available sleeping space, cleanliness, compatability, and typicalness. Lukasi and Iva showed great friendliness and patience throughout my stay, which was much happier because of them.

While staying with Lukasi, I spent the time observing the daily life of this household, and of the rest of the settlement. One to two hours were spent each morning recording the previous day's activities as well as making notes on specific aspects of social organization that I had observed. Two interviews were held with the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter in order to get answers to various questions that arose from observations.

After boat time, when many Eskimos were in the settlement to get stevedoring work, I made arrangements through the missionary with the father of one of the camp leaders, Inukpak (901), to visit his camp. Unfortunately, the camp I chose owned a peterhead, which was on charter most of the summer. Throughout my visit, July 21 - August 16, the camp was therefore lacking six men, three of whom were the most important men in the camp, including the leader, Jani (904). This no doubt affected social relationships within the camp, and consequently my material about camp life.

In the Inukpak camp, I stayed in the household of the camp leader, Jani, with his wife, Miaji (877), and her two sons and step-son, Pita (1984), Livai (2132), and Sali (906). Days were spent visiting the various tents

in the camp, collecting kinship terms, and observing the patterns of daily life. Evenings were spent playing football, keep-away and then cards until two or three in the morning. Notes were typed in the mornings after breakfast and prayers.

Since whatever food I brought with me was eaten in the first two days of feasting, my diet was the same as the rest of the camp, with the exception that I often put powdered milk in the basins of tea I drank and ate a pickle with each chunk of boiled fish, our staple diet. Even the pickles were shared with the only two Eskimos in the camp that liked them.

The visit at the camp was interrupted twice, once by a trip south to Port Harrison to trade, and once by a hunting trip further north. I accompanied the men whenever I could.

Back in the settlement after August 17, I continued to observe and record daily life in Lukasi's household. Then I arranged to accompany the new nurse, just appointed to the nursing station at Port Harrison, on his first tour of all the camps. This was accomplished in two three-day trips, one south, the other north, in the course of which I was able to visit every camp in the area and collect data on capital goods ownership, as well as record settlement patterns and revise my population lists.

Following these trips, I remained in Harrison another ten days, accompanying Lukasi on trips to hunt seal or move relatives to winter locations in the large trap-boat that Lukasi part-owned.

I left Port Harrison September 9, flying to Moosonee, and thence by train to Montréal, where I arrived September 11.

Not knowing the language prior to my visit, much time was spent learning vocabulary and grammar. Nevertheless, by the end of the summer, I was only able to understand simple sentences and make my wishes known through a pidgin Eskimo. I was never able to ask penetrating or deep questions, and many answers I got to simple "why" questions were incomprehensible to me. Most Eskimos met my lack of comprehension with extreme amusement, although several made a conscious effort to teach me the intricacies of Eskimoan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balikçi, Asen, "Relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, baie d'Hudson, 1957," (unpublished MS) Ottawa: National Museum.

Barber, Bernard, "Structural-Functional Analysis: Some Problems and misunderstandings," American Sociological Review, vol. 21, no. 2 (April, 1956), pp. 129-135.

Barnett, H. G., "Culture Processes," American Anthropologist, vol. 42 (1940), pp. 21-48.

Birkett-Smith, Kaj. The Caribou Eskimo, (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol. 5) Copenhagen: Gydeddalske Boghandel, 1929.

_____, Ethnographic Collections from the North West Passage, (Report of Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol. 6 no. 2) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1945.

Benedict, Ruth, "Two Patterns of Indian Acculturation," American Anthropologist, vol. 45 (1943), pp. 207-212.

Boas, Franz, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 15) New York, 1907.

Bredemeier, Harry C. "The Methodology of Functionalism," American Sociological Review, vol. 20, no. 2 (April, 1955), pp. 173-180.

Burgess, Ernest W. and Harvey J. Locke, The Family, from Institutional to Companionship, New York: American Book Co., 1945

Chappell, Lt. Edward, A Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay, London, 1817.

Coates, Captain W., The Geography of Hudson's Bay, London: Hakluyt Society, 1852.

Collier, John, The Indians of the Americas, New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1947.

Dahrendorf, Ralf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 64, no. 2 (September, 1958, pp. 115-127.

de Coccola, Raymond and Paul King, Ayorama, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Dobbs, A., Account of Hudson's Bay and the Countries Adjoining, London, 1744.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada 1958, Ottawa, 1958.

Ellis, Henry, A Voyage to Hudson Bay 1746-47, London : Whitridge, 1748.

Embree, John F., "Thailand — a Loosely Structured Social System," American Anthropologist, vol. 52 (1950), pp. 181-193.

Engels, Frederich, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (tr. Ernest Unterman), Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 1902.

Flaherty, Robert J., My Eskimo Friends, Nanook of the North, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924.

Garigue, Philip, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life," American Anthropologist, vol. 58 (1956), pp. 1090-1101.

Giddings, James L., Jr., "Observations on the 'Eskimo Type' of Kinship and Social Structure," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, vol. 1 (1952), pp. 5-10.

Giffen, Naomi M., The Rôles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Gillen, John L., "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatamalan Community," Social Forces, vol. 24 (October, 1945), pp. 1-14.

Gillen, John L. and John P. Gillen, Cultural Sociology, New York: the MacMillan Co., 1948.

Gluckman, Max, "An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislaw Malinowski" (pamphlet), (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 16) Capetown: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Goldschmidt, Walter, "Social Class and the Dynamics of Status in America," American Anthropologist, vol. 57 (1955), pp. 1209-1217.

Hawkes, E. W., The Labrador Eskimo, Mémoire 91 (Anthropological Series no. 14) Geological Survey, Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1916.

Henry, Jules, Jungle People, Richmond, Va.: J. J. Augustin, 1941.

Herscovitz, Melville J., Economic Anthropology, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.

Hinds, Miss E. M., "Experiment in Camp Education of Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic, at Port Harrison, P.Q., and Cape Dorset, N.W.T. carried out by Miss E. M. Hinds - 1950-1957" (mimeographed), Education Division, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1958.

Honigman, Irma and John Honigman, "Child Rearing Patterns Among the Great Whale River Eskimo," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, vol. 2, no. 1 (December 1953), pp. 31-50.

Howells, William, Back of History, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1954.

Hughes, Charles C., "An Eskimo Devient from the 'Eskimo Type' of Social Organization," American Anthropologist, vol. 60 (1958), pp. 1140-1147.

Hughes, Everett C., French Canada in Transition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Jenness, Diamond, The Life of the Copper Eskimos, (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, vol. 12) Ottawa, 1922.

Kroeber, A. L. and Talcott Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System," American Sociological Review, vol. 23, no. 5 (October, 1958), pp. 582-583.

Lewis, Oscar, Life in a Mexican Village, Tepoztlan Restudied, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951, "Summary and Conclusions," pp. 427-448.

Lowenthal, Rudolf, "The Extinction of the Krimchaks in World War II," The American Slavic and East European Review, vol. 10, no. 2 (April, 1951), pp. 130-137.

Mair, Lucy, "Malinowski and the Study of Social Change," Man and Culture (ed. Raymond Firth), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957, pp. 229-244.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, The Dynamics of Culture Change (ed. Phyllis Kaberry), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

_____, "The Life of Culture," The Diffusion Controversy, (Psyche Miniatures no. 18) London: Psyche, 1928.

_____, A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

Marsh, Rt-Rev. D. B., "Arctic Century" (pamphlet), Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of the Arctic, 1957.

Marx, Karl, Capital (tr. from the German Fourth Edition), New York: Modern Library, 1906.

_____, "Wage-Labour and Capital" (pamphlet), New York: International Publishers, 1933.

Mason, Leonard, "A Characterization of American Culture in Studies of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, vol. 57, no. 1 (December 1955), pp. 1264-1279.

Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, Chapter I: "Manifest and Latent Functions," pp. 21-81.

Miner, Horace, St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Mowat, Farley, People of the Deer, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1952.

Murdock, George Peter, Social Structure, New York: Macmillan Co., 1949.

Nadel, S. F., The Foundations of Social Anthropology, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951.

Parsons, Talcott and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Structure and Function in Primitive Society, London: Cohen & West Ltd., 1952.

Redfield, Robert, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

_____, "Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 52 (1947), pp. 293-308.

_____, Tepoztlan, a Mexican Village, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Redfield, Robert, Melville Herscovitz and Ralph Linton, "Outline for the Study of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, vol. 38 (1936), pp. 149-152.

Rose, Arnold M., Sociology: the Study of Human Relations, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.

Ruesch, Jurgen, Annemarie Jacobson and Martin B. Loeb, "Acculturation and Illness," Psychological Monographs, vol. 62, no. 5 (1948).

Selsam, Howard, Handbook of Philosophy, New York: International Publishers, 1949.

Sharp, Lauristan, " Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians," Human Problems in Technological Change, A Casebook (ed. E. H. Spicer), New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952, pp. 69-90.

Spicer, E. H., (editor), Human Problems in Technological Change, A Casebook, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952, "Introduction by the Editor," pp. 13-20.

Stern, Bernard J., Concerning the Distinction Between the Social and the Cultural," Social Forces, vol. 8 (1929), pp. 264-271.

Steward, Julian H., "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," American Anthropologist, vol. 45 (1943), pp. 198-204.

_____, Theory of Culture Change, The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955.

Tanner, V., Outline of Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador (vol. 2), Cambridge: University Press, 1947.

Turner, Lucien M., Ethnology of the Ungava District, Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894.

Valentine, Charles A., Toward a Definition of Eskimo Social Organization (typewritten M. A. thesis), University of Pennsylvania, 1952.

Weyer, Edward M. Jr., The Eskimo, Their Environment and Folkways, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.

White, Leslie, The Science of Culture, New York: Grove Press, 1949.

Williams, Robin M., Jr., American Society, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

Wilson, Godfrey and Monica Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge: University Press, 1945.

Yatsushiro, Toshio, "Economic Development and Culture Dynamics," The Eastern Anthropologist, vol. 7, no. 1 (September-November 1953) pp. 5-18 (Lucknow University, India).

Jani 1614 and Taiviti 1552

ESKIMO RACIAL TYPES VARY GREATLY

Ani 792, Alisi 2123, Jusi 936

Amali 717 and daughter
Lisi 2122

Lisi 2122

Lili 2147

Girl's and Women's Dress

In this well-organized camp, the tents are atypically close together.

SAJULI'S CAMP

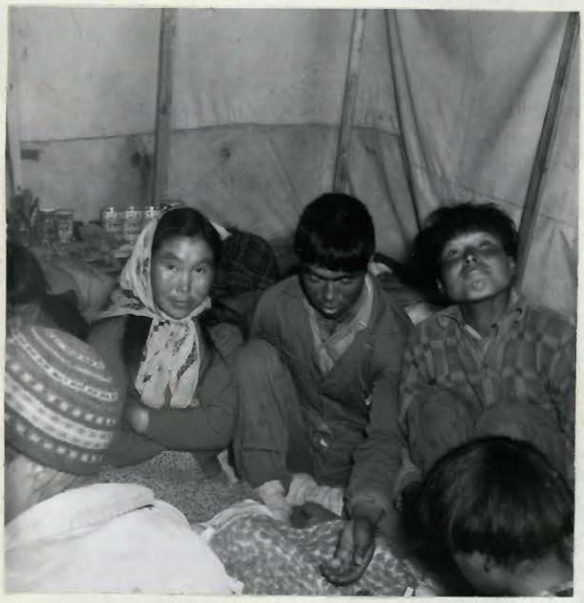
Stove and sleeping-platform

Food corner

INTERIORS AT INUKPAK CAMP

The skin cover of this qajaq was eaten by dogs one night when a careless boy left it on the ground.

RECREATION

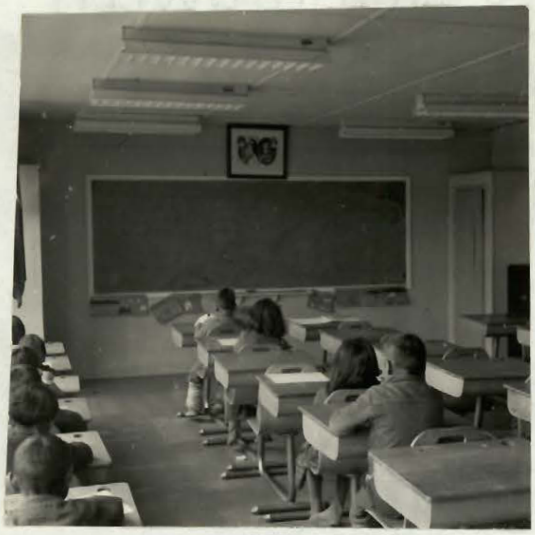


Card game in Inukpak Camp

Eskimo wrestling

Luisa 1989 plays mouth-harp

Settlement dance in school



Children in school
at Port Harrison, P.Q.

Bannock rises in a wash-basin, is cut into strips and fried coiled in deep fat, then stored in a carton.

Inukpak Camp hairstyle
Miaji 877 and Pini 937

Sewing skin boots (Miaji 877)

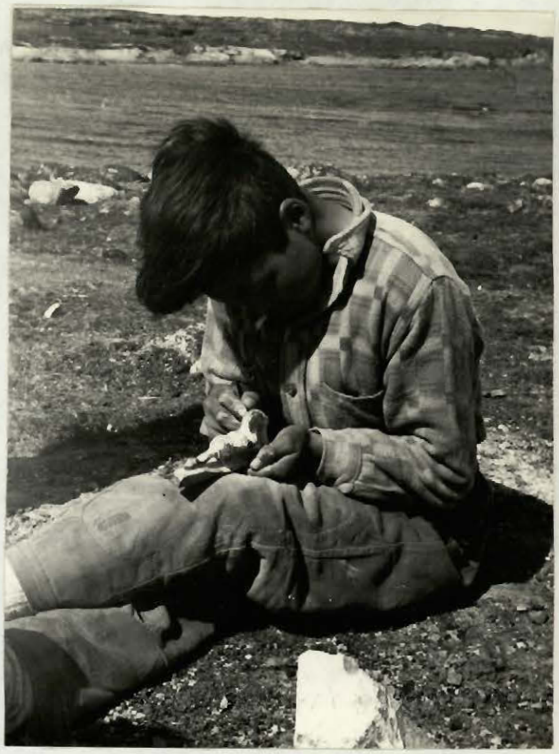
Making grass basket (Iva 162)

WOMEN AT WORK

Sewing a dress (Siaja894)

Carving soapstone
(Anisi 903)

Carving soapstone (Ilai 1609)



MEN AT WORK

Making a fishing net
(Lukasi 1620)

"Natsiq una" ("This is a seal"): Livai 2132 carves soapstone.

Moving three families to fall camp.

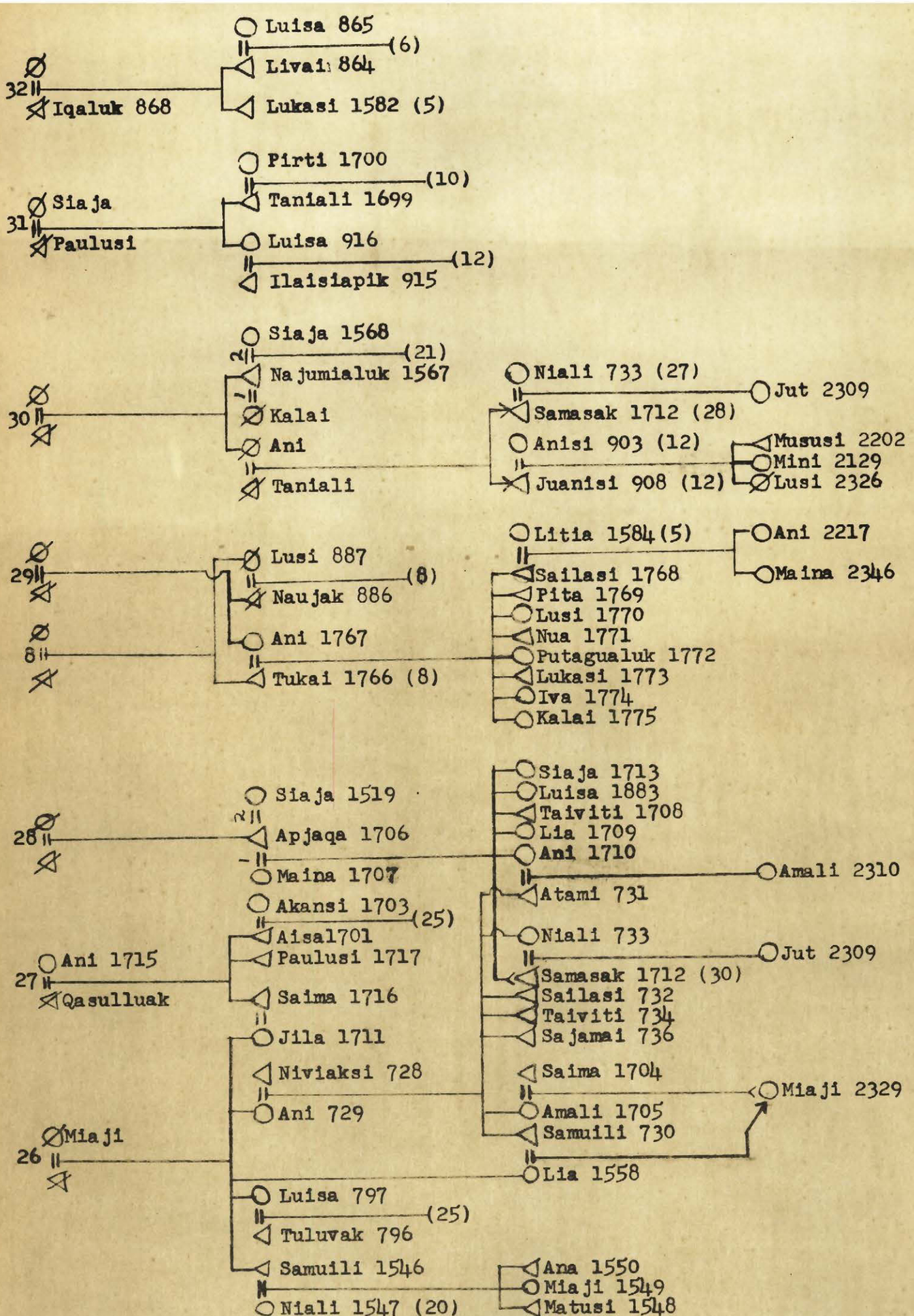
SUMMER TRAVEL

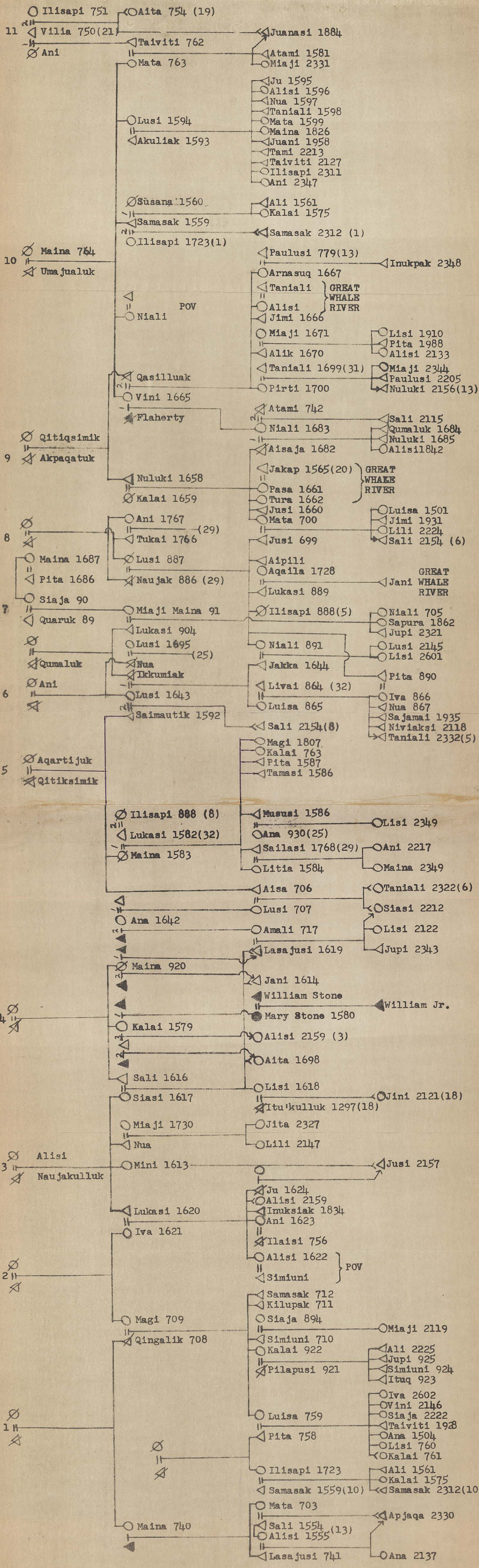
Inukpak Campers travel to Port Harrison to trade, during the season for Canada Geese.

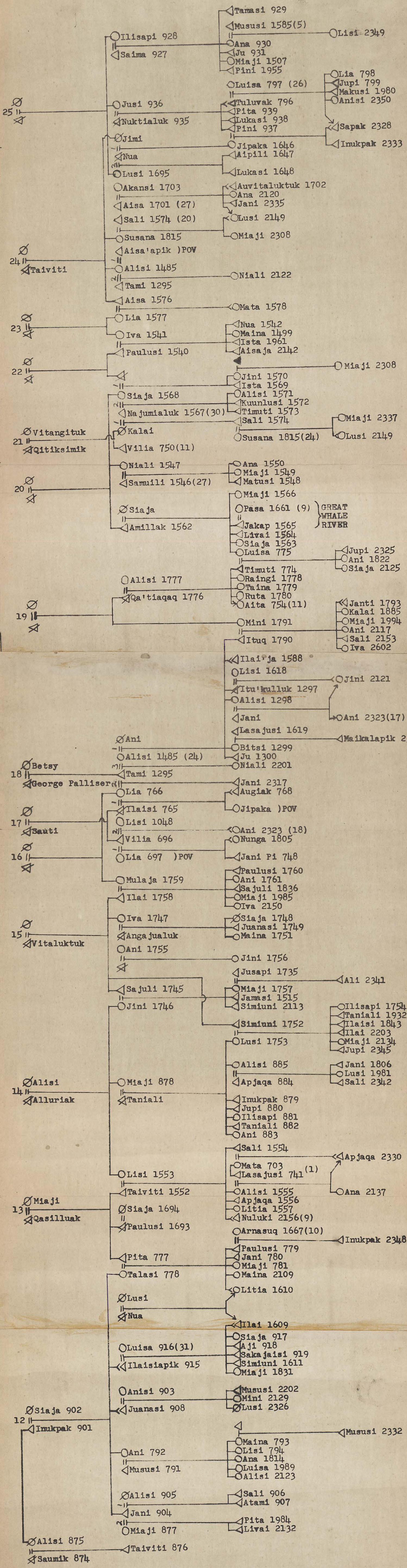
Jita 2327 and Lili 2147 have breakfast in bed every morning.

Port Harrison soapstone carvings are among the best.

Ethnographer


Luisa 865
(6)
Livai 864
32
Iqaluk 868
Lukasi 1582 (5)
Pirti 1700
(10)
Taniali 1699
Siaja
31
Paulusi
Luisa 916
(12)
Ilaisiapik 915
Siaja 1568
2
(21)
Najumialuk 1567
1
Niali 733 (27)
Jut 2309
30
Kalai
Samasak 1712 (28)
Ani
Anisi 903 (12)
Mususi 2202
Mini 2129
Taniali
Juanisi 908 (12)
Lusi 2326
Litia 1584 (5)
Ani 2217
Lusi 887
29
(8)
Sailasi 1768
Maina 2346
Naujak 886
Pita 1769
Lusi 1770
Ani 1767
8
Nua 1771
Putagualuk 1772
Tukai 1766 (8)
Lukasi 1773
Iva 1774
Kalai 1775
Siaja 1713
Siaja 1519
Luisa 1883
2
Taiviti 1708
28
Apjaqa 1706
Lia 1709
Ani 1710
1
Amali 2310
Maina 1707
Atami 731
Akansi 1703
(25)
Niali 733
Aisal701
Jut 2309
Ani 1715
Paulusi 1717
Samasak 1712 (30)
27
Qasulluak
Saima 1716
Sailasi 732
Taiviti 734
Jila 1711
Sajamai 736
Niviaksi 728
Saima 1704
Miaji 2329
Ani 729
Amali 1705
Miaji
Samuili 730
26
Lia 1558
Luisa 797
(25)
Tuluvak 796
Samuili 1546
Ana 1550
Miaji 1549
Niali 1547 (20)
Matusi 1548


Ilisapi 751
Aita 754 (19)
11
Vilia 750(21)
Juanasi 1884
Taiviti 762
Ani
Atami 1581
Miaji 2331
Mata 763
Ju 1595
Alisi 1596
Nua 1597
Taniali 1598
Lusi 1594
Mata 1599
Maina 1826
Akuliak 1593
Juani 1958
Tami 2213
Taiviti 2127
Ilisapi 2311
Ani 2347
Susana 1560
Ali 1561
Kalai 1575
Samasak 1559
Samasak 2312 (1)
Ilisapi 1723(1)
Maina 764
10
Umajualuk
Paulusi 779(13)
Inukpak 2348
Arnasuq 1667
Taniali
GREAT WHALE RIVER
POV
Niali
Alisi
Jimi 1666
Miaji 1671
Lisi 1910
Pita 1988
Alisi 2133
Alik 1670
Taniali 1699(31)
Miaji 2344
Qasilluak
Paulusi 2205
Pirti 1700
Nuluki 2156(13)
Vini 1665
Atami 742
Flaherty
Sali 2115
Niali 1683
Qumaluk 1684
Qitiqsimik
Nuluki 1685
9
Akpaqatuk
Aisaja 1682
Alisi1842
Jakap 1565(20)
GREAT WHAKE RIVER
Nuluki 1658
Pasa 1661
Kalai 1659
Tura 1662
Luisa 1501
Ani 1767
(29)
Jusi 1660
Jimi 1931
8
Tukai 1766
Mata 700
Lili 2224
Jusi 699
Sali 2154 (6)
Maina 1687
Lusi 887
Aipili
Pita 1686
Naujak 886 (29)
Aqaila 1728
GREAT WHALE RIVER
Jani
Lukasi 889
Siaja 90
7
Miaji Maina 91
Ilisapi 888(5)
Niali 705
Quaruk 89
Sapura 1862
Lukasi 904
Jupi 2321
Lusi 1695
(25)
Niali 891
Lusi 2145
Qumaluk
Nua
Lisi 2601
Ikkumiak
Jakka 1644
Pita 890
Ani
6
Lusi 1643
Livai 864 (32)
Iva 866
Luisa 865
Nua 867
Saimautik 1592
Sajamai 1935
Sali 2154(8)
Niviaksi 2118
Taniali 2332(5)
Magi 1807
Kalai 763
Aqartijuk
5
Pita 1587
Qitiksimik
Tamasi 1586
Ilisapi 888 (8)
Mususi 1586
Lisi 2349
Lukasi 1582(32)
Ana 930(25)
Sailasi 1768(29)
Ani 2217
Maina 1583
Litia 1584
Maina 2349
Aisa 706
Taniali 2322(6)
Lusi 707
Siasi 2212
Ana 1642
Amali 717
Lisi 2122
Lasajusi 1619
Jupi 2343
Maina 920
Jani 1614
William Stone
William Jr.
4
Mary Stone 1580
Kalai 1579
Alisi 2159 (3)
Aita 1698
Sali 1616
Lisi 1618
Siasi 1617
Jini 2121(18)
Itu'kulluk 1297(18)
Miaji 1730
Jita 2327
Nua
Lili 2147
Alisi
3
Mini 1613
Jusi 2157
Naujakulluk
Ju 1624
Alisi 2159
Lukasi 1620
Inuksiak 1834
Iva 1621
Ani 1623
Ilaisi 756
Alisi 1622
POV
2
Simiuni
Samasak 712
Kilupak 711
Magi 709
Siaja 894
Miaji 2119
Qingalik 708
Simiuni 710
Kalai 922
Ali 2225
Jupi 925
Pilapusi 921
Simiuni 924
Ituq 923
Iva 2602
Vini 2146
1
Luisa 759
Siaja 2222
Taiviti 1928
Pita 758
Ana 1504
Lisi 760
Kalai 761
Ilisapi 1723
Ali 1561
Kalai 1575
Samasak 1559(10)
Samasak 2312(10)
Mata 703
Apjaqa 2330
Maina 740
Sali 1554
Alisi 1555 (13)
Lasajusi 741
Ana 2137


Tamasi 929
Mususi 1585(5)
Lisi 2349
Ilisapi 928
Ana 930
Saima 927
Ju 931
Miaji 1507
Pini 1955
Lia 798
Luisa 797 (26)
Jupi 799
Makusi 1980
25
Jusi 936
Tuluvak 796
Anisi 2350
Pita 939
Nuktialuk 935
Lukasi 938
Sapak 2328
Pini 937
Jimi
Jipaka 1646
Inukpak 2333
Nua
Aipili 1647
Lusi 1695
Lukasi 1648
Akansi 1703
Auvitaluktuk 1702
Ana 2120
Aisa 1701 (27)
Jani 2335
Sali 1574 (20)
Lusi 2149
Susana 1815
Miaji 2308
Aisa'apik)POV
24
Alisi 1485
Taiviti
Niali 2122
Tami 1295
Aisa 1576
Mata 1578
Lia 1577
23
Nua 1542
Iva 1541
Maina 1499
Ista 1961
Paulusi 1540
Aisaja 2142
Miaji 2308
22
Jini 1570
Ista 1569
Siaja 1568
Alisi 1571
Kuunlusi 1572
Najumialuk 1567(30)
Timuti 1573
Sali 1574
Miaji 2337
Vitangituk
Kalai
Susana 1815(24)
Lusi 2149
21
Qitiksimik
Vilia 750(11)
Niali 1547
Ana 1550
Miaji 1549
Samuili 1546(27)
Matusi 1548
20
Miaji 1566
Siaja
Pasa 1661 (9)
GREAT WHALE RIVER
Amillak 1562
Jakap 1565
Livai 1564
Siaja 1563
Luisa 775
Jupi 2325
Ani 1822
Timuti 774
Siaja 2125
Alisi 1777
Raingi 1778
Taina 1779
Qa'tiaqaq 1776
Ruta 1780
Janti 1793
19
Aita 754(11)
Kalai 1885
Mini 1791
Miaji 1994
Ani 2117
Ituq 1790
Sali 2153
Iva 2602
Ilai'ja 1588
Lisi 1618
Jini 2121
Itu'kulluk 1297
Alisi 1298
Jani
Ani 2323(17)
Lasajusi 1619
Maikalapik 2340
Ani
Bitsi 1299
Alisi 1485 (24)
Ju 1300
Betsy
Niali 2201
18
Tami 1295
Jani 2317
George Palliser
Lia 766
Augiak 768
Ilaisi 765
Jipaka)POV
17
Lisi 1048
Sauti
Ani 2323 (18)
Vilia 696
Nunga 1805
16
Lia 697)POV
Jani Pi 748
Paulusi 1760
Mulaja 1759
Ani 1761
Sajuli 1836
Ilai 1758
Miaji 1985
Iva 2150
Iva 1747
Siaja 1748
15
Juanasi 1749
Angajualuk
Maina 1751
Vitaluktuk
Ani 1755
Jini 1756
Jusapi 1735
Ali 2341
Sajuli 1745
Miaji 1757
Jamasi 1515
Jini 1746
Simiuni 2113
Ilisapi 1754
Taniali 1932
Simiuni 1752
Ilaisi 1843
Ilai 2203
Lusi 1753
Miaji 2134
Jupi 2345
Alisi 885
Jani 1806
Alisi
Lusi 1981
Miaji 878
Apjaqa 884
Sali 2342
14
Alluriak
Taniali
Inukpak 879
Jupi 880
Ilisapi 881
Taniali 882
Ani 883
Sali 1554
Apjaqa 2330
Mata 703
Lisi 1553
Lasajusi 741 (1)
Taiviti 1552
Alisi 1555
Ana 2137
Miaji
Apjaqa 1556
13
Siaja 1694
Litia 1557
Qasilluak
Nuluki 2156(9)
Paulusi 1693
Arnasuq 1667(10)
Inukpak 2348
Paulusi 779
Pita 777
Jani 780
Miaji 781
Talasi 778
Maina 2109
Litia 1610
Lusi
Nua
Ilai 1609
Siaja 917
Aji 918
Luisa 916(31)
Sakajaisi 919
Ilaisiapik 915
Simiuni 1611
Miaji 1831
Anisi 903
Mususi 2202
Mini 2129
Siaja 902
Juanasi 908
Lusi 2326
12
Inukpak 901
Mususi 2332
Maina 793
Lisi 794
Ani 792
Ana 1814
Mususi 791
Luisa 1989
Alisi 2123
Alisi 905
Sali 906
Atami 907
Jani 904
Pita 1984
Miaji 877
Livai 2132
Alisi 875
Taiviti 876
Saumik 874